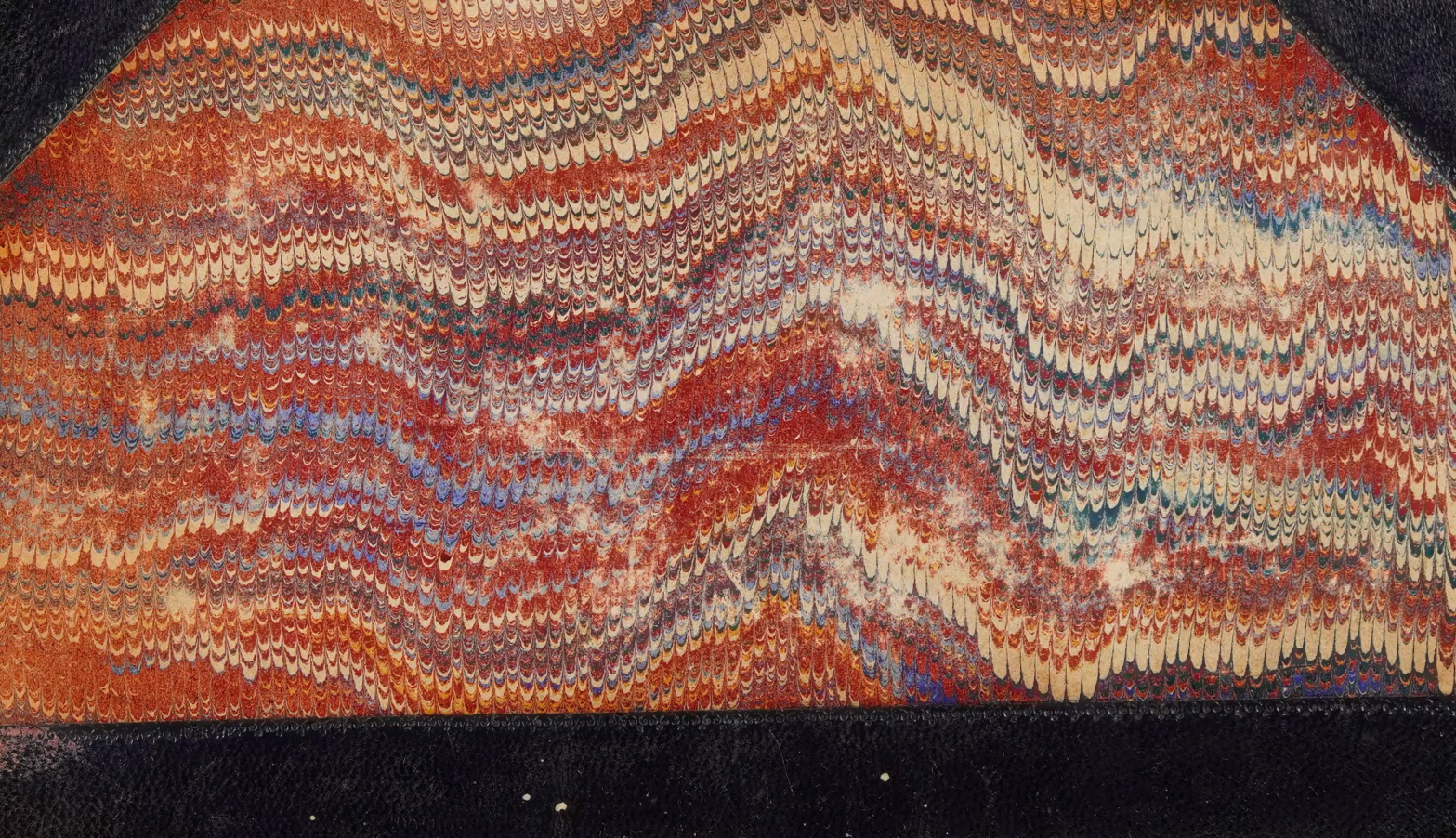

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A

Compendious Martyrology,

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE SUFFERINGS AND CONSTANCY

OF

CHRISTIANS,

IN THE

DIFFERENT PERSECUTIONS WHICH HAVE

RAGED AGAINST THEM UNDER

PAGAN AND POPISH GOVERNMENTS.

BY RICHARD REECE.

"THESE ARE THEY WHICH CAME OUT OF GREAT TRIBULATION, AND HAVE WASHED THEIR ROBES, AND MADE THEM WHITE IN THE BLOOD OF THE LAMB," Rev. xi. 14.

VOLUME III.

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Compendious Martyrology.

The Persecution of the English Church in the Reign of Queen Mary.

KING EDWARD VI. being dead, the Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed queen: the Lady Mary hearing of it, presently sent to the lords of the council, commanding, and requiring them presently to proclaim her queen, which if they refused to do, she threatened by force of arms to recover her right. The lords returned answer, that the Lady Jane was invested, and possessed of the crown by just right and title, both by the ancient laws of the land, and by letters patent signed, and sealed by the late king before his death. And, therefore, they declared that they would adhere to her, and to none other: requesting the Lady Mary that she would cease by any pretence to molest the peace of the realm, promising that if she carried herself as a dutiful subject, they would be ready to do her any service, &c. The Lady Mary, having received this answer, speedily departed farther from the city: which the council hearing of, and knowing her stout and unquiet disposition, presently raised an army, whereof they made the Duke of Northumberland general, and with which he departed from London: Mary, in the mean time, withdrew herself into Suffolk, and Norfolk, gathering such aid of the Commons as she could: keeping herself in Ferminghamcastle: to whom Suffolk men first resorted, who being always forward in promoting the gospel, promising her their aid and help, provided that she would attempt no alteration in religion established by her brother. To this she easily agreed, with such protestations that none could suspect her: with this power of the godly party she vanquished her enemies; yet afterwards when these very men made supplication to her grace to perform her promise, she answered, Forasmuch as you, being members, desire to rule your head, you shall one day find that members must obey, not seek to rule: Yea one of the chief of them,

master Dobb, she caused, to the terror of others, to be set in the pillory sundry times: divers others, that presented supplications to the same purpose, she caused to be committed to prison.

The Duke of Northumberland, in the mean time, being deserted by his soldiers, was left at Cambridge almost alone: where, being arrested, he was brought to London, and committed prisoner to the Tower for treason, and, after a month, lost his head on Tower-hill. After his condemnation, he was promised his life if he would turn papist and hear mass, which he consented to, denying in words the true religion which he had formerly embraced and professed; yea, he exhorted the people to return to the Catholic Religion, which the Papists much rejoiced at; and yet his life was not spared.

Queen Mary, being thus possessed of the kingdom, presently began to discover her disaffection to the Protestant Religion, by displacing all the orthodox bishops, as Poinet, Ridley, Scory, Hooper, Coverdale; and by releasing out of the Tower Stephen Gardiner, making him bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor of England; Bonner, making him bishop of London, &c. Master Hooper was committed to the Fleet: and Dr. Ridley going to visit the queen, was sent back upon a lame halting horse to the Tower of London. Then did the queen summon a parliament, and sent forth a proclamation, wherein she declared that she could not dissemble her religion, which she had been brought up in from her infancy, and which she was minded to observe and maintain, wishing that all her subjects would quietly embrace the same. She declared also, that whereas some evil-disposed persons (as she called them) did take upon them to preach the Word of God according to their own brain, &c. She, therefore, straightly charged, and commanded them, that they should not henceforth preach, read, or interpret any scriptures or other points of doctrine concerning religion, nor print any books, &c. without her Grace's special licence for the same, upon pain of incurring her Highness's indignation, and displeasure: requiring all officers to see to the due execution of her pleasure herein, and if any should wilfully transgress the same, to apprehend, and commit them to the next jail without bail or mainprize, till farther order should be taken for their punishment, to the example of others. The aldermen of London were also required to send for all the ministers in every ward, and to command them not only to forbear preaching themselves; but not to suffer any other to preach, read, or open the Scriptures, in their churches, unless they were licensed by the queen.

In 1553, one *William Rutler* was committed to prison for speaking against a popish sermon, preached by *Bourne* at Paul's cross; and one *Humphrey Palden* was committed to the Compter

for the same: also master *Bradford*, master *Vernon*, and master *Beacon*, preachers, were committed to the Tower. Master *Rogers* was commanded to keep himself prisoner in his own house without conferring with any: Then was master *Coverdale*, bishop of Exeter, and master *Hooper*, bishop of Worcester, sent for up to attend the council: *John Melvin*, a Scotchman, a godly preacher, was sent to Newgate.

Master Hooper appearing, was committed to the Fleet. A pursuivant was sent for master *Hugh Latimer:* master *Simonds*, preacher in St. Michaels, and master *Hugh Sanders*, pastor of the same in Coventry, were also sent for. Master Latimer appearing, was committed to the Tower: and so was Dr. *Cranmer*, archbishop of Canterbury; then master *Horne*, dean of Durham, was sent for.

Shortly after the parliament began, where master *Harley*, bishop of Hereford, was deposed, because he was married, and refused to come to mass. Sir *James Hale*, justice of the Common Pleas, though he had ventured his life for Queen Mary in refusing to subscribe to her disinheriting by King Edward's will; yet for giving the statutes in charge against the Pope's supremacy, &c. at the sessions, was cast into prison, and there so cruelly handled, and terrified with the torments, which, they said, were preparing for heretics, that partly by the flattery of the bishops, partly by their threats, he was drawn to recant; after which he fell into such terrors of conscience, that he attempted to have slain himself with a pen-knife, if, by the special providence of God, he had not been prevented: after which, his wounds being healed, he was delivered out of prison: and went home to his own house, yet neither there could he have any inward peace, so that, setting his house in order, he drowned himself in a rivulet not half a mile from his own dwelling.

On the 22d of August, the queen declared, in council, "That though she was fixed in her own religion, yet she would not compel others to it: but would leave that to the motions of God's Spirit, and the labours of good preachers." The day after that, Bonner went to St. Paul's; and Bourne, his chaplain, preached; he extolled Bonner much, and inveighed against the promoters of the sufferings he had undergone. He took occasion, from the gospel of the day, to speak largely in justification of Bonner, by saying, that four years ago, he had preached from the same text, and in the same place, for which he was most cruelly and unjustly cast into that most vile dungeon the Marshalsea, where he was confined during the reign of king Edward. His words had such an ill effect upon the hearers as to cause them to murmur and stir in such a sort, that the mayor and aldermen, then present, much feared an uproar: some cast stones at the preacher,

and one hurled a dagger at him; but who the person was could not be then ascertained, though he was afterwards discovered. In short, the tumult became so violent, that Bourne was silenced, broke off his discourse, and durst no more appear in that place; for his discourse tended much to the dispraise of king Edward, which the people could in no wise endure. Mr. Bradford then stood forth, at the request of Mr. Bourne's brother, and spoke so mildly and effectually to the people, that with a few words he pacified them. This done, he and Mr. Rogers conducted Mr. Bourne betwixt them home; for which generous conduct they were both, shortly after, rewarded with long imprisonment, and at last with fire in Smithfield, under the pretence, that the authority they shewed in quelling the tumult was a proof of their being the authors of it.

All the pulpits were now put under an interdict, till the preachers should obtain a licence from Gardiner: and that he resolved to grant to none, but to such as would preach as he should direct them.

The people, who loved the old superstition, began speedily to replace their images, and to revive their rites in many of the churches, and every thing seemed to threaten a subversion of the Reformation, and the immediate re-establishment of all the errors and enormities of the Romish church.

On October 18, 1553, there was a convocation at St. Paul's, London, wherein Dr. Weston, who had been chosen prolocutor, certified to the house, that it was the queen's pleasure the learned men there assembled should debate matters of religion, and for the end of constituting laws, which her Grace and the parliament would ratify. And because (said he) there was a book lately published full of heresies, called the Catechism, bearing the name of this synod, and yet put forth without its consent; and likewise an abominable book of Common Prayer; I thought it best, first to begin with the articles of the Catechism, concerning the sacrament of the altar, for confirming the natural presence of Christ in the same, and also transubstantiation: wherefore, it shall be lawful, on Friday next, for all men freely to speak their consciences in these matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully justified therein.

On October the 20th, when it was expected they would have argued upon questions proposed, the prolocutor exhibited two bills to the house, the one for the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; the other concerning the Catechism, denying its being published by the consent of that house. To this the whole house assented, except six, viz. the dean of Rochester, the dean of Exeter, the archdeacon of Winchester, archdeacon of Hereford, archdeacon of Stow, and one more.

Mr. Philpot spoke concerning the articles of the Catechism; and asserted, that it had been composed by the order and authority of the convocation; but when he saw his allegations were to no purpose, he made it his request to the prolocutor, that there might be an equal number of persons concerned in this disputation, and desired that he would intercede with the lords, that some of those learned men who had been concerned in the publishing of the Catechism, might be admitted into the house; and that Dr. Ridley and Mr. Rogers, with two or three more, might have the liberty of being present at this disputation, and associating with them.

This request being thought reasonable, was proposed to the bishops, who returned for answer; That it was out of their power to call such persons to the house, since some of them were prisoners; but they said, they would petition the council in this behalf, and in case any of them were absent that ought to be of the house, they were agreeable to their admission. After this, it was signified to the prolocutor, that the Lord Chancellor and the earl of Devonshire would be present at the disputations; and, therefore, he deferred the same till Monday, at one o'clock in the afternoon.

The day being arrived, the prolocutor made a protestation, that the members of that house had appointed this disputation, not to call in question the truth to which they had subscribed, except five or six, but that gainsayers and heretics might be resolved respecting their doubts.

He then demanded of Mr. Haddon whether he would reason against the questions that had been proposed? Mr. Haddon replied, he would not. To which Mr. Elmar added, that they had already too much injured the truth by their subscribing before the subjects were discussed. Mr. Weston, turning to Mr. Cheyney, desired to know, whether he would propose his doubts concerning transubstantiation; when the latter answered, "I should be glad my doubts were resolved."

"The first of these arose from what St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, who, speaking of the body and blood of Christ, calls it bread after consecration.

"The second, from a passage out of Origen, who, speaking of this sacrament, saith, that the material part thereof goeth down to the excrements.

"The third is out of Theodoret, who, speaking of the sacramental elements, after consecration, affirmeth, that they go not out of their former substance, form, and shape. These, among several others, are the doubts I require to be resolved."

Dr. Moreman, who was appointed by the prolocutor, then

began with observing, that the sacrament is called by St. Paul bread indeed, by which he meant the form of bread; but Mr. Cheyney alleged, that Hesychius called the sacrament both bread and flesh. "Yes," said Moreman, "he calleth it bread, because it was bread, not because it is so." Then, passing over Origen, he said, "that men mistook the authority of Theodoret, by interpreting a general into a special, as Peter Martyr had done, taking the Greek word, that signifies substance, in its special signification; whereas, in the general, it may be applied to accidents as well as substance; and therefore," said he, "I answer Theodoret thus, that sacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former substance, form, and shape, that is, not out of their accidental substance and shape."

After this Mr. Cheyney sat down, when Mr. Elmar arose, declaring, that Moreman's answer to Theodoret was only a mere subtle evasion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning; for if the Greek word, that signifies substance, should, in the passage in question, be taken for accident, then it was a superfluous word, especially where there are other two other Greek words, which sufficiently expound the accidents of the bread; and he proved out of the same author, by divers allegations, that the Greek word that signified substance in Theodoret, could not be so generally taken in that place; but Moreman still endeavoured to maintain, that the Greek word, signifying substance, must needs mean accidental substance properly. To whose obstinacy, since he could obtain no better proof, Elmar forbore to say more.

On Wednesday, October 25, Mr. John Philpot was prepared to enter upon the disputation, having intended first to make an oration in Latin; which being known by the prolocutor, he forbad him to make any declaration or oration in Latin, but to deliver his arguments in English.

"You have much disappointed me," said Philpot, "thus suddenly to go from your former order; but I will obey, leaving mine oration apart, and come to my arguments, which, as well as so sudden a warning may serve, I will make in English. But first I will in one word declare what manner of presence I disallow in the sacrament, in order that the hearers may the better understand to what end mine arguments shall tend. I do not utterly deny the presence of Christ in his sacrament, truly ministered according to his institution, but only that gross and carnal presence, which you of this house have already subscribed unto, to be in the sacrament of the altar, namely, that by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's natural body should, in virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread

and wine. This kind of presence, founded on the errors of men, I do deny, and against this I will reason."

Before, however, he could end his speech, he was interrupted by the prolocutor, and commanded to shorten his argument. "I intend it," said Philpot, "if you will let me alone; but first I must ask a question of my respondent, Dr. Chedsey, concerning a word or two of your supposition, that is, of the sacrament of the altar, what he meaneth thereby." Dr. Chedsey answered, that in their supposition they took the sacrament of the altar, and the sacrament of the mass, to be all one. Then said Mr. Philpot, "to be short, I say, that the sacrament of the mass, which ye reckon to be all one with that of the altar, once justly abolished, but now put in full force again, is no sacrament, neither is Christ in any manner present in it;" and this he offered to prove before the queen, the council, or before six of the most learned men of that house, of a contrary opinion, and refused none. "If," said he, "I shall not be able, by God's word, to maintain what I have asserted, and confound those six who shall withstand me in this point, let me be burned with as many faggots as can be found in London, before the court gate." This he spake with the utmost zeal and courage.

Mr. Weston, and others, now taunted and reproved him, for speaking so indecently against the sacrament of the mass. The first told him he was mad, and threatened to send him to prison.

Mr. Philpot, hearing himself abused, and denied the freedom of speech, exclaimed, casting his eyes towards heaven, "O Lord! what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word cannot be spoken and endured!" And while he said these words the tears trickled from his eyes.

The prolocutor being urged by some that were about him, consented that he should be allowed an argument, provided he would be brief. "I will be as short," said Philpot, "as I conveniently can. And, first, I will lay the foundation of my arguments upon the authority of Scripture, whereon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; after which, I intend to confirm the same by the ancient fathers of the church. My first argument is drawn from the 28th chapter of St. Matthew, in which the angel says to Mary who sought for Christ at the sepulchre, "He is risen, he is not here;" and again, St. Luke, chapter 23d, the angel asketh them, "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" In which places the Scripture testifieth, that Christ was risen, ascended into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of the Father, all which is spoken of his natural body, therefore it cannot be on earth included in the sacrament. I will further confirm this from the 16th of St. John, where Christ saith, "I came from my Father into the world, and now I leave

the world and go to my Father;" which going he meant of his natural body; therefore we may conclude, that it is not found in the world, nor can be in the sacrament. I expect here to be opposed with a blind distinction; that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but remaineth invisibly in the sacrament; but that no such idle distinction can take away the force of truth, will appear from the answer which Christ's disciples returned, saying, "Now thou speakest plainly, and utterest no proverb;" which word St. Cyril interpreting, saith, that our Saviour spake without ambiguity, or figure of speech; from whence I conclude, that if Christ spake plainly, and without parable, then that obscure, dark, and imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body remaining in the sacrament invisibly upon earth, contrary to his own plain words, ought not to be allowed; for nothing can be more uncertain, parabolical, and absurd, than so to say. I will now give attention to your answer, and then confirm what I have said by ancient writers."

Dr. Chedsey now took upon him to answer every part progressively. First, to the saying of the angel, "That Christ is not here;" and, "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" He answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament, but that they were spoken of Christ's body being in the sepulchre, when the two Marys thought him to have been in the grave still; and therefore the angel said, "Why do ye seek him that liveth, among the dead?" And to the authority of St. John, where Christ saith, "Now I leave the world and go to my Father;" he meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did Cyril, interpreting the saying of the disciples, who knew that Christ would visibly ascend into heaven; but that doth not exclude the invisible presence of his natural body in the sacrament. For St. Chrysostom, writing to the people of Antioch, affirms the same, comparing Elias and Christ together, and Elias's cloak, and Christ's flesh.—"When Elias," saith he, "was taken up in the fiery chariot, he left his cloak behind him unto his disciple Elisæus. But Christ, ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him." From whence we may justly conclude, that Christ's flesh is visibly ascended into heaven, yet abideth invisibly in the sacrament of the altar.

Philpot replied, "You have not directly answered to the words of the angel, "Christ is risen, and is not here;" because you have omitted that which was the chief point. For, I proceed further, as thus, He is risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; therefore he is not remaining on earth. Neither is your explication of Cyril sufficient. But I will presently return to your interpretation of Cyril, and plainly declare

it, after I have refuted the authority of Chrysostom, which is one of the chief principles that you adduce to support your carnal presence in the sacrament, which, being well understood, pertaineth nothing thereunto."

The prolocutor, at this, started with impatience to think that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overthrown. He therefore recited the said authority in Latin, and afterwards turned it into English, calling the attention of all present to remark that saying of Chrysostom, which he thought invincible on their side. "But I will make it appear," said Philpot, "that it makes little for your purpose, for I have two objections to propose; one drawn from Scripture, the other from the very place of Chrysostom himself.

"First, where he seemeth to say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left his flesh also behind him, it is true; for the flesh Christ took with him was that which he received from the Virgin Mary, and the flesh he left behind him was the members of his visible church, as St. Paul aptly testified when he says, Eph. v. "We are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones." And if any one will reply, that he there treats of the sacrament, and that this interpretation cannot so properly be applied to him in that place, then I will explain St. Chrysostom another way also by himself; for, a few lines before those now quoted, he says, "That Christ, after he ascended into heaven, left to us, endued with his sacraments, his flesh in mysteries, that is, sacramentally; and that mystical flesh Christ leaveth as well to his church in the sacrament of baptism, as in the sacramental bread and wine." "As many," saith St. Paul, "as are baptised in Christ, have put on Christ." Hence you may perceive, that St. Chrysostom, when rightly understood, affords no support to your gross carnal presence in the sacrament."

Night now approaching, and the time being expired, the prolocutor ordered an adjournment. He praised them for their learning, but observed that, all reasonings set apart, the order of the holy church must be received, and all things ordered thereby.

The fifth day's debate was opened on Friday, October 27. The prolocutor began with observing, that the convocation had spent two days in disputing about one father, which was Theodoret, and about one Greek word, (ϰσία) and now they were assembled to answer all things that could be objected; therefore, he desired they would shortly propound their arguments.

Upon this, Mr. Haddon, dean of Exeter, requested leave to oppose Mr. Watson, who, with Morgan and Harpsfield, were appointed to answer him. Mr. Haddon then demanded, if any substance of bread and wine remained after consecration? To

which Watson replied, by asking another question, namely, whether he thought there was a real presence of Christ's body, or not? Mr. Haddon said, it was a breach of order, that one who was appointed respondent should be opponent; nor should he, whose business was to object, answer. Mr. Haddon then proceeded to shew, from the words of Theodoret, that the substance of bread and wine remained; for his words are, "The same they were before the consecration, which they are after." Mr. Watson said, that Theodoret meant not the same substance, but the same essence. On this they were driven again to a discussion of the Greek word above-mentioned; and Mr. Haddon proved it to mean a substance, both by its etymology, and by the words of Theodoret. He then asked Watson, when the bread and wine became symbols? Watson answered, "After consecration, and not before." Then Mr. Haddon raised out of his author the following syllogism:

(1.) Theodoret saith, that the same thing the bread and wine were, before they were symbols, the same they still remain, in nature and substance, after they are symbols.

(2.) Bread and wine they were before.

(3.) Therefore bread and wine they are after.

Mr. Cheyney, addressing himself particularly to Mr. Watson, began after this manner:

"You said that Mr. Haddon was not fit to dispute, because he had not granted the natural and real presence, but you are much less fit to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament." Watson said, that he had subscribed to the real presence, and should not go from that. He now explained what he meant by subscribing to the real presence, far otherwise than they supposed. He then prosecuted Haddon's argument, proving that the Greek word before discussed was a substance, using the same reason that Haddon did: and when he had received the same answer that was made to Haddon, he told them it was but a poor refuge, when they could not answer, to deny the author, and proved the author to be a catholic doctor; that being proved, he further confirmed what was said of the nature and substance.

The prolocutor, perceiving that Mr. Watson was closely attacked, called upon Mr. Morgan to help him out, who said, "that Theodoret did no more than what was justifiable; for, first, he granted the truth, and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the faith, he spake mystically; he granted the truth, by calling the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ; after which he seems to give somewhat to the senses and to reason: but that Theodoret was of the same opinion with them, will appear from his words that follow, which are the

cause of what went before; therefore he says, the immortality, &c. whereby it appears, that he meant the divine, and not the human, nature."

Watson now said, "Suppose Theodoret be on your side, he is but one; and what is one against the consent of the whole church?" Cheyney affirmed, that not only Theodoret was of his opinion, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, but many others also, particularly Irenæus, who, making mention of this sacrament, says, "When the cup, which is mingled with wine, and the bread that is broken, do receive the word of God, it is made the eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by which the substance of our flesh is nourished, and doth consist;" from whence I infer, that if the thanksgiving doth nourish our body, then there is some substance besides Christ's body." To this both Watson and Morgan replied, observing, that the words, "by which," in that sentence of Irenæus, was to be referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Christ, and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread which is broken. Mr. Cheyney said, "that it was not the body of Christ which nourisheth our bodies; and granting that the body of Christ which nourisheth to immortality, yet it doth not make for their argument, although it might be true, no more than that answer which was made to my allegation out of St. Paul, 'the bread which we break, &c. with many others;' whereunto you answered, that bread was not to be taken there in its proper signification, that is, not for that it *is* bread, but for that it *had been* so, any more than the rod of Aaron was taken for a serpent, because it had been a serpent." After this, Mr. Cheyney quoted Hesychius, and used the same reason that he did concerning the burning of symbols, and asked them, what it was that was burnt? whence came those ashes, if not from substance? or can any substance arise from accidents?

Here Mr. Harpsfield was called to the assistance of Watson, and began with a fair preamble about the omnipotency of God, and the weakness of human reason, as to the comprehension and attainment of religious matters; observing, that whatsoever we saw, or tasted, it was not convenient to trust our senses. (The very pith and marrow of popery this.) He also related a curious legend out of St. Cyprian, how a woman saw the sacrament burning in her coffer; "and that which burned thus," said Harpsfield, "burneth here, and becometh ashes; but what that was which burnt he could not tell." Mr. Cheyney continued still to force them with this question, What was it that was burnt? "It was either," said he, "the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of Christ," which was too great an

absurdity to grant. At length they answered, it was a miracle. At this Mr. Cheyney, smiling, said, "that he would then proceed no further."

Dr. Weston now asked the company, whether those men had not been sufficiently answered? Certain priests said, Yes; but the multitude exclaimed, No, no! Whereat Dr. Weston answered sharply, that he asked not the judgment of the rude multitude, but such as were members of that house. He then demanded of Mr. Haddon, and his fellow-disputants, whether they would answer them other three days? Mr. Haddon, Cheyney, and Elmar, replied, No; upon which the archdeacon of Winchester, Mr. Philpot, said, they should be answered; and though all others refused to answer, yet he would not; but offered to answer them all in turns. The prolocutor abused him, saying, that he should go to Bedlam: to whom the archdeacon seriously answered, that he himself was much more suited to the place.

On October 30, the prolocutor, addressing himself to Mr. Philpot, demanded, whether, in the questions before propounded, he would answer their objections? Mr. Philpot returned, that if they would answer but one of his arguments sufficiently, he would reply to all the objections they could bring. The prolocutor then bid him state his argument, and it should be resolutely controverted by some of them. Mr. Philpot then proceeded: "On Wednesday last, I was compelled to silence before I had prosecuted half my argument, the sum of which was, that the human body of Christ was ascended into heaven, and placed at the right hand of God the Father; wherefore, after the imagination of man, it could not be situated upon earth invisibly in the sacrament of the altar. For,

(1.) "One self-same nature receiveth not in itself any thing that is contrary to itself.

(2.) "But the body of Christ is human nature, distinct from the Deity, and is a proper nature of itself.

(3.) "Therefore it cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from itself.

"But to be bodily present, and to be bodily absent, to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one time, are things incompatible with the nature of an human body. Therefore, it cannot be said of the human body of Christ, that the self-same body is both in heaven and on the earth at one instant, either visibly or invisibly. Morgan objected to the first part of the argument, which Philpot supported out of Vigilius, an ancient writer; nevertheless, Morgan cavilled still, and said it was no Scripture, and desired him to prove the same from thence; upon which

Philpot quoted St. Paul, who says, that "Christ is made like unto us in all points, except sin;" therefore, as one of our bodies cannot receive in itself any thing contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in St. Paul's church, and at Westminster abbey, in one instant; or to be at London visibly, and at Lincoln visibly, at one time; even so the body of Christ cannot be in more places than one, which is heaven, and consequently, is not included or contained in the sacrament of the altar."

Thus they did reason *pro* and *con*, till at length, about the 13th of December, queen Mary interfered, and sending to Bonner, bishop of London, commanded him to dissolve the convocation.

December, 1553. About the beginning of this month the parliament broke up, having first repealed all such statutes as concerned any alteration of religion, and administration of the sacraments, in the reign of Edward VI. And in this session the parliament were acquainted with the queen's intended marriage with Philip, the emperor's son. In the mean time, Cardinal Pool, having been sent for by Mary, was requested by the emperor to stay with him, to the intent (as some think) that his presence in England should not be a bar to the marriage between his son and the queen, to accomplish which he sent a most splendid embassy, with full power; which had such good success, that, after a few days, the marriage between Mary and Philip was agreed upon.

The first month of 1554, commenced with persecution. Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet, for preaching without license, on Christmas-day; and Thomas Wotton, Esq. on account of religion.

The publication of the queen's intended marriage was very ill received by the people and several of the nobility. It was now resolved to proceed against lady Jane Grey and her husband; she had lived six months in the daily meditations of death, so she was not much surprised at it. Frecknam, who was sent to prepare her for death, acknowledged that he was astonished at her calm behaviour, her great knowledge, and the extraordinary sense she had of religion. The following is part of their conversation:—

Fecknam. Madam, I lament your heavy case, and yet I doubt not, but that you bear this sorrow of your's with a constant and patient mind.

Jane. You are welcome unto me, Sir, if your coming be to give christian exhortation. And as for my heavy case, I thank God, I do so little lament it, that I account the same a more manifest declaration of God's favour towards me, than ever he shewed me at any time before. Therefore, there is no cause why

either you, or others which bear me good will, should lament a thing so profitable for my soul's health.

Fecknam. I am come to you at this time, from the queen and her council, to instruct you in the right faith: although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travel with you much therein.

Jane. Forsooth, I heartily thank the queen's highness, who is not unmindful of her humble subject: and I hope likewise, that you will no less do your duty therein, truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for.

Fecknam. What is then required of a christian man?

Jane. That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; three Persons and one God.

Fecknam. What, is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a christian, but to believe in him?

Jane. Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself.

Fecknam. Why then, faith neither justifieth, nor saveth.

Jane. Yes verily, faith, as St. Paul saith, alone justifieth.

Fecknam. But St. Paul saith, if I have all faith without love, it is nothing.

Jane. True it is; for how can I love him whom I trust not? Or how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Fecknam. How many sacraments are there?

Jane. Two. The one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

Fecknam. There are seven sacraments.

Jane. By what scripture find you that?

Fecknam. Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?

Jane. By the sacrament of baptism, I am washed with water, which is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, which is a token to me that I am a child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's supper offered unto me, and received in faith, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made an heir of the everlasting kingdom.

Fecknam. Why, what do you receive in that sacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?

Jane. No, surely, I believe not so. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine; which bread when broken, and which wine when drank, putteth me in remembrance, that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross, and with that bread and wine,

I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood.

Feckham. Why, doth not Christ speak these words, "Take, eat, this is my body?" Require you any plainer words? Doth he not say it is his body?

Thus vainly did he strive to pervert her faith. They reasoned at great length; but she, being built upon a sure foundation, remained proof against all his sophistry and error.

The following are among the letters written by this accomplished young lady during her confinement, and which would do honour to a father of the church.

"To Mr. Harding.*

"So oft as I call to mind the dreadful saying of God, 'That he which layeth hold upon the plough and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of heaven;' and, on the other side, the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that, forsaking themselves, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, which seemed sometime to be the lively member of Christ, but now a stranger and apostate; sometime a stout christian soldier, but now a cowardly run-a-way. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee, 'thou seed of Satan and not of Judah, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and the desire of life subverted, and made thee, of a christian, an infidel.' Wherefore hast thou taken the testament of the Lord in thy mouth? Wherefore hast thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherefore hast thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself doth so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abuse the testament and law of the Lord? Why dost thou now shew thyself most weak, when indeed thou oughtest to be most strong? The strength of a fort is unknown before the assault, but thou yieldest thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou but dust and ashes? And wilt thou resist thy Maker that fashioned and framed thee? Wilt thou now forsake him that called thee from the custom-gathering among the Romish antichristians, to be an ambassador and messenger of his eternal word? He that first framed thee, and since thy first creation and birth preserved thee, nourished and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge, shall he not now possess thee? Darest thou deliver up thyself to another, being not thine own, but his? How canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men;

* He was formerly chaplain to her father, but preferring this world to the next, and the praise of men to the praise of God, he turned Roman catholic. This letter is a solemn warning to backsliders of all sorts.

and, whereas thou hast been a public professor of his name become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romish religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass? Dost thou so regard him that spared not his dear and only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour due unto him to the idols, which have mouths and speak not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not; which shall perish with them that made them?

"'Confounded be all they that worship them.' They were warned by Jeremiah, and thou as Jeremiah hast warned others, and art warned thyself by many scriptures in many places. God saith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worship, given to him only. And Christ saith in the fourth of Matthew, to Satan which tempted him, even to the same Beelzebub, the same devil which hath prevailed against thee: 'It is written, thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.'

"These and such like do prohibit thee and all christians to worship any other God, than that which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth; and wilt thou honour a detestable idol, invented by Romish popes, and the abominable college of crafty cardinals? Christ offered up himself once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure? But thou wilt say, thou doest it for a good intent. O sink of sin! O child of perdition! Dost thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conscience beareth thee witness of God's threatened wrath against thee? How did Saul? who, although he disobeyed the word of the Lord for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal kingdom. Shalt thou then, that dost deface God's honour, and rob him of his right, inherit the eternal and heavenly kingdom? Wilt thou for a good intent dishonour God, offend thy brother, and danger thy soul, for which Christ has shed his most precious blood? Wilt thou, either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy infirmity, and yields to thee his victory, if thou couldst have kept it? Dost thou not consider, that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can either twine it harder to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not then remember the saying of David, a notable king, to teach thee a miserable wretch, in his 40th Psalm, where he saith thus: 'When thou takest away thy Spirit, O Lord, from men, they die and are turned again to their dust: but when thou lettest thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew

the face of the earth.' Remember the saying of Christ in his gospel, 'Whosoever seeketh to save his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life, for my sake, shall find it.'

"Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that such shall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Christ, which setting more by the world than by heaven, more by their life than by him that gave them life, did shrink, yea did clean fall away upon him that forsook not them: and contrariwise, the inestimable joys prepared, for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought and victoriously triumphed over all the powers of darkness, over hell, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted captain, Christ. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen."

"To the Lady Catherine.*

"*Good Lady Catherine,*

"I have here sent you a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly is more worth than precious stones. It is the book (dear sister) of the law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches; which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy: and, if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It shall teach you to live, and learn you to die. It shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woeful father's lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands; so if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David, good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God. 'Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life. And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon (if God call) goeth the young as the old; and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not: be strong in faith, and yet presume not; and desire with St. Paul to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil servant

* This letter was written the night before her execution, at the end of a Greek New Testament, which she sent as her last present.

found sleeping; and lest for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women, and like him that had not on the wedding-garment, and then ye be cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your master Christ, and take up your cross; lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, (good sister) that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured, that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and send you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true christian faith, from the which (in God's name) I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth, to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and shorten your days. And if you cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your comfort and his glory: to which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you."

She was at first much affected when she saw her husband led out to execution, but recovered herself, when she considered how soon she was to follow him: and when he desired they might take leave of one another, she declined it; for she thought it would increase their grief. She now continued so perfectly calm, that when she saw the lifeless body of her husband conveyed to the chapel in the Tower, she expressed no emotion thereat.

On mounting the scaffold, she addressed the spectators thus: "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen's highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me; but touching the procurement and desire thereof by me or on my behalf, I do wash my hands in innocency before God, and the face of you, good christian people, this day. I pray you all to bear me witness that I die a true christian woman, and that I do look to be saved by no other means, but only by the mercy of God through the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ: and I confess, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, loved myself and the world, and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins: and yet I thank God that of his goodness he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent: and now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers." Then kneeling down, she turned to Fecknam, saying, "Shall I say this psalm?" and he said, "Yea." Then she repeated the psalm of *Miserere mei Deus*, in English, in a most devout manner to the end. She then stood up, and gave her maid her gloves and

handkerchief, and her book to Mr. Bruges. After this, she untied her gown, in which, the executioner pressed upon her to help her, but she desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and also with her neckerchief, giving to her a fair hankerchief to bind round her eyes.

Then the executioner kneeled down, and asked her forgiveness, which she willingly granted. He then desired her to stand upon the straw, which doing, she saw the block; on which she said, "I pray you despatch me quickly.' She then kneeled, saying, "Will you take it off before I lay me down?" the executioner said, "No, madam." She then tied the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, "What shall I do? Where is it? Where is it?" One of the standers by guiding her thereunto, she laid her head down upon it, and then stretching forth her body, said, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and so finished her life, in the year of our Lord 1554, the 12th day of February, about the 17th year of her age.

Her death was as much lamented, as her life had been admired. It affected judge Morgan, that had pronounced the sentence, so much, that he ran mad, and thought she still followed him. The queen herself was troubled at it; for it was rather reason of state, than private resentment, that set her on to it.

Injunctions were now given to the bishops, to execute such ecclesiastical laws as had been in force in king Henry's time: that in their courts they should proceed in their own names; that the oath of supremacy should be no more exacted; none suspected of heresy was to be put in orders; they were required to suppress heresy and heretics, and to turn out all married clergymen, and to separate them from their wives. If they left their wives, they might put them in some other cure, or reserve a pension for them, out of their livings: none that had vowed chastity, was to be suffered to live with his wife: those who were ordained by the book, set out in king Edward's time, were to be confirmed by all the other rites then left out, and that was declared to be no valid ordination.

The queen gave also a special commission to Bonner, Gardiner, Tonstall, Day, and Kitchin, to proceed against the archbishop of York, and the bishops of St. David's, Chester, and Bristol, and to deprive them of their bishoprics, for having contracted marriage, and thereby having broken their vows, and defiled their function. She also authorised them to call before them the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Hereford, who held their bishoprics only during their good behaviour; and since they had

done things contrary to the laws of God, and the practice of the universal church, to declare their bishoprics void, as they were indeed already void. And thus were seven of the reformed bishops discharged at a dash.

In April, 1554, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, some time bishop of Worcester, were conveyed, as prisoners, from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to the university of Oxford, to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, concerning the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacrament. The doctors of the university, and graduates, appointed to dispute against them, were, of Oxford, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pie, Mr. Harpsfield, and Mr. Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Dr. Young, vice-chancellor; Dr. Glin, Dr. Seaton, Dr. Watson, Dr. Sedgewick, Dr. Atkinson, &c. The questions of dispute were:—

1. Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament after the words spoken by the priest or not?

2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ?

3. Whether in the mass there be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead?

On the 13th of April the doctors of Cambridge arrived at Oxford, and were welcomed by Dr. Crooke, Mr. Pie, and Fecknam. Then after consultation concerning the delivery of their letters and instruments of grace, they all repaired to Lincoln college to Dr. Weston the prolocutor, and to Dr. Tresham the vice-chancellor, to whom they delivered their letters, declaring what they had done touching the articles and graces. The same day, the three prisoners were separated, Dr. Ridley, to the house of Mr. Irish, Mr. Latimer to another, while Dr. Cranmer remained in Bocardo, a prison in Oxford.

On April 14, at eight o'clock, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of the same university, again repairing to Lincoln college, found the prolocutor above in the chapel, with a company of the house singing mass for the dead, and tarried there until the end.

They now all came into the quire of St. Mary's, and there held the convocation of the university; the mass of the Holy Ghost was solemnly sung before them by the quire-men of Christ's church; mass being done, they went in procession to Lincoln college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beadles, Mr. Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they all went again to St. Mary's church; where, shortly

after, all the commissioners arrived, and sat on seats before the altar, to the number of thirty-three persons: Dr. Cranmer was then sent for, and, shortly after, introduced by a number of trusty bill-men.

The reverend archbishop paid his respects to them with much humility, standing with his staff in his hand, and notwithstanding having a stool offered him, refused to sit.

The articles were now read before him, and a copy of them delivered to him, after which he was given in charge to the mayor, and remanded to prison.

Dr. Ridley was next brought in, who, hearing the articles read to him, immediately replied, they were all false; and said farther, that they sprang from a bitter and sour root.

He was then asked whether he would dispute or not. He answered, that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth; but he required time and books. They said he could not, and that he should dispute on Thursday, till when he should have books. He said it was unreasonable that he might not have his own books and time also. Then they gave him the articles, and desired him to write his opinion upon them that night: after which they commanded the mayor to take him from whence he came.

Last of all was brought in Mr. Latimer, with a handkerchief and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, and was set in a chair. After his denial of the articles, when he had appointed Wednesday for disputation, he alleged age, sickness, disuse, and lack of books, saying, that he was almost as meet to dispute, as to be a captain of Calais: but he would, he said, declare his mind either by writing or word, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back; complaining, moreover, that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but only the New Testament there, in his hand, which he said he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the mass in it, neither the marrow-bones nor sinews of the same. At this the commissioners were not a little offended: and Dr. Weston said, that he would make him grant, that it had both marrow-bones and sinews in the New Testament.—"That you will never do, Mr. Doctor," replied the faithful old soldier of Christ. And so forthwith they put him to silence; so that when he was desirous to tell what he meant by those terms, he could not be suffered. There was so great a press and throng of people, that one of the beadles swooned in consequence of the heat. They then adjourned.

At nine o'clock, on Sunday morning, Mr. Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's, the university church, where divers o fthe doctors,

in their robes, were placed in due order of precedency. After sermon, they all dined at Magdalen college, and supped at Lincoln college, with Dr. Weston; whither Dr. Cranmer sent his answer upon the articles in writing.

On Monday, Dr. Weston, with all the residue of the visitors, censors, and opponents, repairing to the divinity school, each installed himself in his place. Dr. Cranmer was brought thither, and set in the answerer's place, with the mayor and aldermen by him; when the prolocutor, apparelled in a scarlet gown, after the custom of the university, began with this oration:

"You are assembled hither, brethren, this day to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the sacrament," &c. At which words several of the learned men burst out into a great laughter, as though, even in the entrance of the disputation, he had betrayed himself and his religion, by terming the opinion of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament a detestable heresy. The rest of his oration tended to prove, that it was not lawful, by God's Word, to call these questions into controversy; for such as doubted of the words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God. On this Dr. Cranmer, desiring leave, answered:

"We are assembled," said he, "to discuss and to lay before the world, those doubtful points which ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is, indeed, no reason that we should dispute of that which is determined upon before the truth be tried. But if these questions be not called into controversy, surely my answer then is looked for in vain."

Then Chedsey, the first opponent, began: "Rev. Mr. Doctor, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at present to dispute upon:

"They are the arguments on which our present controversy rests. Now to the end we might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof. I term it your opinion, in that it disagreeth from the catholic. Wherefore, I argue, Christ, when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples, "Take, eat, this is my body which shall be given for you."

"But this true body was given for us.

"Ergo, His true body is in the sacrament."

Cran. His true body is truly present to them that truly receive him; namely, spiritually. And so it is taken in a spiritual sense. For when he said, "This is my body," it is as if he had said, "This is the breaking of my body, this is the shedding of my blood." As often as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shed-

ding of my blood; that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily.

Ched. Your opinion differeth from the church, which saith, that the true body is in the sacrament.

Ergo, Your opinion therein is false.

Cran. I say and agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual.

Dr. Cranmer then observed, that, to prevent loss of time, he would request the prolocutor to read to the court the following opinions he had written upon the three propositions.

Dr. Cranmer's Explication.

In the assertions of the church and of religion, trifling and new-fangled novelties of words are to be eschewed, whereof ariseth nothing but contention; and we must follow, as much as we can, the manner of speaking the Scripture.

In the first conclusion, if ye understand by this word *really, re ipsa*, that is, in very deed and effectually; so Christ, by the grace and efficacy of his passion, is indeed and truly present to all true and holy members.

But if ye understand by this word *really, corporaliter*, that is, corporeally; so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural and organical substance, the first proposition doth vary, not only from the usual phrase of Scripture, but also is contrary to the Holy Word of God, and Christian profession: since both the Scripture doth testify by these words, and also the catholic church hath professed from the beginning, that Christ has left the world, and sits at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgment.

I answer likewise to the second question, that it swerveth from the accustomed manner and speech of Scripture.

The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of Scripture, so as the words thereof seem to import no open sense, is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious blood, which, upon the altar of the cross, is the only sacrifice and oblation for the sins of all mankind.

Chedsey then said, "By this interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, I understand, that the body of Christ is to be in the sacrament only by the way of participation: insomuch, as we, communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Christ; by which you mean only the effect thereof.

But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only.

Cran. I grant he said it was his body which should be given, but he said it was not his body which is here contained, but the body that shall be given for you. As though he should say, "This bread is the breaking of my body, and this cup is the shedding of my blood." What will ye say then? Is the bread the breaking of his body, and the cup the shedding of his blood really? If you say so, I deny it.

Ched. If you ask what is the thing therein contained; because his apostles should not doubt what body it was that should be given, he saith, "This is my body which shall be given for you, and my blood which shall be shed for many." Ergo, Here is the same substance of the body, which the day after was given, and the same blood which was shed. And here I urge the Scripture, which teacheth that it was no phantastical, no feigned, no spiritual body, nor body in faith, but the substance of the body.

Mr. Chedsey having finished his argument, Dr. Oglethorpe, who sat as one of the arbitrators, said:—You still come in with one evasion or starting hole to flee to. He urgeth the Scriptures, saying, that Christ gave his very body. You say, that he gave his body in bread. *Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis est corpus? qualis est prædicatio? panis est corpus.*

Cran. You should say, *Quale corpus.* I answer to the question: it is the same body which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, ascended; but tropically, and by a figure. And so I say, *Panis est corpus*, is a figurative speech, speaking sacramentally, for it is a sacrament of his body.

Ogle. It is not a likely thing that Christ hath less care for his spouse the church, than a wise householder hath for his family in making his will or testament. But no householder maketh his testament after that sort.

Cran. Yes; there are many that do so. For what matter is it so it be understood and perceived; I say, Christ used figurative speech in no place more than in his sacraments, and especially in this of his supper.

West. What miracle is it if it be not his body, and if he spake only of the sacrament, as though it were his body? But hear what Chrysostom farther saith, "I shew forth that thing on earth unto thee, which is worthy the greatest honour. For like as in the palace of kings, neither the walls, nor the sumptuous bed, but the body of kings sitting under the cloth of estate, and royal seat of majesty, is of all things else the most excellent: so is in like manner the king's body in heaven, which is now set before us on earth. I shew thee neither angels nor archangels, nor the hea-

ven of heavens, but the very Lord and Master of all these things. Thou perceivest after what sort thou dost not only behold, but touchest, and not only touchest, but eatest that which on the earth is the greatest and chiefest thing of all other, and when thou hast received the same, thou goest home; wherefore, cleanse thy soul from all uncleanness." Upon this I conclude, that the body of Christ so shewed us is upon the earth.

Cran. What! upon the earth? He is seen here with the eyes of our mind only, with faith and spirit.*

Weston now called upon Dr. Cranmer to answer one part, bidding him repeat his words; which when he essayed to do, such was the uproar in the divinity school, that his mild voice could not be heard. For when he went about to explain to the people that the prolocutor did not correctly English the words of Chrysostom, using for *ostenditur in terra*, "he is shewed forth on the earth," *est in terra*, "he is on the earth," whereas Chrysostom hath not *est*, nor any such word implying being on the earth, but only of shewing, as the grace of the Holy Ghost, *in baptismo ostenditur*, "is shewed forth in baptism;" and oftentimes he did inculcate this word *ostenditur*. Here the prolocutor rudely interrupted him, and, substituting noise and insolence for argument, called him unlearned and impudent, at the same time pointing at him scornfully, urged the people to silence him with hissing, clapping of hands, and other species of tumult, which this reverend man most patiently and meekly did abide, as one inured to the suffering of such reproaches. And when the prolocutor, with rude and unseemly demeanor, did call upon him to answer the argument, he desired the notary to repeat his words again.

West. Ostendo tibi, "I shew to thee," saith Chrysostom, not to thy faith.

Cran. He speaketh sacramentally.

West. Therefore Chrysostom lieth; for he saith, "I, Chrysostom, do shew;"† but he can shew nothing sacramentally.

* How evident it is, that Christ meant the sacrament to be received only in a spiritual sense. In St. John vi. verse 47, he saith, "Verily I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath everlasting life—I am that bread of life." Verse 57, "This is that bread that *came down from heaven*." Now his human nature never came down from heaven, consequently he can only speak spiritually; but to exclude all doubt, in verse 63, he saith, "It is the spirit that quickeneth (the Roman Catholics say, it is the flesh,) the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." The whole chapter, calmly considered, clearly proves, that the Lord was using to the Jews a strong figure of speech, which none but those hardened by sin, and darkened by ignorance, could mistake or pervert.

† The reader will doubtless be amazed to see the low unblushing sophistry of this man, into which nothing but the most degenerate thirst of power and worldly interest could have seduced him; for in the most common and familiar conversations, this form of speech is daily used—when we speak of shewing, as present, things that are absent, or, as substantial, things that are immaterial.

Ched. By force of argument we are brought to this point, that the body of Christ is proved to be on earth, not only sacramentally, but in very deed also, by this reason, that it is worthy of highest honour. The reason is indissoluble.

Cran. I never heard a more vain argument, and it is most vain; also it hath my answer unto it.

Cran. The soul is fed with the body of Christ, the body with the sacrament.

Ched. Is the soul fed with the body of Christ, and not with the sacrament?

Cran. Read that which followeth, and you shall perceive, that by things external, an internal operation is understood. Inwardly we eat Christ's body, and outwardly we eat the sacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, another inwardly. Like as in baptism, the external element, whereby the body is washed, is one; the internal thing, whereby the soul is cleansed, is another.

Young. This disputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appear. I perceive that I must go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common saying, against those who deny principles, we must not dispute; therefore, that we may agree on the principles, I demand, whether there be any other body of Christ, than his instrumental body?

Cran. There is no natural body of Christ, but his organical body.

Young. Again I demand, whether sense and reason ought to give place to faith?

Cran. They ought.

Young. Thirdly, whether Christ be true in all his words?

Cran. Yes, he is truth itself.

Young. I demand, whether Christ by these words wrought any thing, or not?

Cran. He did institute the sacrament.

Young. But answer, whether he did work any thing?

Cran. He did work in instituting the sacrament.

Young. Now I have you; for before you said, it was a figurative speech.

But a figure worketh nothing.

Therefore, it is not a figurative speech. A liar ought to have a good memory.

Cran. I understood your sophistry before. You, by working, understand converting into the body of Christ: but Christ wrought the sacrament, not in converting, but in instituting.

Young. Woe be to them who make Christ a deceiver. Did he work any other thing than he spake, or the self-same thing?

Cran. He wrought the sacrament, and by these words he signified the effect.

Young. A figurative speech is no working thing.

But the speech of Christ is working.

Therefore, it is not figurative.

Cran. It worketh by instituting, not by converting.

Young. The thing signified in the sacrament, is it not the sacrament?

Cran. It is. For the thing is ministered in a sign. He followeth the letter that taketh the thing for a sign. Augustine separateth the sacrament from the thing. "The sacrament," saith he, "is one, and the thing of the sacrament another."

West. Stick to this argument.

It is a figurative speech.

Therefore it worketh nothing.

Young. But the speech of Christ is a working thing.

Therefore, it is not figurative.

Cran. Oh, how many crafts are in this argument! they are mere fallacies; I said not, that the words of Christ do work, but Christ himself, and he worketh by a figurative speech.

Here this disorderly disputation terminated with an universal cry of *Vincit veritas;* the arguments written, and delivered into the hands of Mr. Say; and the prisoner, Dr. Cranmer, was again born away by the mayor, while the doctors dined sumptuously together at the university college.

On the following day, April 12, Dr. Ridley was brought forth to dispute, Dr. Smith being appointed his principal opponent. It may be proper to observe of Dr. Smith, that he had often changed his sentiments; but not from a conviction of conscience, as will appear from his articles by him recanted. The rest of his opponents were, Dr. Weston, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Glin, Dr. Seaton, Dr. Cole, Dr. Watson, Mr. Ward, Mr. Harpsfield, Mr. Pye, Mr. Harding, Mr. Curton, and Mr. Fecknam.

The prolocutor opened the court with the following speech:

"*Good Christian People and Brethren,*

"We have begun this day our school, by God's good speed I trust, and are entering into a controversy, whereof no question ought to be moved concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, which said the words. The words are true which he spake, yea, truth itself that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to send down unto us his Holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light that verity may appear. Let us also ask leave and liberty of the church to permit the truth received to be called this day in question without any prejudice to the same. Your parts thereof shall be to

implore the assistance of Almighty God, to pray for the prosperity of the queen's majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your question."

Dr. Smith. This day, right learned Mr. Doctor, three questions are propounded, whereof no controversy among Christians ought to be moved, to wit:

1. Whether the natural body of Christ our Saviour, &c.

Touching which questions, although you have publickly declared your judgment on Saturday last; yet I will again demand your answer on the first question; upon which I stand here now to learn what may be answered.

I received of you the other day, right worshipful Mr. Prolocutor, and you my reverend masters, commissioners from the queen's majesty and her honourable council, three propositions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to answer concerning the same.

Now whilst I weighed with myself how great a charge of the Lord's flock was of late committed unto me, for which I am certain I must once render an account to my Lord God, (and how soon he only knoweth) and that moreover, by the commandment of the apostle Peter, I ought to be ready always to give a reason of the hope that is in me, with meekness and reverence, unto every one that shall demand the same: besides this, considering my duty to the church of Christ, and to your worships, being commissioners by public authority; I determined with myself to obey your commandment, and so openly to declare unto you my mind touching the aforesaid propositions. And albeit, plainly to confess unto you the truth of these things ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record upon my soul, I lie not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any man, or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the truth revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly persuaded) in his Holy Word, and in the reading of the ancient fathers.

These things I do rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

But howsoever it shall be, I will, in a few words, do that which I think ye all expect I should; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgment herein. Howbeit, of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly speak in any point against God's Word, or dis-

sent in any one jot from the same, or from the rules of faith, or christian religion: which rules that same most sacred Word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit myself and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unprepared I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as also of books; therefore, here I protest, that I will publickly this day require of you that it may be lawful for me concerning all mine answers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminish whatsoever shall seem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose.

The First Proposition.

In the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word spoken by the priest, the natural body of Christ born of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood, is really present under the forms of bread and wine.

Bishop Ridley's Answer.

In matters appertaining to God, we may not speak according to the sense of man, nor of the world: therefore, this proposition or conclusion is framed after another manner of phrase, or kind of speech, than the Scripture useth. Again, it is very obscure and dark, by means of sundry words of doubtful signification. And being taken in the sense which the schoolmen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plainly contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness.

How far the diversity and newness of the phrase in all this first proposition is from the phrase of the Holy Scripture, and that in every part almost, it is so plain and evident to any one who is but meanly exercised in Holy Writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men) spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of me hereafter.

First, there is a double sense in these words, "By virtue of God's Word," for it is doubtful what word of God this is, whether it be that which is read in the evangelists, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangelists, or in St. Paul, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God's Word, and of such virtue that it should be able to work so great a matter.

Again, there is a doubt of these words, "of the priest," whether no man may be called a priest, but he which hath authority to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

It is likewise doubted, after what order the sacrificing priest

shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchisedek. For, as far as I know, the Holy Scriptures doth allow no more.

Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word *really*, whether it be taken as the logicians term it "*transcendenter*," that is, most generally, and so it may signify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Christ, by any means: after which sort we also grant Christ's body to be really in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (as in disputation, if occasion be given, shall be declared); or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken by the Word of God, into the unity of person. In which sense, seeing the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here on the earth. There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words *under the forms of bread and wine*, whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shews of bread and wine.

Now the error and falseness of the proposition, after the sense of the Roman church and schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and changed to the flesh assumed by the Word of God, and that (as they say) by virtue of the Word, which they have devised by a certain number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangelists, or in St. Paul, and so they gather that Christ's body is really contained in the sacrament of the altar. Which position is grounded upon the foundation of the transubstantiation; which foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the analogy or proportion of the sacraments: and therefore this psoposition also, which is built upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresy.

There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God, which dissenteth from the Scriptures, and which must consequently draw with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided.

But this doctrine of the first proposition is such.

Therefore, it ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God.

The major, or first part of my argument, is plain; and the minor, or second part, is proved thus:

The doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal presence of Christ's flesh, assumed and taken by the word, in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.

But such a presence disagreeth from God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities.

Therefore, the second part is true.

The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet farther be confirmed thus:

After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance, than the substance of God and man.

The second conclusion is manifestly false, being directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and also of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added before to the answer of the first proposition.

It is very plain by the word of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body.

But the substance of bread is another manner of substance, than is the substance of Christ's body, God and man.

Therefore the conclusion is false.

That which Christ took, on which he gave thanks, and which he brake, he gave to his disciples, and called it his body.

But he took bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread.

Therefore, the first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irene, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Jerom, Augustin, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede. Whose places I will take upon me to shew most manifest in this behalf, if I may be suffered to have my books, as my request is.

Bread is the body of Christ.

Therefore, it is bread.

As the bread of the Lord's table is Christ's natural body, so is his mystical body.

But it is not Christ's mystical body by transubstantiation.

Therefore, it is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

We may no more believe bread to be transubstantiate into the body of Christ, than the wine into his blood.

But the wine is not transubstantiate into his blood.

Therefore neither is that bread therefore transubstantiate into his body.

The words of Christ spoken upon the cup, and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

But the words spoken upon the cup have not virtue to transubstantiate.

Therefore, it followeth, that the words spoken upon the bread have no such virtue.

The circumstances of the scripture, the analogy and propor-

tion of the Sacraments, and the testimony of the faithful fathers, ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy scripture touching the sacrament.

But the words of the Lord's supper, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy of the sacraments, and the sayings of the fathers, do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lord's supper.

Therefore a figurative sense and meaning is specially to be received in these words, "This is my body."

The circumstances of the Scripture are, "Do this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lord's death. Let a man prove himself, and so eat of this bread and drink of this cup. They came together to break bread; and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break, &c. For we being many, are all one bread and one body," &c.

The Third Proposition.

In the mass is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitiatory and available for the sins as well of the quick as the dead.

I answer to this third proposition, as I did to the first. And moreover I say, that being taken in such a sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ.

Concerning the Romish mass which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the holy Scripture has not so much as one syllable.

No sacrifice ought to be done, but where the priest is meet to offer the same.

All other priests are unmeet to offer propitiatory sacrifices, save only Christ.

Therefore, no other priests ought to sacrifice for sin, but Christ alone. See Hebrews, chap. v.

The second part of my argument is thus proved.

No honour in God's church ought to be taken, where a man is not called, as Aaron was.

It is a great honour in God's church to sacrifice for sin.

Therefore, no other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sin, who only was called to that honour.

That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where there is no necessity it should be done.

To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, there is no necessity: for Christ our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all.

Therefore, to do the same in the mass, is vain.

After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same.

But Christ coming an high Priest, &c. found and obtained for us eternal redemption.

Therefore, there needeth now no more daily oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead.

All remission of sins cometh only by shedding of blood.

In the mass there is no shedding of blood.

Therefore, in the mass there is no remission of sins: and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatory sacrifice.

In the mass, the passion of Christ is not in verity, but in a mystery representing the same; yea, even there where the Lord's supper is duly ministered.

But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in verity: for the apostle saith, "Not that he might offer up himself often times (for then must he have suffered often times since the beginning of the world:") now where Christ is not offered, there is no propitiatory sacrifice.

Therefore, in the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice: "for Christ appeared once in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once die, and then cometh the judgment: even so Christ was once offered, to take away the sins of many. And unto them that look for him shall he appear again without sin unto salvation." See Heb. chap. ix.

Again, where there is any sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices.

But in the New Testament there is one only sacrifice now already long since offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever.

Therefore, in the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any propitiatory sacrifices.

Dr. Smith. You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Methinks, in your supposition, you did abuse the testimonies of Scripture concerning the ascension of Christ, to take away his presence in the sacrament, as though this were a strong argument in your favour.

Christ did ascend into heaven.

Ergo, He is not in the sacrament.

Now therefore I will go about to disprove this reason of your's.

Christ's ascension is no bar to his real presence in the sacrament.

Ergo, you are deceived, whereas you ground yourself upon those places.

Rid. You import as though I had made a strong argument of Christ's going up into heaven. But however my argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only rest upon his ascension, but upon his abiding there also.

Smith. It is lawful for Christ then to be here present on the earth, when he will himself.

Rid. Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed.

Smith. His ascending into heaven, doth not restrain his real presence in the sacrament.

Rid. I do not gainsay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he will; but prove you that he will.

Smith. Then your answer dependeth upon the will of Christ, I perceive; therefore I will join again with you in that short argument.

Christ, notwithstanding he doth always abide in heaven after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth.

Rid. If the notaries should so record your argument, as you have framed it, you peradventure would be ashamed of it hereafter.

Smith. Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally upon the earth.

Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the sacrament.

Rid. I grant the antecedent, but I deny the consequence.

Smith. Do you grant the antecedent?

Rid. Yes, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have so much: because I know that there are certain ancient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you use that proposition as true. And I will frame the argument for you.

He was seen on earth after his ascension.—

Smith. Nay, nay, I will frame it myself.

Christ after his ascension was seen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually.

Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the earth.

Rid. I do not bind Christ in heaven so straightly. I see you go about to beguile me with your equivocations. Such equivocations are to be distinguished. If you mean by his sitting in heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in heaven and also on earth. But if you understand his sitting to be after a corporal manner of sitting, so is he always permanent in heaven.

For Christ to be corporal here on earth, when corporally he is resident in heaven, is clearly contrary to the Holy Scriptures, as Austin saith, "The body of Christ is in heaven, but his truth is dispersed in every place."

West. I perceive you are come here to this issue, whether the body of Christ may be together both on earth and in heaven. I will tell you, that Christ in very deed is both on earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the same natural Christ, after the verity and substance of his very body.

Rid. I do not utterly deny Christ here to have been seen on earth. Of uncertain things I speak uncertainly.

Smith. Such things as are certain and approved, you do reject as things uncertain.

West. You understand in the first place his flesh for very true flesh; and in the second place for grace, and communion of his flesh: and why do you not understand it in the second place also for his true flesh? I will make it evident how blockish and gross your answer is.

Rid. These be taunts and reproaches, not beseeming, as I think, the modesty of this school.

West. Elias left his cloak to his disciples: but the Son of God, going up to heaven, left his flesh.

He carried his flesh into heaven, and he left here the communion of his flesh behind. Assuredly the answer is too unlearned.

Rid. Surely, I wish that all the whole world might understand your reasons and my answres. He left his flesh. This you understand of his flesh, and I understand the same of grace. He carried his flesh into heaven, and left behind the *communion* of his flesh unto us.

West. Ye judges, what think you of this answer?

Judges. It is a ridiculous and very weak answer.

Rid. Well, I take your words patiently for Christ's cause.

West. "We are sprinkled with the blood of Christ."

Rid. Mr. Doctor, it is the same blood, but yet spiritually received. And whosoever they be that are not sprinkled with his blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlasting salvation.

West. (Speaking to the people.) I bring Bernard unto you. "Even from the west unto the east, from the north unto the south, there is one and the self-same Christ in many and divers places."

Rid. The answer is soon made, that one Christ is here and in divers places. For God, according to his majesty, and according to his providence, as St. Austin saith, is every where with the godly, according to his indivisible and unspeakable grace. Or else, if ye would understand Bernard according to the cor-

poral presence, how monstrous, or huge, and giant-like a body would you then make Christ's body to be, which would reach even from north to south, from west to east?

Curtop. Reverend Sir, I will prove and declare, that the body of Christ is truly and really in the eucharist: and whereas the holy fathers, both of the west and east church, have written both many things and no less manifest of the same matter, yet will I bring forth only Chrysostom.

"That which is in the cup, is the same that flowed from the side of Christ."

But true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ.

Therefore, his true and pure blood is in the cup.

Watson. With what words is it made a sacrament?

Ridley. By the words and deeds which Christ said he did, and commanded us to say and do the same?

Watson. It is a thing commonly received of all, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive.

Ridley. True it is, that grace is given by the sacrament, but as by an instrument. The inward virtue of Christ gives grace through the sacrament.

Watson. What is a sacrament?

Ridley. I remember there be many definitions of a sacrament, in Augustine; but I will take that which seemeth most fit to this present purpose. A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace.

Watson. Therefore, grace is given to the receivers.

Dr. Tresham then began thus:

"I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran, the which council, representing the universal church, wherein were congregated three hundred bishops, and seventy metropolitans, besides a great multitude of others, decreed, 'That bread and wine, by the power of God's word, was transubstantiated into the body and blood of the Lord.' Therefore, whosoever saith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but an heretic."

Ridley. Good Sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was a great multitude of bishops and metropolitans, as you said: but yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred.

Tresham. What! do you not receive the council of Lateran? —Whereupon he, with certain others, cried, "Write, write."

Ridley. No, Sir, I receive not that council; write, and write again.

Tresham. Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ,

Therefore, the true and natural body of Christ is on the altar.

Ridley. Evil men do eat the very true and natural body of

Christ, sacramentally, and no further, as St. Augustine saith: but good men do eat the very true body both sacramentally and spiritually by grace.

Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, now put an end to the disputation with these words: "You see the stubborn, the boasting, the crafty, the inconstant mind of this man. Here you have seen this day that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore, I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the note of triumph:" having said this, he began, and they followed, exclaiming, "Truth hath the victory, truth hath the victory."

In the course of the debate, Dr. Ridley displayed great acuteness of understanding, strength of reasoning, and extent of learning, though he had fourteen opponents to encounter; but he was determined to support his opinions, and declared, that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth.*

On the 18th of April, bishop Latimer was brought out for disputation, and much the same ceremony prevailed as in the preceding, except that most part of it was in English: for the bishop alleged that he was out of use with the Latin, and unfit for that place.

Mr. Smith, of Oriel college, Dr. Cartwright, Mr. Harpsfield, and others, replied to him, with many illiberal insinuations and bitter taunts. The old bishop found no pity, no respect to his age, but met with the same hissings and scornful laughings as those who went before had patiently endured. Being very faint, he desired that he might not long tarry; nor durst he drink for fear of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clock. Dr. Latimer was not suffered to read what he had, as he observed, painfully written: but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor, after having read part thereof, proceeded unto the disputation: as, however, it is remarkably spirited, and, withal, very brief, we shall here present it to our readers.

Concerning the first conclusion, I think it is set forth with certain new-found terms that are obscure, and do not sound according to the speech of the Scripture. But, however I understand it, this I do answer plainly, (though not without peril) that to the right celebration of the Lord's Supper, there is no other presence of Christ required than a spiritual presence: and this presence is sufficient for a christian, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere.

* We are aware, that to some of our readers these arguments will appear tedious; but they so strongly delineate the peculiar manners of the times, and the blindness, artifice, and enmity of the Romanists, that we thought it best to insert them.

Concerning the second conclusion, I dare be bold to say, that it hath no ground in God's Word, but is a thing invented and found out by man, and, therefore, to be taken as false; and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for my lords and masters of the transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

The third conclusion, (as I understand it) seemeth subtilty to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to those words of St. Paul, Heb. i. where he saith, "That Christ his ownself hath made purgation of our sins." And afterwards, "That he might be a merciful and faithful bishop, concerning those things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our sins." So that the expiation or taking away of our sins may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering Priest, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himself: and, therefore, it is needless that he should be offered of any other. I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, especially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitless the cross of Christ; for truly it is no base or mean thing to offer Christ. And, therefore, well may a man say to my lords and masters, the offerers, by what authority do ye this? And who gave you this authority? Where? When? A man cannot take any thing, except it be given him from above: much less then ought any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called.

Again, "If any man sin," saith St. John, "we have not a master, or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at mass, but we have," saith he, "an advocate, Jesus Christ, which once offered himself long ago:" of which offering the efficacy and effect are for ever, so that it is needless to have such offerers.

What meaneth Paul when he saith, "They that serve at the altar, are partakers of the altar?" and so added; "So the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the gospel, shall live of the gospel." Whereas he should have said, the Lord hath ordained, that they that sacrifice at mass, should live of their sacrificing, that there might be living assigned to our sacrificers now, as was before Christ's coming, to the Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to allege for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the sacrificing priesthood is changed by God's ordinance into a preaching priesthood, and the sacrificing priesthood should cease utterly, saving inasmuch as all christian men are sacrificing priests.

The Supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanks-

giving, for the offering which the Lord himself did offer for us, much rather than that our offerers should do there as they do.

"Feed," saith Peter, "as much as ye may the flock of Christ:" nay, rather let us sacrifice as much as we may for the flock of Christ. If the matter be as men now make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which, at this day, is in such a price and estimation, that to feed is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flock, how shalt thou be taken? Truly catholic enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? At the least, I warrant thee, thou shalt be called an heretic.

And whence, I pray you, come these papistical judgments? Except, perchance, they think a man feedeth the flock in sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned pastors? For no man is so foolish but soon he may learn to sacrifice and mass it.

Thus I have taken the more pains to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto; that all men may know I have so done not without great pains, having been allowed no man to help me.

I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm: but in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience.

God be merciful unto us. Amen.

The prolocutor, on receiving this paper, thus addressed bishop Latimer, artfully leading him by a train of familiar questions into an argument:

Weston. Then refuse you to dispute? Will you here then subscribe?

Latimer. No, I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it please God, be once old, as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility.

Weston. You said upon Saturday last that you could not find the mass, nor the marrow bones thereof, in your book: but we will find a mass in that book.

Latimer. No, good Mr. Doctor, you cannot.

Weston. What find you then there?

Latimer. A communion.

Weston. Which communion, the first or the last?

Latimer. I find no great diversity in them; they are one Supper of the Lord: but I like the last very well.

Weston. The first you do not approve of?

Latimer. I do not well remember wherein they differ.

Weston. Then cake bread, and loaf bread, are all one? You call it the Supper of the Lord; but you are deceived in that:

for they had done the Supper before, and, therefore, the Scripture saith, "After they had supped." St. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, that some of them were drunk at this Supper; and you know, no man can be drunk at your communion.

Latimer. The first was called *Cœna Judaica*, "The Jewish Supper," when they eat the paschal lamb together; the other *Cœna Dominica*, "The Lord's Supper."

Weston. That is false; for Chrysostom denieth that, St. Ambrose on the tenth chapter of the first of Cor. saith, "The mystery of the sacrament, given as the bread and wine were at supper, is not the Supper of the Lord." Also Gregory Nazianzene saith the same. And that first supper was called Αγαπη: can you tell what that is?

Latimer. I understand not Greek: yet I think it meaneth love.

Weston. Mr. Opponent, begin.

Smith. Because I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to dispute with you; to the end that the same may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propose three questions, so as they are put forth unto me. And first I ask this question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question; but such is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed of the wicked. I ask, I say, whether Christ's body be really in the sacrament?

Latimer. I trust I have obtained of Mr. Prolocutor, that no man shall exact that thing of me which is not in me. And I am sorry that this worshipful audience should be deceived of their expectation for my sake. I have given up my mind in writing to Mr. Prolocutor.

Smith. Whatsoever you have given up, it shall be registered among the acts.

Latimer. Disputation requireth a good memory; my memory is gone, and marvellously weakened, and never the better, I think, for the prison.

Weston. How long have you been of this opinion?

Latimer. It is not long, sir, that I have been of this opinion.

Weston. The time hath been when you said mass full devoutly.

Latimer. Yes, I crave God's mercy heartily for it.

Weston. Where learned you this new fangleness?

Latimer. I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind more than seven years: and my lord of Canterbury's book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter.

Tresham. There are in that book six hundred errors.

Weston. You were once a Lutheran.

Latimer. No, I was a papist: for I never could perceive how

Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Tygurines once wrote a book against Luther, and I often desired God, that he might live to answer them.

Weston. Luther in his book, "Of private mass," says, "That the devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him, that the mass was not good." So that Luther said mass, and the devil dissuaded him from it.

Latimer. I do not take in hand to defend Luther's sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough. I told you before that I am not meet for disputations. I pray you, read mine answer, wherein I have declared my faith.

Weston. Do you believe this, as you have written?

Latimer. Yes.

Weston. Then you have no faith.

Latimer. Then would I be sorry, sir.

Tresham. It is written, "Except you shall eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you." Which when the Capernaites, and many of Christ's disciples heard, they said, "This is a hard saying," &c. Now that the truth may the better appear, here I ask of you, whether Christ, speaking these words, did mean of his flesh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the spiritual eating of the same?

Latimer. I answer, that Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh.

Tresham. Of what flesh meant Christ, his true flesh, or not?

Latimer. Of his true flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the Supper by faith, and not corporeally.

Tresham. Of what flesh meant the Capernaites?

Latimer. Of his true flesh also; but to be eaten with the mouth.

Tresham. They, as you confess, did mean his true flesh to be eaten with the mouth. And Christ also (as I shall prove) did speak of the receiving of his flesh with the mouth.

Therefore, they both did understand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body.

Latimer. I say, Christ meant not of the bodily mouth; but of the mouth of the spirit, mind, and heart.

Tresham. I prove the contrary, that Christ understandeth it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For, whereas custom is a good interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Christ, do certainly declare those things which he first spake; Christ's deeds in his Supper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with the custom which hath been ever since that time of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently intimate that Christ did understand his words

here cited by me, out of the sixth of John, of the eating with the mouth.

Latimer. He gave not his body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the sacrament of his body to be received with the mouth; he gave the sacrament to the mouth, his body to the mind.

Weston. Well, Mr. Latimer, this is our intent, to wish you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember, that without Noah's Ark, there is no health. Remember what they have been, that were the beginners of your doctrine; none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been which have set forth the same in this realm; a sort of fling-brains and light heads, which were never constant in any one thing, as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, where, like a sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, and another day east; one that way, and another this way. They will be like, they say, to the apostles, they will have no churches; a hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one saith, I drink, and I am thankful; the more joy of thee, saith another. And in them was it true that Hilary saith, "We make every year and every month a faith." A runnagate Scot took away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion-book, so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. You never agreed with the Tygurines, or Germans, or with the church, or with yourself. Your stubbornness cometh of vain glory, which is to no purpose: for it will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard. And we see all, by your own confessions, how little cause you have to be stubborn, for your learning is in feoffer's hold. The queen's grace is merciful, if you will turn.

Latimer. You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion.

Weston. Here you all see the weakness of heresy against the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers.

Upon this there were extraordinary shouts raised, and during the whole debates, the noise and disorder were such, that it looked more like a country game, than a dispute among divines; four or five sometimes spoke at once, so that it was not possible to hear what they said, much less to answer it.

On the following Friday, April 20, the commissioners sat at St. Mary's church, as they had done the Saturday before, when

Dr. Weston, in an imperious manner, demanded, whether or not they would subscribe. He rudely told Dr. Cranmer, that he had been overcome in the late disputation. The latter, in answer, charged him and his party with unfairness and partiality, saying that he had been overcome by noise only; and that he had no chance of success unless he had brawled as loud as they, and that their reasons came so thick, that four or five of them had frequently attacked him at once. Mr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer were asked what they would do: they replied, that they would stand to what they had said; on which they were all called together, and sentence was read over them, that they were no members of the church; and therefore they, their favourers, and patrons, were condemned as heretics. And in reading of it, they were asked, whether they would turn or not; but they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not inclined to turn. So they were all three condemned.

The sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again, each in his turn, in manner and effect as follow; the archbishop speaking first:

Cran. From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned.

Rid. Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should, by the course of nature, have gone.

Latimer. I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death.

Weston said to Latimer, "If you go to heaven in this faith, then I shall never come thither, as I am thus persuaded."

On the ensuing Saturday they had a mass, with a general procession and great solemnity. Dr. Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of Bocardo, Dr. Ridley out of the sheriff's house, and Latimer also being brought to see it from the bailiff's house, thought that he should have gone thence to burning, and spake to one Augustine, a peace officer, to make a quick fire: but when he came to Carfax, (Oxford market-place, where four ways meet) he ran as fast as his aged bones would carry him, to one Spencer's shop, and would not look towards the vain procession.

On the succeeding Monday, Weston took his journey up to London, with the letters certificatory from the university to the queen, by whom Dr. Cranmer directed his letters supplicatory unto the council; which letters the prolocutor opened by the

way, and seeing the contents, sent them back again, refusing to carry them. Likewise bishop Ridley, hearing of the prolocutor's going to London, wrote to him his letters, wherein he desired him to carry his answers up to certain bishops in London.

On the 17th of October, 1555, Dr. *Nicholas Ridley*, bishop of London, and Mr. *Hugh Latimer*, bishop of Worcester, were burnt in one fire at Oxford. Men, ever memorable for their piety, learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joined with no less commendable sincerity of life.

Dr. Ridley was born in the county of Northumberland, and was descended from a most respectable family. He was taught the rudiments of his education at Newcastle, and, when a child, discovered great promptness in learning. From Newcastle he was removed to the University of Cambridge, where he, in a short time, became so famous, that for his singular aptness, he was called to higher functions and offices of the university, with degrees pertaining thereunto; and was at length placed at the head of Pembroke Hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence he travelled to Paris, and at his return was made chaplain to King Henry the Eighth, and promoted afterwards to the bishopric of Rochester, and from thence, in King Edward's days, translated to the see of London.

In his important offices he so diligently applied himself to preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that no good parent was more singularly loved by his children, than he by his flock. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in one place or other, except he were otherwise hindered by weighty affairs; and to his sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and so faithfully did his life pourtray his doctrines, that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any thing.

Besides this, he was very learned, his memory was great, and he had attained such reading withal, that he deserved to be compared to the best men of his age, as his works, sermons, and his sundry disputations in both the universities, well testified. In fine, he was in all points so good, pious and spiritual a man, that England never saw his superior.

He was comely in his person, and well proportioned. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour in his heart, but straightway forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind to his relations, and yet not bearing with them otherwise than right, giving them always for a general rule, that doing evil they should look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens to him.

He used to mortify himself, and was much given to prayer and contemplation: for duly every morning, as soon as he was

dressed, he went to his bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed for half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his study (if no other business came to interrupt him) where he continued till ten o'clock, and then came to the common prayer, daily used in his house. These being done, he applied to public business until dinner, at which he talked little.

The dinner done, which was not long, he used to sit an hour talking, or playing at chess: he then returned to his study until five o'clock at night, when he would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon; which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at dinner. After supper, recreating himself again at chess, after which he would return again to his study; continuing there till eleven o'clock at night, which was his common hour of going to bed. When at his manor of Fulham, he used to read daily a lecture to his family, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the Epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read, a New Testament, hiring them, besides, with money, to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially the 13th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, reading also unto his household oftentimes the 101st Psalm, being marvellously careful over his family, that they might be a pattern of all virtue and honesty to others. In short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house.

The following is a striking instance of the benevolence of his temper, shewn to Mrs. Bonner, mother to Bonner, bishop of London. Bishop Ridley, when at his manor of Fulham, always sent for Mrs. Bonner, who dwelt in a house adjoining his own, to dinner and supper, with a Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying, Go for my mother Bonner; who coming, was always placed in the chair at the head of the table, being as gently treated and welcomed as his own mother, and he would never have her displaced from her seat, although the king's council had been present; saying, when any of them were there, (as several times they were) by your lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner. But how well he was recompensed for this singular kindness at the hands of Bonner, is too well known. For who, afterwards, was a greater enemy to Dr. Ridley than Bonner? Who went more about to seek his destruction than he? Recompensing his gentleness with extreme cruelty; as well appeared by the severity against Dr. Ridley's own sister, and her husband, George Shipside, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other permitted Bonner's mother, sister, and others of his kindred, quietly to enjoy all that which they had from bishop Bonner, and also entertained them in his house, shewing much courtesy and friendship daily

unto them; while, on the other side, Bonner being restored, would not suffer the brother and sister of bishop Ridley, and other of his friends, to enjoy that which they had by their brother, but churlishly, without all order of law or honesty, wrested from them all the livings they had.

And not satisfied, he sought all the means he could to work the death of Mr. Shipside, saying that he would make twelve godfathers to go upon him; which had indeed been brought to pass at the time he was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by the means of Dr. Heath, then bishop of Worcester.

Dr. Ridley was first called to the knowledge of Christ and his gospel, by reading Bertram's book of the sacrament; and the conference he had with archbishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr, did not a little confirm him in that belief. Being now, by the grace of God, brought into the true way, he was constant and faithful in the knowledge which the Lord had opened to him, and so he did much good, when power and authority defended the gospel, and supported the peace and happiness of the church.

The Life of Bishop Latimer.

Hugh Latimer was the son of Hugh Latimer, of Thirkesson, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman in good repute, with whom he was brought up till he was about four years old; when his parents, seeing him to be of a ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up to literature; wherein he so profited in the common schools of his own country, that at fourteen years of age he was sent to the University of Cambridge; where, after some continuance in the exercise of other things, he devoted himself to the school divinity of that age.

Zealous he was in the Popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous, that being a priest, and officiating at the mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water; and moreover, that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar, with many such superstitious fantasies. In this blind zeal he was a great enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel.

Notwithstanding, such was the mercy of God, that he was caught in the blessed net of God's word. Mr. Thomas Bilney, seeing Mr. Latimer to have a zeal, although not according to knowledge, felt a brotherly pity towards him, and began to consider by what means he might win this zealous ignorant brother to the truth. Wherefore he came to Mr. Latimer's study, and

desired him to hear his confession, which he willingly did; when he was, by the good Spirit of God, so touched, that immediately he forsook the study of the school-doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student of true divinity.

After his own conversion, he was not satisfied without endeavouring to bring about that of others. He therefore became both a public preacher, and a private instructor to the rest of his brethren within the university, for the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in the English language. But the Prince of darkness soon found a means to disturb this happy state.

There was an Augustine friar, who took occasion upon certain sermons of Mr. Latimer, which he preached about Christmas, 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as also in that of St. Augustine's, within the University of Cambridge, to inveigh against him, because Mr. Latimer in the said sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cards in English out of the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might, not only then, but at all other times, occupy their time profitably.*

To relate at full the alarm the preaching of these sermons occasioned at Cambridge, would require too much time and space.

First came out the prior of Black Friars, named Buckenham, who attempted to prove that it was not expedient for the Scriptures to be in English, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort, through the occasion thereof, might be brought in danger of leaving their vocations, or else of running into some inconvenience: as for example:

The ploughman, when he heareth this in the gospel, "No man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God," might peradventure, cease from his plough. Likewise the baker, when he hears that a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may perchance leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the gospel, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee," may make himself blind, and so fill the world with beggars. These, with some others, this clerkly friar brought out, to the number of five, to prove his purpose.

Mr. Latimer, hearing this sermon of Buckenham, came shortly after to the church to answer him. To hear him came a mul-

* This is the first introduction of Scripture-Cards. The design was to make an ignorant people acquainted with the Scriptures, and the effects could not but be advantageous to them.

titude, as well of the university as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation to learn what he could say: among whom also, directly in the face of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, sat Buckenham, with his black friar's cowl about his shoulders.

Besides this Buckenham, there was also another railing friar, a doctor, and a foreigner, named Dr. Venetus, who likewise in his sermons railed and raged against Mr. Latimer, calling him a mad and brainless man, and persuading the people not to believe him.

But why should we stop to mention the names of his adversaries, when whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost through the whole university, preaching against and abusing him? Amongst whom was Dr. Watson, master of Christ's college, whose scholar Latimer had been. In short, almost as many as were heads of houses, so many were the enemies of this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel.

At last came Dr. West, bishop of Ely, who, preaching against him at Barwell-abbey, forbad him within the churches of that university to preach any more. Notwithstanding, so the Lord provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, did license Mr. Latimer to preach in his church of the Augustines, and he himself preached at St. Edward's church, which was the first sermon of the gospel that Dr. Barnes preached, being Sunday, and Christmas Eve. Whereupon certain articles were gathered out of his sermon, and brought against him by Mr. Tirell, Fellow of the King's hall, and so by the vice-chancellor they were presented to the cardinal.

Thus Mr. Latimer being baited by the friars, doctors, and masters of that university, about the year 1529, notwithstanding the malice of these malignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge, preaching for about three years together, with favour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration of his enemies who heard him, that the bishop himself coming in, and witnessing his merit, wished himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon it

Mr. Latimer and Mr. Bilney, after this, continued in Cambridge for some time, where they so frequently conferred together, that the field wherein they usually walked, was long after called, the heretic's hill.

As their intimacy was much noted by many of the university, so was it full of many good examples, to all who would follow them, both in visiting the prisoners, and relieving the needy. The following interesting story will exemplify the benevolence of Mr. Latimer. It happened, that with Mr. Bilney, he went to visit the prisoners in the tower of Cambridge, and being

there, among others, was a woman who was accused of having killed her own child, which act she plainly and steadfastly denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all means to destroy her. The particulars were thus.

A child of her's had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption: she sought to her neighbours to help her at the burial, but all being abroad in the harvest, she was forced with heaviness of heart, to prepare the child alone. Her husband coming home, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble; and Mr. Latimer, by earnest inquisition, of conscience thought the woman not guilty. Immediately after this he was called to preach before King Henry the Eighth at Windsor, and after his sermon the king sent for him, and talked familiarly with him. At which time Mr. Latimer, finding an opportunity, kneeled down, opened the whole matter to the king, and desired her pardon, which he granted, and gave it to him at his return home.

Besides this, many other actions equally benevolent, were known to originate from this zealous christian; insomuch, that the enemies of truth, instigated by envy, soon sought a means to interrupt the harmony of him and his friend.

Among the rest of this number was Dr. Redman, a man favouring more of superstition than of true religion, after the zeal of the Pharisees, yet not so malignant or hurtful, but of a mild disposition, and also liberal in well doing, so that few poor scholars were in that university who fared not the better by his purse. He was a man of great authority in the University of Cambridge, and perceiving the boldness of Mr. Latimer, in publishing in sincerity the genuine truths of the gospel, endeavoured, by a letter, to persuade him from his manner of preaching. To this Mr. Latimer wrote the following laconic answer.

From Mr. Latimer, in answer to Dr. Redman.

Reverend Mr. Redman, it is even enough for me, that Christ's sheep hear no man's voice but Christ's: and as for you, you have no voice of Christ against me, whereas for my part I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God.

LATIMER.

Shortly after, by the means of Dr. Butts, the king's physician, a singular good man, he was placed in the number of those who laboured in the cause of the king's supremacy. On this he went

to the court, where he remained a certain time in Dr. Butts's chamber, and preaching very often in London. At last being weary of the court, and having a benefice offered by the king, at the suit of the lord Cromwell and Dr. Butts, he gladly accepted it, and withdrew from the court, wherewith in no case he could agree.

This royal gift was in West Kingston, in Wiltshire, under the diocese of Sarum. Here this good preacher exercised himself with much diligence, teaching his flock and all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so powerful, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there also, he could not escape enemies. So true it is what St. Paul foretelleth us, Whosoever will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution. It so happened, that as he was preaching upon the Virgin Mary, and reducing all honour to Christ our only Saviour, certain popish priests being therewith offended, created much trouble against him, drawing out articles and impositions which they falsely and uncharitably imputed unto him:—First, that he should preach against our Lady, for that he reproved in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain blind priests, who taught, that she never had any sin, and that she was not saved by Christ.

Item, That he should say, that saints were not to be worshipped.

Item, That Ave Maria was a salutation only, and no prayer.

Item, That there was no material fire in hell.

Item, That there was no purgatory, in saying, that he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollard's Tower.

His chief molesters besides these country priests, were Dr. Powel, of Salisbury; Dr. Wilson; sometime of Cambridge; Mr. Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood. Of whom some preached and some wrote against him; insomuch that by their procurement he was cited up, and called to appear before W. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesly, bishop of London, Jan. 29, 1531.

Against which citation, although Mr. Latimer did appeal to his own ordinary, requiring him to be ordered, yet notwithstanding that, he was brought to London before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, where he was greatly molested, and detained a long time from his cure at home, being called thrice every week before the said bishops, to make answer for his preaching, and had certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, whereunto they required him to subscribe. At length he not only perceiving their partial proceedings, but being also much grieved with their troublesome unquietness, who neither would preach themselves, nor yet suffer him; he wrote

to the archbishop, partly excusing his infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for so troubling and detaining him from doing his duty, and that for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abuses crept into religion, needful to be spoken against.

The following curious incident was related by himself in a sermon preached at Stamford, October 9, 1550. His words were these:

I was once in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much trouble: thrice every week I came to examination, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. God knoweth I was ignorant of the law, but that he gave me wisdom what I should speak; it was God indeed, or else I had never escaped them. At last I was brought forth to be examined in a chamber hung with arras, where I was wont to be examined; but now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont always to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hung over the chimney, and the table stood near the fire place.

There was amongst the bishops who examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next to the table's end.

Then amongst all other questions he put forth a very subtle and crafty one, and such an one indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer, I pray you, Mr. Latimer, said one, speak out, I am very thick of hearing, and here may be many that sit far off. I marvelled at this that I was bid to speak out, and begun to suspect, and give an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen writing in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers, for they made sure that I should not start from them; there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer, I could never else have escaped it.

Amongst these hard and dangerous straits, it had been hard for him, and almost impossible to have escaped and continued so long, had not the almighty helping hand of the Highest, preserved him through the favour and power of his prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his mere power sometime rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length, also through the interest of Dr. Butts and lord Cromwell, he advanced him to the dignity of a bishop, namely, bishop of Worcester. It were too long to stand particularly upon such things as might be brought to the commendation of this pious prelate; but the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do what

he would. Yet what he could do, that he performed to the utmost of his strength, so that although he was not utterly able to extinguish all the sparkling relics of superstition, yet he so wrought that they were, in a great measure, lessened of their evil.

Thus this good man behaved himself in his diocese. But still both in the university and at his benefice, he was tost and troubled by wicked and evil disposed persons. As among many other evil willers, one especially there was, and he no small person, who accused him to the king for his sermons. The story of which, himself explained in a sermon before King Edward, as follows:

In the king's days that is dead, a great many of us were called together before him, to speak our minds in certain matters. In the end one kneeleth down and accuseth me of having preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man's doing, as if I should name you would not think.

The king turned to me, and said, What say you to that, Sir? Then I kneeled down, and turned first to my accuser, and required him, Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me in preaching before a king? Would you have me preach nothing as concerning a king in a king's sermon? Have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach? Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answer to any of them all; he had nothing to say.

Then I turned to the king, and submitted myself to his Grace, and said, I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue to be a preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing, (if you mislike me) to give place to my betters: for I grant that there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your Grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to carry their books after them. But if your Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and thus to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very blockhead to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your Grace.

And I thank Almighty God, who hath always been my remedy, that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for like a gracious lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the Scripture saith, 'The Lord directeth the king's heart.' Some of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me, they expected I should have been in the Tower the same night.

After the death of King Edward, and Mary was proclaimed queen, a pursuivant was sent down into the country to call him

up, of whose coming Mr. Latimer was informed, about six hours before, by one John Careless; yet he was so far from endeavouring to escape, that he prepared himself for his journey before the officer came to his house.

At this the pursuivant marvelled; when Mr. Latimer said unto him, "My friend, you are a welcome messenger unto me. And be it known unto you and to all the world, that I go as willingly to London at this present, as ever I went to any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two princes, so will he enable me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally, &c. When the pursuivant had delivered his letters, he departed, affirming, that he had command not to wait for him. By this it was manifest, that they would not have had him appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm, knowing that his constancy would deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

Mr. Latimer coming up to London, and entering by Smithfield, he merrily said, that Smithfield had long groaned for him. He was then brought before the council, where he patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the scornful papists, was again sent to the Tower, where, being assisted by the heavenly grace of Christ, he patiently endured imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel and unmerciful usage of his enemies, who then thought their kingdom would never fall; yet he shewed himself not only patient, but also merry and cheerful, above all that they could work against him: yea, such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to despise the terror of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn even the cruel proceedings of his enemies. It is well known to many what answer he made to the lieutenant when he was in the Tower. For when the lieutenant's man upon a time came to him, the aged father, kept without fire in the frosty winter, and well nigh starved with cold, bade the man tell his master, that if he did not look better after him, perchance he might deceive him.

The lieutenant hearing this, and not knowing what to make of so odd a speech, and fearing that he would in earnest mako his escape, began to look more strictly to his prisoner; and se coming to him, charged him with his words, at the same time reciting them. "Yea, Mr. Lieutenant, so I said, says he, for I suppose you expect that I should burn; but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am in danger of starving here with cold."

From thence he was carried to Oxford, with Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Ridley, bishop of London,

there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as before mentioned.

Respecting the memorable actions of this worthy man, among many others this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprise he attempted, in sending to king Henry a present, the manner whereof is this. It was an old custom, received from the old Romans, that upon the first of January, every bishop should present the king with some handsome new-year's gift, and so they did, some with gold, some with silver, some with a purse of money, and some one thing, some another: but bishop Latimer, then bishop of Worcester, among the rest, presented a New Testament for his new-year's gift, with a napkin having this posey about it, Fornicators and adulterers God will judge.

Having thus given a brief sketch of the lives of these two eminent men, Ridley and Latimer, up to the year 1555, we now proceed to relate their last scenes, wherein, the curtain of death dropped upon them both.

When Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, had performed the office of degradation, Mr. Ridley said, I pray you, my lord, hear me, and be a means to the queen's Majesty, in behalf of a great many poor men, especially my poor sister, and her husband, who standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, when I was in the see of London, which is taken away from them, by him that occupieth the same room, without either law or conscience. I have a supplication to her Majesty in their behalf. You shall hear it. Then he read the same, and when he came to the place that spake of his sister by name, he wept; so that for a time he could not speak for weeping. But recovering himself, he said, this is nature, that moveth me, but I have now done; and with that he finished it, and then delivered it to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen's Majesty, and to sue not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from them by Bonner. Dr. Brooks said, Indeed, Mr. Ridley, your request in this supplication is very right; therefore, I must, in conscience, speak to the queen's Majesty for them.

Ridley. I pray, for God's sake, so do.

Brooks. I think your request will be granted, except one thing hinder it, and that is because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same.

Ridley. What remedy? I can do no more than speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein, and God's will be done.

Brooks. I will do my best.

Dr. Brooks then called the bailiffs, delivering to them Dr. Ridley, with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking

with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Dr. Ridley, in praising God, said, God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime; for if you could, it would surely be done, I see very well. Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud pharisee, exalting himself.

On the night before Mr. Ridley suffered, his beard was washed and his legs; and, as he sat at supper, at the house of Mr. Irish, his keeper, he invited his hostess, and the rest at the table, to his marriage: for, said he, to-morrow I must be married, and so shewed himself to be as merry as ever he had been before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother, sitting at the table, whether he thought she could find in her heart to be there: he answered, Yes, I dare say, with all her heart. At which he said, He was glad to hear of her sincerity. At this discourse Mrs. Irish wept: but Dr. Ridley comforted her, saying, O Mrs. Irish, you love me not, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you are not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself, though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper will be more pleasant and sweet.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered to stay all night with him. But he said, No, no, that you shall not. For I intend (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to night, as ever I did. On this, his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

On the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Baliol-college, the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise to hinder the burning of the servants of Christ, the lord Williams was commanded by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed; and when every thing was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs.

Dr. Ridley had on a black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he used to wear when he was a bishop; a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, with a corner cap, and slippers on his feet. He walked to the stake between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

After him came Mr. Latimer in a poor Bristow freeze frock much worn, with his buttoned cap and kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging down to the feet; which, at the first sight, excited sorrow in the spectators, behold-

ing, on the one side, the honour they some time had; and on the other, the calamity into which they had fallen.

Dr. Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Dr. Cranmer lay, hoping to have seen him at the glass window, and spoken to him. But Dr. Cranmer was then engaged in dispute with friar Soto and his fellows, so that he could not see him through that occasion. Dr. Ridley then looking back, saw Mr. Latimer coming after. Unto whom he said, Oh, are you there? Yea, said Mr. Latimer, have after as fast as I can. So he following a pretty way off, at length they came to the stake. Dr. Ridley first entering the place, earnestly held up both his hands, looked towards heaven; then shortly after seeing Mr. Latimer with a cheerful look, he ran to him, and embraced him, saying, Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it.

He then went to the stake, and kneeling down, prayed with great fervour, while Mr. Latimer, following, kneeled also, and prayed as earnestly as he. After this, they arose and conversed together, and while thus employed, Dr. Smith began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians: "If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby." Wherein he alleged, that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person: which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford, who of late hanged herself, for that they and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately separated their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon scarcely lasted a quarter of an hour.

At its conclusion, Dr. Ridley said to Mr. Latimer, Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I? Mr. Latimer said, Begin you first, I pray you. I will, said Dr. Ridley.

He then, with Mr. Latimer, kneeled to my lord Williams, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and the other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby, and said, I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words: and whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know whether he might have leave to speak, the bailiffs, and Dr. Marshall, the vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopping his mouth, and said, Mr. Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions,

you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also your life. Not otherwise? said Dr. Ridley. No, answered Dr. Marshall; therefore, if you will not do so, there is no remedy: you must suffer for your deserts. Well, said the martyr, so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me: with that he rose and said, with a loud voice, I commit our cause to Almighty God, who will indifferently judge all.

To which Mr. Latimer added his old saying, Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened: and said he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered. They were then commanded to prepare immediately for the stake.

They accordingly with all meekness obeyed. Dr. Ridley gave his gown and tippet to his brother-in-law, Mr. Shipside, who, all the time of his imprisonment, although he was not suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges, to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant who kept him. Some other of his apparel he also gave away, the others the bailiffs took.

He likewise made presents of other small things to gentlemen standing by, divers of them pitifully weeping; to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat; my lord Williams's gentleman, some napkins, &c. and happy was he who could get the least trifle for a remembrance of this good man.

Mr. Latimer quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other apparel which was very simple; and being stripped to his shroud, he seemed as comely a person as one could well see.

Then Dr. Ridley standing as yet in his trouse, said to his brother, It were best for me to go in my trouse still. No, said Mr. Latimer, it will put you to more pain: and it will do a poor man good. Whereunto Dr. Ridley said, Be it in the name of God, and so unlaced himself. Then being in his shirt, he stood upon the aforesaid stone, and held up his hand, and said, O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death; I beseech thee, Lord God, have mercy on this realm of England, and deliver it from all her enemies.

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought it about both their middles: and as he was knocking in the staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and looking aside to the smith, said, Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course. Then Mr. Shipside brought him a bag of gunpowder, and tied it about his neck. Dr. Ridley asked him what it was, he answered gunpowder. Then, said he, I will take it to be sent of God, therefore I will receive it. And have you any, said

he, for my brother? (meaning Mr. Latimer). Yea, Sir, that I have, said he. Then give it unto him, in time, lest you come too late. So his brother went and carried it to Mr. Latimer.

Dr. Ridley said to my lord Williams, My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen in their behalf. I beseech your lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a means to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, (I praise God) this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear that the bishop who now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants made to them, but, contrary to all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings. I beseech you, my lord, be a means for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you.

They then brought a lighted faggot, and laid it at Dr. Ridley's feet; upon which Mr. Latimer said, Be of good comfort, brother Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust never shall be put out. When Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried, with an amazing loud voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit: Lord, receive my spirit;" and continued often to repeat, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit. Mr. Latimer, on the other side, cried as vehemently, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul." After which he soon died, seemingly with very little pain.

But Dr. Ridley, from the ill-making of the fire, the faggots being green, and piled too high, so that the flames being kept down by the green wood, burned fiercely beneath, which put him to such exquisite pain, that he desired them, for God's sake, to let the fire come unto him: which his brother-in-law hearing, but not very well understanding, to rid him out of his pain, (for which cause he gave attendance) as one in such sorrow, and not well knowing what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he quite covered him, which made the fire so vehement beneath, that it burned all his nether parts before it touched the upper, and made him struggle under the faggots, and often desired them to let the fire come to him, saying, I cannot burn. Yet, in all his torment he forgot not to call upon God, still having in his mouth, Lord, have mercy upon me, intermingling his cry, Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn. In which pains he laboured till one of the standers by, with his bill, pulled the

faggots from above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself to that side. And when the fire touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Mr. Latimer's feet; his body being divided.

The dreadful sight filled almost every eye with tears. Some took it grievously to see their deaths whose lives they had held so dear. Some pitied their persons, who thought their souls had no need thereof. But the sorrow of his brother, whose extreme anxiety had led him to attempt to put a speedy end to his sufferings, but who, from error and confusion, had so unhappily prolonged them, surpassed that of all; and so violent was his grief, that the spectators pitied him almost as much as they did the martyr.

It was observed, that Gardiner was very impatient for the burning of the above two glorious martyrs, and that he had delayed his dinner that day till the news should be brought him that the fire was kindled: but at dinner he was taken with an illness, which turned to a suppression of urine, of which he died the twelfth of November. He went twice to the parliament which was opened the 21st of October, but could go abroad no more. He expressed great sorrow for his former sins, and often said, he had erred with St. Peter, but had not repented with him. He was believed to be of noble extraction, though basely born. So those that reflected on him for his opposition to the married state, said, that no wonder if persons basely born, as both he and Bonner were, had no regard to that state of life. He was learned in the civil and canon law; he had a good Latin stile, and had some knowledge in the Greek tongue, but was a very indifferent divine. He possessed a quickness of apprehension, with a great knowledge of mankind, and of the intrigues of courts: he had all the arts of insinuation and flattery, and was inferior to none in profound dissimulation. He died now when he had the prospect of a cardinal's hat, and of all the honours which a pope, that found him after his own heart, could do him. Heath was made chancellor during pleasure, and the queen gave to the see of York the duke of Suffolk's house, fallen to her by his attainder, in return for Whitehall, and it was afterwards called York-house.

Thomas Cranmer, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, burnt at Oxford, the 21st of March, 1556.

This eminent prelate was born at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, on the 2d of July, 1489. His family was ancient, and

came in with William the Conqueror. He was early deprived of his father, Thomas Cranmer, Esq. and after no extraordinary education, was sent by his mother to Cambridge, at the age of fourteen, according to the custom of those times.

Having completed his studies at the university, he took the usual degrees, and was so well beloved, that he was chosen fellow of Jesus college; soon after which he became celebrated for his great learning and abilities.

In 1521 he married, by which he forfeited the fellowship of Jesus college; but his wife dying in child-bed within the year, he was re-elected. This favour he most gratefully acknowledged, and chose to decline an offer of a much more valuable fellowship in cardinal Wolsey's new seminary at Oxford, rather than to relinquish friends who had treated him with the most distinguished respect.

In 1523 he commenced doctor of divinity; and being in great esteem for theological learning, he was chosen divinity-lecturer in his own college, and appointed by the university one of the examiners in that science. In this office he principally inculcated the study of the Holy Scriptures, then greatly neglected, as being indispensably necessary for the professors of that divine knowledge.

The plague happening to break out at Cambridge, Mr. Cranmer, with some of his pupils, removed to Waltham Abbey, where, falling into company with Gardiner and Fox, the one secretary, the other almoner of King Henry VIII. that monarch's intended divorce of Catharine, his queen, the common subject of discourse in those days, came upon the carpet: when Cranmer advising an application to our own, and to the foreign universities, for their opinion in the case, and giving these gentlemen much satisfaction, they introduced him to the king, who was so pleased with him, that he ordered him to write his thoughts on the subject, made him his chaplain, and admitted him into that favour and esteem which he never afterwards forfeited.

In 1530 he was sent by the king, with a solemn embassy, to dispute on the subject of the divorce at Paris, Rome, and other foreign parts. At Rome he delivered his book which he had written in defence of the divorce, to the pope, and offered to justify it in a public disputation: but after various promises and appointments, none appeared to oppose him; while in private conferences he forced them to confess that the marriage was contrary to the law of God. The pope constituted him penitentiary general of England, and dismissed him. In Germany he gave full satisfaction to many learned men, who were before of a contrary persuasion; and prevailed on the famous Osander (whose

niece he married while there) to declare the king's marriage unlawful.

During the time he was abroad, the great archbishop Warham died: Henry, convinced of Cranmer's merit, determined that he should succeed him; and commanded him to return for that purpose. He suspected the cause, and delayed: he was desirous by all means to decline this high station; for he had a true and primitive sense of the office. But a spirit so different from that of the churchmen of his time, stimulated the king's resolution; and the more reluctance Cranmer shewed, the greater resolution Henry exerted. He was consecrated on March 30, 1533, to the office; and though he received the usual bulls from the pope, he protested at his consecration against the oath of allegiance, &c. to him: for he had conversed freely with the reformed in Germany, had read Luther's books, and was zealously attached to the glorious cause of Reformation.

The first service he did the king in his archi-episcopal character, was pronouncing the sentence of his divorce from Queen Catharine, and the next, in joining his hands with Ann Boleyn; the consequence of which marriage was the birth of the glorious Elizabeth, to whom he stood godfather.

As the queen was greatly interested in the Reformation, the friends to that good work began to conceive high hopes; and indeed it went on with desirable success. But the fickle disposition of the king, and the fatal end of unhappy Ann, for a while alarmed their fears, though, by God's providence, without any ill effects. The pope's supremacy was universally exploded; monasteries, &c. destroyed upon the fullest detection of the most abominable vices and disorders; that valuable book of the erudition of a Christian man, was set forth by our great archbishop with public authority; and the Sacred Scriptures at length, to the infinite joy of Cranmer and the worthy lord Cromwell, his constant friend and associate, were not only translated, but introduced into every parish. The translation was received with inexpressible joy; every one that was able purchased it, and the poor flocked greedily to hear it read; some persons in years learned to read on purpose, that they might peruse it; and even little children crowded with eagerness to hear it!— We cannot help reflecting on this occasion, how much we are bound to prize this sacred treasure, which we enjoy so perfectly, and how much to contend against every attempt of those enemies, and that church, which would deprive us of it, and again reduce us to legends and schoolmen, to ignorance and idolatry.

Cranmer, that he might proceed with true judgment, made a collection of opinions from the works of the ancient fathers and later doctors; of which bishop Burnet saw two volumes in

folio; and it appears by a letter of lord Burleigh's, that there were then six volumes of Cranmer's collections in his hands: a work of incredible labour, but vast utility.

A short time after this, he gave a shining proof of his sincere and disinterested constancy, by his noble opposition to what are commonly called King Henry's Six Bloody Articles. (By these none were allowed to speak against transubstantiation on pain of being burned as heretics, and forfeiting their goods and chattels, as in case of treason. It was also thereby made felony, and forfeiture of lands and goods, to defend the communion in both kinds, or marriage of the clergy, or of those who had vowed celibacy; or to speak against private masses and auricular confession.) However, he weathered the storm; and published, with an incomparable preface written by himself, the larger Bible, six of which even Bonner, then newly consecrated bishop of London, caused to be fixed for the perusal of the people in his cathedral of St. Paul's.

The enemies of the Reformation, however, were restless; and Henry, alas! was no Protestant in his heart. Cromwell fell a sacrifice to them; and they aimed every possible shaft at Cranmer. Gardiner in particular was indefatigable: he caused him to be accused in parliament, and several lords of the privy council moved the king to commit the archbishop to the Tower. The king perceived their malice; and one evening, on pretence of diverting himself on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to Lambeth side: the archbishop, being informed of it, came down to pay his respects, and was ordered by the king to come into the barge, and sit close by him. Henry made him acquainted with the accusations of heresy, faction, &c. which were laid against him; and spoke of his opposition to the Six Articles: the archbishop modestly replied, That he could not but acknowledge himself to be of the same opinion with respect to them; but was not conscious of having offended against them.—The king then, putting on an air of pleasantry, asked him, if his bed-chamber could stand the test of these Articles? The archbishop confessed that he was married in Germany, before his promotion; but assured the king, that on passing that act he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends. His Majesty was so charmed with his openness and integrity, that he discovered the whole plot that was laid against him; and gave him a ring of great value, to produce upon any future emergency.

A few days after this, Cranmer's enemies summoned him to appear before the council. He accordingly attended, when they suffered him to wait in the lobby amongst the footmen, treated him on his admission with haughty contempt, and would have

sent him to the Tower. But he produced the ring, and gained his enemies a severe reprimand from Henry, and himself the highest degree of security and favour.

On this occasion he shewed that lenity and mildness for which he was always so much distinguished: he never persecuted any of his enemies, but on the contrary freely forgave even the inveterate Gardiner, on his writing a supplicatory letter to him for that purpose.—The same lenity he shewed towards Dr. Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, and Dr. Barber, who (though entertained in his family, and entrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favours,) had ungratefully conspired with Gardiner to take away his life.

When Cranmer first discovered their treachery, he took them aside into his study, and telling them that he had been basely and falsely accused by some, in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence, desired them to advise him how he should behave himself towards them? They, not suspecting themselves to be concerned in the question, replied, That such vile abandoned villains ought to be prosecuted with the greatest rigour: nay, deserved to die without mercy. At this the archbishop, lifting up his hands to heaven, cried out, "Merciful God, whom may a man trust!" And then taking out of his bosom the letters by which he had discovered their treachery, asked them if they knew those papers? When they saw their own letters produced against them, they were in the utmost confusion, and, falling upon their knees, humbly asked forgiveness. The archbishop told them that he forgave them, and would pray for them; but that they must not expect him ever to trust them for the future.

As we are upon the subject of the archbishop's readiness to forgive and forget injuries, it may not be improper here to relate a pleasant instance of it, which happened some time before the above circumstances.

The archbishop's first wife, whom he married at Cambridge, was kinswoman to the hostess at the Dolphin inn, and boarded there; and he often resorting thither on that account, the Popish party had raised a story that he was hostler to that inn, and never had the benefit of a learned education. This idle story a Yorkshire priest had, with great confidence, asserted in an ale-house which he used to frequent, railing at the archbishop, and saying that he had no more learning than a goose. Some people of the parish informed lord Cromwell of this, and the priest was committed to the Fleet prison. When he had been there nine or ten weeks, he sent a relation of his to the archbishop, to beg his pardon, and to sue for a discharge. The archbishop instantly sent for him, and after a gentle reproof asked the priest whether he knew him? To which he answering

No; the archbishop expostulated with him, why he should then make so free with his character. The priest excused himself, by saying he was disguised with liquor; but this Cranmer told him was a double fault. He then said to the priest, if he was inclined to try what a scholar he was, he should have liberty to oppose him in whatever science he pleased. The priest humbly asked his pardon, and confessed himself to be very ignorant, and to understand nothing but his mother-tongue. No doubt then (said Cranmer) you are well versed in the English Bible, and can answer any question out of that: pray tell me who was David's father? The priest stood still for some time to consider; but at last told the archbishop, he could not recollect his name.—Tell me then (says Cranmer) who was Solomon's father? The poor priest replied, that he had no skill in genealogies, and could not tell. The archbishop, then advising him to frequent ale-houses less, and his study more, and admonishing him not to accuse others for want of learning till he was master of some himself, discharged him out of custody, and sent him home to his cure.

These may serve as instances of Cranmer's clement temper. Indeed he was much blamed by many for his too great lenity; which, it was thought, encouraged the Popish faction to make fresh attempts against him; but he was happy in giving a shining example of that great christian virtue, which he most diligently taught.

The king, who was a good discerner of men, remarking the implacable hatred of Cranmer's enemies towards him, changed his coat of arms from three cranes to three pelicans, feeding their young with their own blood, and told his grace, "that these birds should signify to him, that he ought to be ready, like the pelican, to shed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of Christ; for, said the king, you are like to be tried, if you will stand to your tackling at length." The event proved the king to be no bad prophet.

In 1546, king Henry experienced the impartiality of death; and left his crown to his only son, Edward, who was godson to Cranmer, and had imbibed all the spirit of a reformer. This excellent young prince, influenced no less by his own inclinations, than by the advice of Cranmer, and other friends of reformation, was diligent in every endeavour to promote it. Homilies were composed by the archbishop, and a Catechism; Erasmus's Notes on the New Testament translated, and fixed up in churches; the sacrament administered in both kinds; and the liturgy used in the vulgar tongue. Ridley, the archbishop's great friend, and one of the brightest lights of the English reformation, was equally zealous in the good cause: and with him the archbishop drew up the forty-two articles of religion, which were revised by

other bishops and divines; as through him he had perfectly conquered all his scruples respecting the doctrine of the corporal presence, and published a much esteemed treatise, entitled, "A Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."

But this happy scene of prosperity was not to continue: God was pleased to deprive the nation of King Edward, in 1553, designing in his wise providence to perfect the new-born church of his Son Jesus Christ, in England, by the blood of martyrs, as at the beginning he perfected the church in general.

Anxious for the success of the reformation, and wrought upon by the artifices of the duke of Northumberland, King Edward had been persuaded to exclude his sisters, and to bequeath the crown to that duke's amiable and every way deserving daughter, the Lady Jane Grey. The archbishop did his utmost to oppose this alteration in the succession; but the king was over-ruled; the will was made, and subscribed by the council and the judges. The archbishop was sent for, last of all, and required to subscribe: but he answered, that he could not do it without perjury, having sworn to the entail of the crown on the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth. To this the king replied, That the judges, who being best skilled in the constitution, ought to be regarded in this point, had assured him, that, notwithstanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to Lady Jane. The archbishop desired to discourse with them himself about it; and they all agreeing that he might lawfully subscribe the king's will, he was at last prevailed with to resign his own private scruples to their authority, and set his hand to it.

Having done this, he thought himself obliged in conscience to join the Lady Jane: but her short-lived power soon expired; when Mary and persecution mounted the throne, and Cranmer could expect nothing less than what ensued,—attainder, imprisonment, deprivation, and death.

He was condemned for treason, and pardoned; but to gratify Gardiner's malice, and her own implacable resentment against him for her mother's divorce, Mary gave orders to proceed against him for heresy. His friends, who foresaw the storm, had advised him to consult his safety by retiring beyond sea; but he chose rather to continue steady to the cause, which he had so nobly supported hitherto, and preferred the probability of sealing his testimony with his blood, to an ignominious and dishonourable flight.

The Tower was crowded with prisoners, insomuch that Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all put into one chamber; which they were so far from thinking an inconve-

nience, that, on the contrary, they blessed God for the opportunity of conversing together, reading and comparing the Scriptures, confirming themselves in the true faith, and mutually exhorting each other to constancy in professing it, and patience in suffering for it.—Happy society! blessed martyrs! rather to be envied than the purpled tyrant with the sword deep drenched in blood, though encircled with all the pomp and pageantry of power.

In April, 1554, the archbishop, with bishops Ridley and Latimer, was removed to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both universities. But, alas! what farces are disputations, where the fate of men is fixed, and every word is misconstrued! And such was the case here: for on April the 20th, Cranmer was brought to St. Mary's before the queen's commissioners, and refusing to subscribe to the Popish articles, he was pronounced an heretic, and sentence of condemnation was passed upon him. Upon which he told them, that he appealed from their unjust sentence to that of the Almighty; and that he trusted to be received into his presence, for maintaining the truth, as set forth in his most holy gospel.

After this his servants were dismissed from their attendance, and himself closely confined in Bocardo, the prison of the city of Oxford. But this sentence being void in law, as the pope's authority was wanting, a new commission was sent from Rome in 1555; and in St. Mary's church, at the high altar, the court sat, and tried the already condemned Cranmer. He was here well nigh too strong for his judges; and if reason and truth could have prevailed, there would have been no doubt who should have been acquitted, and who condemned.

The February following, a new commission was given to bishop Bonner and bishop Thirlby, for the degradation of the archbishop. When they came down to Oxford, he was brought before them; and after they had read their commission from the pope, (for not appearing before whom in person, as they had cited him, he was declared contumacious, though they themselves had kept him a close prisoner) Bonner, in a scurrilous oration, insulted over him in the most unchristian manner, for which he was often rebuked by bishop Thirlby, who wept, and declared it the most sorrowful scene he had ever beheld in his whole life. In the commission it was declared, that the cause had been impartially heard at Rome, the witnesses on both sides examined, and the archbishop's counsel allowed to make the best defence for him they could.

At the reading of this, the archbishop could not help crying out, "Good God! what lies are these! that I, being continually in prison, and not suffered to have counsel or advocate at home,

should produce witness and appoint my counsel at Rome. God must needs punish this shameless and open lying!"

When Bonner had finished his invective, they proceeded to degrade him; and that they might make him as ridiculous as they could, the episcopal habit which they put on him was made of canvas and old rags. Bonner in the mean time, by way of triumph and mockery, calling him Mr. Canterbury, and the like.

He bore all this treatment with his wonted fortitude and patience, and told them the degradation gave him no concern, for he had long despised those ornaments; but when they came to take away his crosier, he held it fast, and delivered his appeal to Thirlby, saying, "I appeal to the next general council."

When they had stripped him of all his habits, they put on him a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, thread-bare and ill shaped, and a townsman's cap; and in this manner delivered him to the secular power to be carried back to prison, where he was kept entirely destitute of money, and totally secluded from his friends. Nay, such was the iniquity of the times, that a gentleman was taken into custody by Bonner, and nearly escaped a trial, for giving the poor archbishop money to buy him a dinner.

Cranmer had now been imprisoned almost three years, and death should have soon followed his sentence and degradation: but his cruel enemies reserved him for greater misery and insult. Every means that could be thought of was employed to shake his constancy; but he held fast to the profession of his faith. Nay, even when he saw the barbarous martyrdom of his dear companions, Ridley and Latimer, he was so far from shrinking, that he not only prayed to God to strengthen them, but also by their example to animate him by a patient expectation and endurance of the same fiery trial.

The Papists, after trying various severe ways to bring Cranmer over, without effect, at length determined to try what gentle methods would do. They accordingly removed him from prison to the lodgings of the dean of Christ-church, where they urged every persuasive and affecting argument to make him deviate from his faith; and, indeed, too much melted his gentle nature, by false sunshine of pretended civility and respect.

The unfortunate prelate, however, withstood every temptation; at which his enemies were so irritated, that they removed him from the dean's lodgings to the most loathsome part of the prison in which he had been confined, and then treated him with unparalleled severity. This was more than the infirmities of so old a man could support: the frailty of human nature prevailed, and he was induced to sign six different recantations, drawn from him by the malice and artifices of his enemies.

This, however, did not satisfy them: they were determined not to spare his life. Nothing less than his death could satiate the gloomy queen, who said, "that as he had been the promoter of heresy, which had corrupted the whole nation, the abjuration, which was sufficient in other cases, should not serve his turn; for she was resolved he should be burned." Accordingly she sent orders to Dr. Cole, to prepare a sermon on the occasion of his death, which was fixed to be on the 21st of March.

The archbishop had no suspicion that such would be his fate, after what he had done; but he soon found his mistake.

The Papists, determined to carry their resentment to the most extravagant length, thought to inflict a further punishment on him, by obliging him to read his recantation publickly in St. Mary's church: and on this they proposed to triumph in his death: but their base intentions were happily frustrated.

On the morning of the day appointed for his execution, he was conducted between two friars to St. Mary's church. As soon as he entered, Dr. Cole mounted the pulpit, and the archbishop was placed opposite to it on a low scaffold, a spectacle of contempt and scorn to the people.

Cole magnified his conversion as the immediate work of God's inspiration; exhorted him to bear up with resolution against the terrors of death; and by the example of the thief on the cross, encouraged him not to despair, since he was returned, though late, into the bosom of the church. He also assured him, that dirges and masses should be said for his soul in all the churches of Oxford.

As soon as the archbishop perceived, from Cole's sermon, what was the bloody decree, struck with horror at the base inhumanity of such proceedings, he gave by all his gestures a full proof of the anguish of his soul.

At length being called upon by Cole to declare his faith and reconciliation with the Catholic church, he rose with all possible dignity, and while the audience was wrapped in the most profound expectation, he kneeled down, and repeated the following prayer:—

"O Father of heaven! O Son of God, Redeemer of the world! O Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son! Three Persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched and miserable sinner! I, who have offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously than any tongue can express, whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee for succour? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no refuge: what shall I then do? Shall I despair? God forbid! O good God, thou art merciful, and refusest none who come to thee for succour! To thee therefore do I run: to thee do I humble my-

self, saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me, for thy great mercy! O God the Son, thou wast not made man, this great mystery was not wrought, for few or small offences; nor didst thou give thy Son unto death, O God the Father, for our little and small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world: so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart, as I do here at this present; wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy: for although my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for my own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be glorified thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now, therefore, our Father, &c."

He then rose up, exhorted the people to a contempt of this world, to obedience to their sovereign, and to mutual love and charity. He told them, that being now on the brink of eternity, he would declare unto them his faith, without reserve or dissimulation. He then repeated the Apostle's Creed, and professed his belief thereof, and of all things contained in the Old and New Testament.

By speaking thus in general terms, the attention of the audience was kept up; but amazement continued that attention, when they heard him, instead of reading his recantation, declare his great and unfeigned repentance for having been induced to subscribe the Popish errors: he lamented with many tears, his grievous fall, and declared, that the hand which had so offended should be burnt before the rest of his body.

He then renounced the pope in most express terms, and professed his belief concerning the eucharist to be the same with what he had asserted in his book against Gardiner.

This was a great disappointment to the Papists; they made loud clamours, and charged him with hypocrisy and falsehood. To which he meekly replied, that "he was a plain man, and never had acted the hypocrite, but when he was seduced by them to recantation."

He would have gone on further; but Cole cried, Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away.

Upon this the monks and friars rudely pulled him from the scaffold, and hurried him away to the stake, (where Ridley and Latimer had before been offered up) which was at the north side of the city, in the ditch opposite Baliol-college.

But if his enemies were disappointed by his behaviour in the church, they were doubly so by that at the stake. He approached it with a cheerful countenance, prayed, and undressed himself; his shirt was made long down to his feet, which were bare, as was his head, where a hair could not be seen. His beard was so long and thick, that it covered his face with won-

derful gravity; and his reverend countenance moved the hearts both of friends and enemies.

The friars tormented him with their admonitions: while Cranmer gave his hand to several old men who stood by, bidding them farewel.

When he was chained to the stake, and the fire kindled, he seemed superior to all sensation but of piety. He stretched out the offending hand to the flame, which was seen burning for some time before the fire came to any other part of his body; nor did he draw it back, but once to wipe his face, till it was entirely consumed; saying often, "This unworthy hand, this hand hath offended!" and raising up his eyes to heaven, he expired with the dying prayer of St. Stephen in his mouth, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"

He burned to all appearance without pain or motion; and seemed to repel the torture by mere strength of mind, shewing a repentance and fortitude, which ought to cancel all reproach of timidity in his life.

Thus died archbishop Cranmer, in the 67th year of his age, and the 23d of his primacy, leaving an only son, of his own name, behind him.

He was a man naturally of a mild and gentle temper, not soon provoked, and yet so easy to forgive, that it became a kind of proverb concerning him, "Do my lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he will be your friend as long as you live."

His candour and sincerity, meekness and humility, were admired by all who conversed with him: but the queen could not forgive his zeal for the Reformation, nor his divorce of her mother, and therefore she brought him to the stake; which has justly numbered him amongst the noblest martyrs who suffered for the truth of the gospel.

He may truly be ranked with the greatest primitive bishops, and the fathers of the very first class, who were men as well as himself; and therefore, if in a scrutiny of theirs, or of his character, some infirmities and imperfections may appear, we may learn to make a wise and moral improvement by them. His learning was great, and his endeavour to encourage it greater. To him, under God, we are indebted for the great blessing we enjoy of reformation, of which he was the pillar and ornament; and while we repeat the liturgy, and hear the Bible in our congregations, so long shall we venerate the name of archbishop Cranmer.

Cranmer's labours were well seconded by Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, who were his fellow-martyrs in the cause of reformation: but the characters of this illustrious quadriumvirate differed one from the other: Cranmer was most respected, Lati-

mer was most followed, Ridley best esteemed, and Hooper most beloved. The art and address of Cranmer proved a happy balance to the zeal of Latimer, while the relaxed notions of Hooper were tempered by the virtue and wisdom of Ridley.

Mr. Cranmer during his imprisonment wrote a great number of letters to different persons, whom he knew to be professors of Christ's gospel. Among these we shall preserve the following:—

To Mrs. Wilkinson, exhorting her to fly in the time of persecution.

"The true comforter in all distress is only God, through his Son Jesus Christ; and whosoever hath him, hath company enough, if he were in a wilderness all alone; and he that hath twenty thousand in his company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beseech you, seek your dwelling there, where you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ's religion? If you be loath to depart from your kindred and friends, remember that Christ called them his mother, sisters, and brothers, that do his Father's will. Where we find, therefore, God truly honoured according to his will, there we can lack neither friend nor kindred.

"If you be loath to depart for the slander of God's word, remember that Christ, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the Scribes and Pharisees; and commanded his apostles, that if they were pursued in one place they should flee to another. And was not Paul let down by a basket out of a window, to avoid the persecution of Aretas? And what wisdom and policy he used, from time to time, to escape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other apostles: albeit, when it came to such a point that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutors of God's true religion, then they shewed themselves that their fleeing before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom to do more good: and that they would not rashly, without urgent necessity, offer themselves to death; which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ, then they shewed how little they regarded death; and how much they feared God more than men, how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come above this short and miserable life.

"Wherefore I exhort you, as well by Christ's commandment, as by the example of him and his apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of your and God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely served; which is no slandering of the truth, but preserving of yourself to God, and the truth, and to the society and comfort of Christ's little flock."

About the same time divers householders, servants, and apprentices, were committed to prison for having, and selling some good books that were sent over by the preachers that were fled into Germany.

Bishop Bonner going his visitation, commanded all the sentences of Scripture that were painted on the church walls, to be abolished and blotted out.

Visiters also were appointed for the two Universities, to bring in their popish trash amongst them, whereby many godly persons of their own accord forsook their fellowships, others were thrust out, and raw and unworthy persons put into their places, to the great hindrance of learning and religion.

It was reported that Queen Mary was quick with child, whereupon by public order, thanks were given in all churches for the same, and afterwards many prayers were made that it might be a male child, beautiful, comely, witty, valiant, &c.

About the same time, all the godly ministers that were in prison, in and about London, were sent for before the bishop of Winchester, who asked them whether they would recant, and enjoy the queen's pardon, or else stand to that which they had taught? They all answered that they would stand to that which they had taught. Whereupon they were made close prisoners, that none might speak with them. Amongst these there was one master *James George*, that died in prison, whom they buried in the fields. Presently after master Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Bradford, were brought before the bishop of Winchester, and other commissioners, by whom they were excommunicated.

Commissions and inquisitors were sent abroad into all parts of the realm, by whom a great number of godly people, especially in Kent, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk, were apprehended, brought to London and imprisoned, most of which, either died in prison and were buried in dunghills, or were consumed to ashes in the flames.—Amongst which was Mr. *John Rogers*, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and reader at St. Paul's, who received his education in the University of Cambridge, and at length was chosen chaplain to the English factory at Antwerp, in Brabant: there he became acquainted with Mr. Tindal, whom he assisted in his translation of the New Testament, and with Miles Coverdale, who, with several other Protestants, had been

driven from England on account of the five articles, in the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. By conversing with these undaunted and pious servants of God, Mr. Rogers became learned in the Scriptures, and finding, according to these sacred oracles, that matrimony was honourable to all, he entered into that state, and went with his wife to Wittenberg, in Saxony, where, through indefatigable study and application, he in a short time attained such a knowledge of the Dutch language as to be capable of taking charge of a christian congregation in that part of Europe.

Having cast off his popish superstitions, he served his cure faithfully and diligently for many years, until it pleased God to dispel the mists of papal darkness from his native country, and restore the glorious light of the pure gospel of Christ, by the introduction of his chosen servant Edward VI. to the English throne.

Mr. Rogers then, being regularly called, left his living in Saxony, and came into England to preach the gospel, without any previous condition or appointment whatever: but having laboured in the vineyard of his Master for a time with great success, Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's: he was afterwards chosen by the dean and chapter one of the divinity-lecturers in that church. Here he continued till Queen Mary, soon after her accession, banished the true religion, and again introduced the superstition and idolatry of the church of Rome, with all the horrid cruelties of blood-thirsty Antichrist.

When Mary was in the Tower of London, imbibing Gardiner's pernicious counsels, Mr. Rogers preached at Paul's Cross, confirming those doctrines which he and others had there taught in King Edward's days, and exhorted the people, with peculiar energy, to continue steadfast in the same, and to beware of the false tenets that were about to be introduced. For this sermon, the preacher was summoned before the council, then filled with popish and bloody bishops; before whom he pleaded his own cause in so pious, bold, yet prudent a manner, as to obviate their displeasure for that time, and was accordingly dismissed. But after Mary's proclamation, to prohibit the doctrines of the reformed religion, Mr. Rogers, for a contempt of the same, was again summoned before a council of bishops, who, after having debated upon the nature of his offence, ordered him to keep close prisoner in his own house, where he remained a considerable time, till at the instigation of the sanguinary Bonner, bishop of London, he was removed to Newgate, and placed among the common felons. What passed between him and the adversaries of Christ, during the time of his imprisonment, is not certainly

known; but the following examinations he left in his own handwriting.

The Examination of John Rogers, before the Chancellor Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and others of the Council, Jan. 22, 1555.

First, the lord chancellor said unto me, Sir, you have heard the state of the realm in which it standeth now.

Rogers. No, my lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there have been some general things said at the table, when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special thing might be grounded.

General things! said the lord chancellor, mockingly: you have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting it, except one man who spoke against it. Such an unity, and such a miracle, hath not been seen. And all they, of which there are eight score in one house (said one that was by, whose name I know not,) have with one assent received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How say you? Are you content to unite yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? Will you do that?

Rogers. The catholic church I never did nor will dissent from.

Chancellor. Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreme head.

Rogers. I know no other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrines of the old and pure catholic church, four hundred years after Christ.

Chancellor. Why didst thou then acknowledge King Henry the Eighth to be supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?

Rogers. I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as are the forgiveness of sins; giving of the Holy Ghost; authority to be a judge above the word of God.

Chancellor. Yea, if thou hadst said so in his days, thou hadst not been alive now. What sayest thou? make us a direct answer whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that state in which we are *now?*

Rogers. My lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye yourselves think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sins, &c. seeing you and all the bishops of the realm have

now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written to the contrary, and the parliament hath so long ago condescended unto it.

Chancellor. Tush, that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the supremacy from the bishop of Rome.

Rogers. With cruelty! Why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded *your* consciences. How would you then have *our* consciences persuaded with cruelty?

Chancellor. I talk to thee of no cruelty but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto, whereas in this parliament it was uniformly received. Here are two things, mercy and justice: if thou refuse the queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee.

Rogers. I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her Grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. I cannot be so persuaded.

Chancellor. If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the catholic church, then thou shalt never have her mercy, thou mayest be sure. If thou wilt enter into one church with us, &c. tell us that; or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again as thou hast now.

Rogers. I will find it first in the Scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supreme head.

Worcester. Why, do you not know what is in your creed; "I believe in the holy catholic church."

Rogers. I find not the bishop of Rome there. For the word *catholic* signifieth not the Romish church: it signifieth the consent of all true teaching churches of all times and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church, that doth so? That is not possible.

Chancellor. Shew me one of them, one: let me hear one.

Rogers. The bishop of Rome and his church read and sing all that they do in their congregations in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the first to the Corinthians, the fourteenth chapter.

Chancellor. I deny that; I deny that it is against the Word of God. Let me see you prove that.

Rogers. Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter, "He that speaketh in an unknown tongue," &c. To speak with tongues is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin, or Greek, &c. and so to speak, is not to speak unto men,

but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue, wherefore, ye speak not unto men, but unto God (meaning God only at the most). This he granted, that they spake not unto men, but unto God.

This is a point of sophistry, quoth secretary Bourne.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the lord Haward, that when he was in High-Dutchland, they at Hale, which had before prayed and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worces. Yea, and at Wittenberg too.

Rog. Yea, in an university, where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin. I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the texts to agree, and to prove my purpose well enough.

L. Chan. No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the Scripture: the Scripture is dead, it must have a lively expositor.

Rog. No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose.

Wor. All heretics have alleged the Scriptures in their behalf; and, therefore, we must have a lively expositor for them.

Rog. Yea, all heretics have alleged the Scriptures: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other expositor.

Wor. But they would not confess that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am sure.

Rog. I believe that; and yet were they overcome by them, and in all councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures. And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible; for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor ordered me to prison again. Away, away! said he; we have more to talk with. Then up I stood; for I had kneeled all the while.

Then Sir Richard Southwell, who stood by, said to me, Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpose, I know well.

Rog. Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God; lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Then my lord of Ely told me much of the queen's majesty's pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large words, saying, that she took them that would not receive the bishop of Rome's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c.

Rog. I said I would not refuse her mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I besought her Grace, and all their honours, to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

Divers spake at once. No! a married priest, and have not offended the law!

Rog. I said, I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein: for I married where it was lawful.

Divers at once. Where was that?

Rog. In Dutchland; and if the king had not made a law, that priests might have wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be sure I would not have done, if the laws of the realm had not permitted it.

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I was come too soon with such a number; I should find a sour coming of it. And one said, there was never a Catholic man or country that ever granted that a priest might have a wife.

Rog. I said, the Catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man. And therewith was I going out of the chamber, the serjeant which brought me thither having me by the arm.

Then the bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said, I wist not where that church was or is.

Rog. I said, yes, that I could tell where it was; but therewith went the serjeant with me out of the door.

First, being asked on the 28th and 29th of January, by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the bishops and whole realm, I answered, that I would, by God's grace, prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and that by the Scriptures and the authority of the fathers that lived four hundred years after Christ's death. He answered, That should not be granted: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realm.

I answered shortly, That all the laws of men might not rule the Word of God, but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby: and neither my conscience, nor any Christian man's, could be satisfied with such laws as disagreed from that word.

Then he said, That I at the first dash condemned the queen and the whole realm to be of the church of Antichrist. I answered, That the queen's majesty, God save her Grace, would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said, the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said without fail, I neither could, nor would I ever believe it.

Then said Dr. Aldrife, the bishop of Carlisle, that they the bishops would bear him witness. Yea, quoth I, that I believe well; and with that the people laughed.

Then after many words he asked me, What I thought con-

cerning the blessed sacrament? and stood up and put off his cap, and all his fellow bishops, (of which there were a great number, new men, of whom I knew few,) whether I believed in the sacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and hanged on the cross really and substantially?

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler, and, therefore, suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notwithstanding, as the most part of your doctrine in other points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty; so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand *really* and *substantially* to signify otherwise than corporeally: but corporeally Christ is only in heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporeally also in your sacrament. And here I somewhat set out his charity after this sort: My lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate, at great cost and charges, having a wife and ten children to maintain, and I had never a penny of my livings; which was against the law.

He answered, that Dr. Ridley, which had given them me, was an usurper, and, therefore, I was the unjust possessor of them.

Was the king then an usurper, quoth I, which gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric?

Yea, quoth he; and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also. But yet I do misuse my terms, quoth he, to call the king an usurper.—But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before; and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him wherefore he put me in prison? He said, because I preached against the queen.

I answered, that it was not true; and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and thereupon would set my life. I preached, quoth I, a sermon at the cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing said against the queen, I take witness of all the audience, which was not small. I alleged also, that he had after examination let me go at liberty after the preaching of that sermon.

Yea, but thou didst read thy lectures after, quoth he, against the commandment of the council.

That did I not, quoth I; let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now, against the law of God and man handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of my learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not condescend to your mind. This charity doth all the world understand.

The second day, which was the 29th of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine o'clock, and by the sheriffs fetched from the Compter in Southwark to the church again. And when Mr. Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then they sent for me. Then my lord chancellor said unto me:

Rogers, here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself this night, whether thou wouldest come to the holy Catholic church of Christ again or not: Tell us now what thou hast determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again and take mercy.

My lord, quoth I, I have remembered myself right well, what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereunto; and that done I shall answer you to your demanded question.

When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the Scripture and authority of the first, best, and purest church, to defend my doctrine by writing; ye answered me, that it might not, nor ought not, to be granted me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons, and, therefore, the sentence thereof might not be found faulty by me, being a private person. And yet, my lord, I am able to shew examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, hath by the Word of God declared so pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples, I am able to shew two. I can also shew the authority of St. Augustine, that when he disputed with an heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic, to lean unto the determination of two former councils, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him; but said, that he would have the Scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Moreover, I could shew, the authority of a learned lawyer, which saith, that unto a simple laymen that bringeth the Word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given than to

a whole council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the Word of God for me, and the authority of the old church four hundred years after Christ, albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly and without respect of fear and favour agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little; especially seeing the like had been permitted in the old church, even in general councils, yea, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome, ought to be compared. For if Henry VIII. were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing—here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head; but my lord chancellor would suffer me to speak no more, but bade me sit down, mockingly saying, that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor.

My lord, quoth I, I stand and sit not: shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?

Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate? quoth he. And with that he stood up, and began to face me, as his manner is, with taunt upon taunt, and check upon check: for in that case, being God's cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak.

L. Chan. "See what a spirit this fellow hath;" finding fault at my accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking.

Rog. I have a true spirit, agreeing and obeying the Word o God; and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true cause, and in my master Christ's matters; but I could not be heard. And at the length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him that his church of Rome was the church of Antichrist.

To be short, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two articles; first, That I affirmed the Romish Catholic church to be the church of Antichrist; and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity; and so he gave me over into the sheriffs' hands, which were much better than his.

After the sentence was read, he sent Mr. Hooper and me to the Clink, there to remain till night; and when it was dark they carried us, Mr. Hooper going before with the one sheriff, and I coming after with the other, with bills and weapons enow, out

of the Clink, and led us through the bishop's house, and through St. Mary Overy's church-yard, and so into Southwark, and over the bridge, on procession to Newgate through the city.

But I must shew you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse, and what a vengeable dangerous matter it was to eat and drink with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing; for all that so did should be partakers of the same great curse.

Well, my lord, quoth I, here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witness, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you; and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the true catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, ye need not to excommunicate me from it: I have not been in it these twenty years; the Lord be thanked. But now ye have done what ye can, my lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.

What is that? quoth he.

That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live; for she hath ten children that are her's and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, what were best for her to do.

No, quoth he, she is not thy wife.

Yes, my lord, quoth I, and hath been these eighteen years.

Should I grant her to be thy wife? quoth he.

Choose you, quoth I, whether ye will or not, she shall be so nevertheless.

She shall not come at thee, quoth he.

Then I have tried out all your charity, said I. You make yourself highly displeased with the matrimony of priests: but you maintain open whoredom; as in Wales, where every priest hath his whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him; even as your holy father suffereth all the priests in Dutchland and in France to do the like.

Thereto he answered not; and thus I departed, and saw him no more."

When the time came that he should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, first came to him Mr. Woodroofe, one of the sheriffs, and calling Mr. Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar? Mr. Rogers answered, "That which I have preached I will seal with

my blood." "Then, quoth Mr. Woodroofe, thou art an heretic." "That shall be known, quoth Rogers, at the day of judgment." "Well, quoth Mr. Woodroofe, I will never pray for thee." "But I will pray for you," said Mr. Rogers. And so was brought the same day, Monday the 4th of February, by the sheriffs to Smithfield, saying the Psalm *Miserere*, by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for the same; and there in the presence of Mr. Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, Sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, he was burned to ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was burning.

A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted; but he utterly refused it. He was the first martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, but ten able to go, and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went toward Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could not move him, but he cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defence of Christ's gospel.

Lawrence Saunders.

Notwithstanding the public proclamation issued in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, to hinder the preaching of the Gospel, several pious ministers still continued to inculcate the pure doctrine of Christ; not as authorised preachers, but as the private pastors of particular flocks. Among these, was *Lawrence Saunders*, a man of good parentage. He was placed early at Eton school, whence, at a proper age, he was chosen to go to King's college in Cambridge, where he continued a scholar three years, and profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time: shortly after, quitting the university, he went to his parents, upon whose advice he consented to become a merchant: his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, thought to set him in the way of wealth, and so coming up to London, he was bound apprentice to Sir William Chester, who was afterwards sheriff of London the same year that Saunders was burnt at Coventry.

It happened that the master, being a good man, and perceiving his whole purpose to be bent to the study of books, and spiritual contemplation, like a good and sensible man wrote to his friends, and giving him his indentures, set him free. Thus

Mr. Saunders being ravished with the love of learning, shortly returned to Cambridge again to his study, to furnish himself for the office of a preacher.

In the beginning of King Edward's reign, when true religion was introduced, after licence obtained, he began to preach, and was so liked by them who then had authority, that they had appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fothringham, where, by doctrine and life, he edified the pious, drew many ignorant to the true knowledge of God, and stopped the mouths of adversaries. He married about that time, and led a life unblameable before all men. After a certain space, he departed to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Church-langton, where he taught diligently, and kept a liberal house. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the city of London, Alhallows in Bread-street. But the bishop of London interrupted him by sending an officer for him.

Mr. Saunders continued in prison one year and three months. In which space he sent several letters to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his wife, and also to others.

The letters of this noble soul, breathe so good a confession, and speak such fortitude, resignation and confidence, that we cannot forbear presenting the two following to our readers.

I. *To Bishop Gardiner.*

"Touching the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, forasmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to use, according to our consciences, such service as was then established. My doctrine was then agreeable unto my conscience and the same service then used. I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of sermons or lectures. But be it that I did break the proclamation, this long time of continuance in prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

"Touching the charging of me with my religion, I say with St. Paul; this I confess, 'That after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fore-fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets, and have hope towards God,' &c. Acts xxiv. And herein study I to have always a clear conscience towards God and towards men. And this my conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the infallible verity of God's word, with the witnessing of his chosen church agreeable unto the same.

"It is an easy thing for them which take Christ for their true pastor, and be the very sheep of his pasture, to discern the voice of their true shepherd, from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and

strangers: forasmuch as Christ saith, 'My sheep hear my voice,' John x. yea, and thereby they shall have the gift to know the right voice of the true shepherd, and so to follow him, and to avoid the contrary, as he also saith, 'The sheep follow the shepherd, for they know his voice: a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of a stranger.' Such inward inspiration doth the Holy Ghost put into the children of God, being indeed taught of God, but otherwise unable to understand the true way of their salvation. And although the wolf (as Christ saith) cometh in sheep's clothing, yet by their fruits you shall know them. That the Romish religion is ravening and wolfish, is apparent in three principal points

'First, It robbeth God of his due and only honour.

'Secondly, It taketh away the true comfort of conscience, in obscuring, or rather burying of Christ and his office of salvation.

'Thirdly, It spoileth God of his true worship and service in spirit and truth, appointed in his commandments, and driveth men unto that inconvenience, against which Christ with the prophet Isaiah doth speak sharply: 'this people honoureth me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me, they worship me in vain, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men.' And in another place, 'Ye cast aside the commandments of God, to maintain your own traditions.' "

II. *To his Wife.*

"Grace, mercy, and peace in Christ our Lord, entirely beloved wife, even as unto my own soul and body, so do I daily in my hearty prayer wish unto you; for I do daily, twice at least, in this sort remember you. And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we are written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Christ. And for this present life, let us wholly appoint ourselves to the will of our good God to glorify him either by life or by death; and even that same merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaseth him. Amen. I am cherrful, I thank my God and my Christ, in whom and through whom I shall I know be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course, and then receive the crown, which is laid up in store for me, and all the true soldiers of Christ. Wherefore, wife, let us in the name of our God, fight lustily to overcome the flesh, the devil, and the world. What our harness and weapons be in this kind of fight, look in the sixth chapter unto the Ephesians, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suit for me in any wise. Thank, you know whom, for her most sweet and com-

fortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am passing. God send us all good speed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few such friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all. Amen. A prisoner in the Lord.

L. Saunders."

When Mr. Saunders was in confinement, an order was sent to the keeper that no person should speak with him: but his wife coming to the prison gate with her young child in her arms, the keeper, though he durst not, on account of his charge, suffer her to come into the prison, yet he took the infant from her, and brought him to his father. Mr. Saunders, seeing the child, said, that he rejoiced more to have such a boy, than he should if two thousand pounds were given him. And to the standers by, who praised the goodliness of the child, he said, "What man fearing God, would not lose his life, rather than by prolonging it, he should adjudge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to vouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?"

After this good and faithful martyr had been kept in prison one year and a quarter, the bishops at length called him, as they did his fellow-prisoners, openly to be examined; and the purport of his examination, as written by himself, here followeth.

In this examination the lord chancellor thus spake:

It is not unknown that you have been a prisoner, for such abominable heresies and false doctrine as have been sown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be shewed to such as seek for it. Wherefore if now you will shew yourself conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say that we have fallen in manner all: but now we are risen again, and returned to the catholic church; you must rise with us, and come home unto it. Give us forthwith a direct answer.

Saunders. My lord, and my lords all, may it please your honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation.

Chancellor. Leave off your painting and pride of speech: for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yes, or no.

Saunders. My lord, it is no time for me now to paint. And as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me; my learning I confess to be but small, and as for riches or worldly wealth, I have none at all. Notwithstanding, it standeth me in hand to answer your demand circumspectly, considering that one of these two extreme perils is likely to fall upon me, namely the losing of a good conscience, or the losing of this my body.

and life. And I tell you truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience.

Chancellor. Conscience! you have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, dividing yourselves by singularity from the church.

Saunders. The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And where your lordship layeth to my charge this dividing myself from the church, I do assure you that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years of age, being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped, with many other abuses springing thereof. Yes, this I have received even at your hands, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority.

Chancellor. But have you received by consent and authority, all your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar?

Saunders. My lord, it is less offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live though he lose an arm, hand, or joint; but he cannot without his head. Now you all had agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the head of the church again.

Bishop of London. And if it please your lordship, I have his hand against the blessed sacrament. How say you to that?

Saunders. What I have written, that I have written, and further I will not accuse myself. Nothing have you to burden me withal, for breaking of your laws since they were in force.

Chancellor. Well, you are obstinate, and refuse liberty.

Saunders. My lord, I may not buy liberty at such a price: but I beseech your honours to be means to the queen's majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unclogged, and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise, I must say for myself, that by God's grace I will abide the utmost extremity that man may do against me, rather than act against my conscience.

Chancellor. Ah, sirrah, you will live as you like. The Donatists did desire to live in singularity; but indeed they were not fit to live on earth: no more are you, and that you shall understand within these seven days; and therefore away with him.

Saunders. Welcome be it, whatsoever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God rest upon you all. Amen. This is the sum and form of my first examination.

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and stayed until the rest of his fellow-prisoners were likewise examined, that they might have them all together to prison. Mr. Saunders, standing among the officers, seeing there a great

multitude of people, spoke freely, warning them all of that which by their falling from Christ to antichrist they deserved: and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of Antichrist, sin, death, and the devil: so should they retain the Lord's favour and blessing.

Having been excommunicated and delivered over to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriffs of London to the Compter, a prisoner in his own parish of Bread-street, whereat he rejoiced greatly, both because he found there a fellow-prisoner, Mr. Cardmaker, with whom he had much christian and comfortable discourse; and because out of prison, as before out of a pulpit, he might have an opportunity of preaching to his parishioners.

On the fourth day of February, Bonner, bishop of London, came to the prison to degrade him: which when he had done, Mr. Saunders said to him, "I thank God I am none of your church."

The day following in the morning, the sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, which were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned.

On their arrival at Coventry, a poor shoemaker, who used to serve him with shoes, came to him, and said, "O my good master, God strengthen and comfort you." "Good shoemaker," replied he, "I desire thee to pray for me, for I am the most unfit man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it: but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough." The same night he was put into the common goal among other prisoners, where he slept little, but spent the night in prayer, and instructing others.

The next day, being the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park, without the city, going in an old gown and a shirt, bare-footed, and oftentimes fell flat on the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the officer appointed to see the execution done, said to Mr. Saunders, that he was one of them who marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy, wherefore thou hast deserved death: but yet if thou wilt revoke thine heresies, the queen hath pardoned thee; if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee. To whom Mr. Saunders answered, "It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are, who have always resisted God's holy word; it is you who mar the queen's realm. I hold no heresies, but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ; that hold I, that believe I, that have I taught, and that will I never revoke." With that, this tormenter cried, "Away

with him." And away from him went Mr. Saunders, with a cheerful courage, towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed; he rose up again and took the stake to which he should be chained, in his arms, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life:" and being fastened to the stake, and fire put to him, he sweetly slept in the Lord.

Mr. Saunders had often told his friends, that many would suffer, if ever Mary ascended the throne. He knew the temper of that princess, and probably it was that which made him expect sufferings.

The Life and Martyrdom of John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester.

John Hooper, student and graduate in the University of Oxford, having made great progress in the study of the sciences, had a fervent desire to know the Scriptures. Advancing by God's grace, in spiritual understanding, in the time of King Henry VIII. he fell into displeasure and hatred of certain doctors in Oxford, who soon discovered their enmity to him, till at length, by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to quit the university. Removing from thence, he was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, in the capacity of his steward, till Sir Thomas, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and conditions of the man, found the means to send him with a message to the bishop of Winchester, but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him again.

Winchester, after long conference with Mr. Hooper, sent him home again, commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breast a secret enmity against him.

Not long after this, as malice is always working mischief, Mr. Hooper was advised to provide for himself, for evil was preparing against him: whereupon Mr. Hooper left Sir Thomas Arundel's house, and borrowing a horse of a friend, whose life he had saved from the gallows, took his journey to the sea-side to go to France, sending back the horse by one, who did not deliver him to the owner. Mr. Hooper remained not long in Paris, but returned into England again, and was retained by Mr. Sentlow, till he was again molested and sought for; whereby he was compelled (under pretence of being captain of a ship going to Ireland) to take to the seas, and so escaped through France, to the higher parts of Germany. Where, commencing acquaintance with learned men, he was by them lovingly entertained, both at Bazil and at Zurich; at the latter place in particular by

Mr. Bullinger. Here he also married, and applied very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

At length, when God saw it good to end the bloody persecution which arose from the six articles, amongst many other English exiles, who repaired homeward, was Mr. Hooper, who thought it his duty to forward the cause of God in his native country. Coming to Mr. Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurich, "Mr. Hooper," said Mr. Bullinger, "although we are sorry to part with your company for our own cause, yet much greater cause have we to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christ, that you now return out of long banishment to your native country, where you may not only enjoy your own private liberty, but also the state of Christ's church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it will. Another cause why we rejoice with you and for you, is, that you shall remove not only out of exile into liberty, but you shall leave here a barren, sour, and unpleasant country, rude and savage, and shall go into a land flowing with milk and honey, replenished with all pleasure and fertility. Notwithstanding, with this our rejoicing one fear and care we have, lest you being so far distant from us, where you shall come peradventure to be a bishop, you will forget us your old acquaintance and well-wishers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget us, yet this persuade yourself, that we will not forget our old friend Mr. Hooper. And if you will please not to forget us, then I pray you let us hear from you."

Having taken his farewell of Mr. Bullinger, and his friends in Zurich, he repaired to England in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and coming to London, used continually to preach some times twice, and at least once every day.

His life was so pure, that no kind of slander, although some reviled him, could fasten any fault upon him. He was of body strong, his health sound, his wit very poignant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatever adversity could inflict. He was constant of judgment, frugal of diet, spare of words, and still more so, of time. In house-keeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would well admit of.

After he had practised himself in this popular preaching, he was called to preach before the king, and soon after made bishop of Gloucester by his majesty's commands. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies could find no fault with him; after this he was made bishop of Worcester.

Mr. Hooper now entering into his diocese, employed his time under king Edward's reign, with such diligence, as may be an example to all bishops. So careful was he in his cure, that he

left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men are commonly wont, for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishoprics, some hunting for them, and some purchasing them, as men use to purchase lordships.

To this sort of men, Dr. Hooper was quite contrary. He abhorred nothing more than covetousness, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages teaching and preaching to the people. The time that he had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing public causes, or in private study, prayer, and visiting schools. At home, in his domestic concerns, he exhibited an example of a worthy prelate's life; for, although, he bestowed the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ, for which he shed his blood: yet, nevertheless, there was nothing wanting, to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; insomuch, that it is difficult to say, whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or his public conduct abroad. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof, there was the beauty of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the Holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp, no dishonest word, no swearing, could there be heard. As to the revenues of both his bishoprics, he saved nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was (says Mr. Fox) in his house at Worcester, where, in his common-hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and surrounded by poor people: and asking his servants what this meant, they told me, that every day their master's manner was, to have at dinner a certain number of the poor of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, with wholesome meat: and when they were served, then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before. In this manner did he execute the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, for the space of two years and more, so long as the state of religion in king Edward's time safely flourished. After this, in the reign of queen Mary, this good bishop was one of the first who was sent for to London; and that for two causes:

First, To answer to Dr. Heath, then appointed bishop of that diocese, who was deprived thereof in King Edward's days, for being a papist.

Secondly, To render an account to Dr. Bonner, bishop of

London, because he had in King Edward's time been one of his accusers, and although he was not ignorant of the evils that should happen towards him, yet he would not prevent them, but said, "Once did I flee, but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly persuaded to remain and to live and die with my sheep."

On his arrival at London, before he could see Dr. Heath and Dr. Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded to appear before the queen and her council, to answer certain bonds and obligations, wherein she said he was bound to her. And when he came before them, Gardiner received him very opprobriously, railing at him, and accusing him of his religion, he freely and boldly answered and cleared himself. But was, notwithstanding, commanded to ward.

On March 19, 1554, he was called again to appear before Winchester, and others of the queen's commissioners: where, what for the bishop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishoprics.

On Dr. Hooper's entering, the lord chancellor asked whether he was married.

Hooper. Yes, my lord, and will not be unmarried, till death unmarry me.

Durham. That is matter enough to deprive you.

Hooper. Not, my lord, except you do it against the law.

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for some time: but all began to make great outcries, and laughed, and used such gestures as were unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, called bishop Hooper a hypocrite, with vehement words, and scornful countenance. Bishop Tonstell called him beast; so did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and several others that stood by. At length the bishop of Winchester said, that all men might live chaste who would, and brought in this text, "There are those that have become eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven," Matt. xix. 12.

Bishop Hooper said, that text proved not that all men could live chaste, but such to whom it was given; and read the verse before it. But again there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him beast, that the text could not be examined. Then bishop Hooper said, that it appeared by the old canons, that marriage was not forbidden unto priests, and then named the decrees. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely, the Clementines, or the extravagants. But bishop Hooper said, that book was not the one he named.

The bishop of Winchester replied, "You shall not have any

other, until you be judged by this." And then began such a noise, tumult, and speaking together of a great many who favoured not the cause, that nothing was done or spoken orderly or charitably. Afterwards, judge Morgan began to rail at bishop Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words relative to his proceedings at Gloucester, in punishing of men, and said, there was never such a tyrant as he was. After that, Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, said, that the council of Ancyra, which was before the council of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

Upon which the lord chancellor cried out, and many with him, that bishop Hooper had never read the councils.

Yes, my lord, said he, and my lord of Chichester, Dr. Day, knoweth, that the great council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, decreed, That no minister should be separated from his wife. Again such clamours and cries were used, that the council of Nice was not attended to.

After much illiberal speech, Tonstall, bishop of Durham, asked him whether he believed the corporeal presence of the sacrament? He said plainly, that there was none such, neither did he believe any such thing.

The bishop of Durham then would have read out of a book, but there was such a noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not proceed. Then the bishop of Winchester asked, What authority had moved him to deny the corporeal presence? He said, the authority of God's Word, and alleged this text, "Whom heaven must hold until the latter day." But the bishop of Winchester would have made that text to serve nothing for his purpose, and said, he might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also.

Dr. Hooper would have opened the text, but all who stood about the bishop prevented his speaking with clamours and cries, so that he was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Whereupon they bade the notaries write, that he was married, and said, that he would not go from his wife; and that he believed not the corporeal presence in the sacrament; for which he was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric.

This is the truth, as far as I can remember, of the confused and troublesome conversation between them, and except many hasty and uncharitable words, it is the whole of their discourse at that time.

The following Account is written by Himself.

The first of September 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet, from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and within six days after I paid five pounds sterling to the warden for fees,

for my liberty; who immediately upon payment thereof, complained unto the bishop of Winchester, upon which I was committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the Tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used extremely ill. Then by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but as soon as dinner and supper were done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

After one quarter of a year, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me, respecting the wicked mass; and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and noisome, until by God's means good people sent me bedding to lie on. On one side of the prison, is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other, the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.

During which time I have been sick, and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for help: but the warden when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, "Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him."

I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishoprics, and since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely, than the veriest slave that ever came to the common side of the prison.

The warden hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but a little remembrance of good people's names who had given me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, livings, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me, by just account, fourscore pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to keep me, neither is there suffered any one to come at me, whereby I might have

relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God's help) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death.

January 28th, 1555, the bishop of Winchester, and other commissioners, again sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where bishop Hooper appeared before them in the afternoon, and there, after much reasoning and disputation, he was commanded aside, till the Rev. Mr. Rogers, who was then come, had been likewise examined. Examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four o'clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till the following day at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent.

By the way, the sheriff said to the bishop, I wonder you were so hasty and quick with my lord chancellor, and did use no more patience: he answered, Mr. Sheriff, I was not at all impatient, although I was earnest in my master's cause, and it standeth me so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death, not the life and death of this world only, but also of the world to come. Then they were committed to the keeper of the Compter, and appointed to several chambers, with command that they should not be suffered to speak one with another, neither was any other permitted to come to them that night.

On the Monday morning, Bonner, bishop of London, came to Newgate, and degraded bishop Hooper in all the usual pomp and pride of his dark and bigotted church.

The same day, at night, February 4, his keeper gave the bishop a hint that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him among the people, over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory: and immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloke, that he might be in readiness to ride when he should be called.

The day following, about four o'clock in the morning, the keeper with others came and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing; after which, he was led by the sheriffs of London, and their officers, from Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunstan's church in Fleet Street, where six of the queen's guard were appointed to receive him, to carry him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriff, who with the lord Shandois, Mr. Wicks, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. Which guard

brought him to the Angel, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meat at that time more liberally then he had a good while before. About break of day he leaped cheerfully on horseback, having a hood upon his head, under his hat, that he should not be known, and so took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester; and by the way the guard inquired of him, where he was accustomed to bait or lodge, but always carried him to another inn than the one he named.

On the Thursday following he came to Cirencester, fifteen miles from Gloucester, and there dined at a woman's house who had always hated the truth, and spoken all the evil she could of the bishop. This woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, shewed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears, confessing what she before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not stand to his doctrine.

After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five o'clock. At a mile without the town was much people assembled, who cried and lamented his state; insomuch, that one of the guard rode post into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. Accordingly, the officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses, &c. but there was none that gave any signification of violence. He was lodged at one Ingram's house in Gloucester, and that night (as he had done all the way) he eat his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by the guard and others. After his first sleep, he continued in prayer until morning, and all the day, except a little time at his meals, and when conversing with such as the guard permitted to speak to him, he spent in prayer.

Sir Anthony Kingston, formerly Dr. Hooper's good friend, was appointed by the queen's letters to attend at his execution. As soon as he saw the bishop he burst into tears. Dr. Hooper did not know him at first; the knight therefore addressing him, said, "Why, my lord, do not you know me—an old friend of your's, Anthony Kingston?"

"Yes, Sir Anthony Kingston, I do know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and praise God for the same."

"But I am sorry to see you, my lord, in this case; for as I understand, you are come hither to die. But, alas! consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good."

"Indeed it is true, Sir Anthony; I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the truth that I have heretofore taught amongst you in this diocese,

and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not as I could have wished it."

After these, and many other words, they took leave of each other, Mr. Kingston with bitter tears, Dr. Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At his departure the bishop told him, that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

The same night on which the bishop was committed by the guard into the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester, (Jenkins and Bond,) they, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to his lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. "Mr. Mayor, (said he) I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand; whereby, to my rejoicing, it is very apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished: and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past, are not utterly forgotten, when I was your bishop and pastor. For which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither, you know, by the queen's commands, to die; and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, Messrs. Sheriffs, I understand by these good men, and my good friends, at whose hands I have found as much favour and gentleness on the road hither, as a prisoner could reasonably require, that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end; and in the mean time I will be as obedient to you as yourselves could wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one forced or compelled to die; for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain; but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful subject of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen."

These, and words to the same effect, bishop Hooper used to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many mourned and lamented. His desire was, that he might go to bed betime, saying, that he had many things to remember: accordingly he went at five o'clock, and slept one sleep soundly, then spent the rest of the night in prayer. After he had got up in the morning,

he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

About eight o'clock came Sir John Bridges, Lord Shandois, with a great band of men, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners appointed to see the execution. At nine, Dr. Hooper prepared himself to be in readiness, the time being now at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills and other weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he said to the sheriffs, "I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer: for if you had suffered me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and troubled none of you. Afterwards looking upon the multitude of people who were assembled, being by estimation about 7000, (for it was market-day, and many came to see his behaviour) he spake unto those that were about him, saying, "Alas! why are these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past: but, alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine, and that out of the word of God; and because I will not now account the same to be heresy, and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me." Having said this, he went forward, led between the two sheriffs, in a gown of his hosts, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to rest himself upon; for the pain of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way, being straightly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth; but beholding the people, who mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so happy and ruddy a countenance as he did then. When he came to the place where he should die, he smilingly beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was near to the great elm-tree over against the college of priests, where he had been wont to preach. The place round about the houses, and the boughs of the trees were filled with spectators; and in the chamber over the college gate stood the priests of the college. Then he kneeled down (forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he well knew, that he might hear his prayer, and report faithfully the same. When this person came to the bishop, he (pouring tears upon his shoulders

and in his bosom) continued his prayer for half an hour: which prayer was drawn from the whole creed.

While at his prayer a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon, at least it was feigned to be such, from the queen, if he would recant. At the sight of this he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it." The box being taken away, the Lord Shandois said, "Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly." Dr. Hooper replied, "Good my lord; I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers."

Being now ready, he looked upon the people, of whom he might be well seen, for he was both tall, and stood also upon a high stool, and beheld round about him, that in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he prayed in silence. By and by, he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and asked him forgiveness. He asked why he should forgive him, saying, that he never knew any offence he had committed against him. "O Sir, (said the man) I am appointed to make the fire."—"Therein, (said Mr. Hooper,) thou dost nothing to offend me: God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office I pray thee." Then the reeds were cast up, and he receiving two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, and putting one of them under each arm, shewed with his hand how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any were wanting.

Command was now given that the fire should be kindled. But because there were not fewer green faggots than two horses could carry, it did not kindle speedily, but was some time before it took the reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him: but the wind having full strength in that place, and it being a lowring cold morning, it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner little more than touched by the fire.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two: and then the bladders of gunpowder exploded, but did him little good, being so placed, and the wind having such power. In this fire he prayed with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swoln that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums: and he struck his breast with his hands, until one of his arms fell off, when he still continued the same with the other, until by the renewing of the fire his strength was gone, and his

hand stuck fast in knocking to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the fire; even as a lamb, patiently bearing the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, nor to any side; but having his nether parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed; and he now reigneth as a blessed martyr in the joys of heaven, prepared for the faithful in Christ before the foundations of the world: for whose constancy all Christians are bound to praise God.

See here, gentle reader, the spirit and practice of popery! and earnestly pray to God, to preserve thee and the nation from such a detestable and cruel system.

The Life and Martyrdom of the Rev. Dr. Rowland Taylor, Vicar of Hadley, in Suffolk, who was burned at Aldham-Common, February 9, 1555.

Hadley was one of the first towns that received the word of God, at the preaching of the Rev. Thomas Bilney; by whose industry the gospel of Christ took such root there, that a great number became exceedingly learned in the Holy Scriptures, as well women as men; so that many might be found among them who had often read the bible through, and who could have repeated by heart most of St. Paul's epistles; their children and servants were also well instructed.

In this parish Dr. Taylor was vicar. He was a man of eminent learning, and had been admitted to the degree of doctor of the civil and common law.

His known attachment to the pure principles of Christianity recommended him to the favour and friendship of Dr. Cranmer, with whom he lived, till through his interest he obtained the living of Hadley. This charge he attended with the utmost diligence, recommending and inforcing the doctrines of the gospel, not only by his judicious discourses from the pulpit, but also by the whole tenor of his life and conversation.

Dr. Taylor continued promoting the cause of the Redeemer, and the salvation of souls, both by his preaching and example during the reign of king Edward; but on the succession of Mary to the throne, he could not escape the cloud that burst on so many: for two of his parishioners, Foster, an attorney, and Clark, a tradesman, out of blind zeal, resolved that mass should be celebrated in all its superstitious forms, in the parish church at Hadley, on the Monday before Easter. They had even

caused an altar to be built in the chancel for that purpose, which being pulled down by the Protestant inhabitants, they erected another, and prevailed with the minister of an adjacent parish to celebrate mass in the passion week.

Dr. Taylor, being employed in his study, was alarmed by the ringing of bells at an unusual time, and went to the church to inquire the cause. He found the great doors fast, but lifting up the latch of the chancel door, he entered, and was surprised to see a priest in his habit prepared to celebrate mass, and guarded by a party of men under arms, to prevent interruption.

Dr. Taylor being vicar of the parish, demanded of the priest the cause of such proceeding without his knowledge, and how he dared profane the temple of God with abominable idolatries. Foster, the lawyer, insolently replied, "Thou traitor, how darest thou to interrupt the execution of the queen's orders;" but the doctor undauntedly denied the charge of traitor, and asserted his mission as a minister of Christ, and of that part of his flock, commanding the priest, as a wolf in sheep's clothing, to depart, nor infect the pure church of God with popish idolatry. A very violent altercation then ensued, between Foster, the lawyer, and Dr. Taylor, the former asserting the queen's prerogative, and the other the authority of the canon law, which commanded that no mass be said, but at a consecrated altar.

The priest, intimidated by the intrepid behaviour of the Protestant minister, would have departed without saying mass, but Clark said to him, Fear not, you have a *super altare* (which is a consecrated stone, commonly about a foot square, which the popish priests carry instead of an altar, when they say mass in gentlemen's houses) proceed, and do your duty.

They then forced the doctor out of the church, celebrated mass, and immediately informed the bishop of Winchester of his behaviour, who summoned him to appear before him, and answer the complaints alleged against him.

Dr. Taylor, upon receipt of the summons, cheerfully prepared to obey; and, on some of his friends advising him to flee beyond sea, in order to avoid the cruelty of his inveterate enemies, he told them, that he was determined to go to the bishop, and he accordingly repaired to London, and waited on him.

When Gardiner saw him, he, according to his common custom, reviled him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, with many other villainous reproaches; which Dr. Taylor having patiently heard, at last said to him:

My Lord, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful Christian, and am come according to your commandment, to know the cause of your lordship's sending for me.

Art thou come, thou villain? said the violent Gardiner; how darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?

Yes, said Dr. Taylor, I know who you are, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor, and yet but a mortal man. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare you for shame look any Christian in the face, seeing you have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will you appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath, made first unto King Henry, and afterwards unto Edward, his son?

The bishop answered, that was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God I am come home again to our mother, the catholic church of Rome, and so I would thou shouldst do,

Should I forsake the church of Christ? said Dr. Taylor. God forbid. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him.

I tell thee, said Winchester, it was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy father, the pope, hath discharged me of it.

But you shall not be so discharged before Christ, said Dr. Taylor. He doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can quit you.

I see, said the bishop, thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool.

My lord, replied Dr. Taylor, "He that saith to his brother, Racha, is in danger of the council; and he that saith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire."

The bishop answered, You are false, and liars, all the sort of you.

Nay, said Dr. Taylor, we are true men, and know that it is written, "The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul;" and again, "Lord God, thou shalt destroy all that speak lies." And, therefore, we abide by the truth of God's word, which you, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake.

Thou hast resisted the queen's proceedings, said Gardiner, and would not suffer the minister of Aldham, Mr. John Averth, a very virtuous and devout priest, to say mass in Hadley. Dr. Taylor answered, My lord, I am vicar of Hadley, and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with the venom of the popish idolatrous mass.

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With that the bishop waxed very angry, and taking off his cap, said, Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament, and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Christ, said the undaunted veteran of truth, gave himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation for all them that believe in him. Then the bishop called his men, and said, Take this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper that he be straitly kept.

Dr. Taylor, kneeling down, held up both his hands, and said, "Good Lord, I thank thee: and from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: and God be praised for good king Edward." So they carried him to prison to the King's Bench, where he was confined almost two years.

This is the sum of their first discourse, as mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his, thanking God for his grace, at the same time, that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to suffer prison and bonds, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that he might persevere constant unto the end.

In January, 1555, Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Saunders, were again called to appear before the bishops of Winchester, Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham, and being again charged with heresy and schism, a determinate answer was required, whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors, or hear their condemnation.

The three Christian heroes answered boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in King Edward's days, neither would they submit to the Romish antichrist, but thanked God for so great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word.

Their enemies, finding them so bold, and so immoveably fixed in the truth, read the sentence of death upon them, which, when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and said unto the bishops, We doubt not, but God, the righteous judge, will require our blood at your hands; and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of antichrist, and your tyranny that you now shew against the flock of Christ.

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the Poultry Compter about a week, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as appertained to their massing-mummery. Now being come, he called

for the Doctor to be brought unto him; the bishop being then in the chamber where the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. Dr. Taylor was accordingly brought down from the chamber to Bonner. Doctor, said the latter, I wish you would remember yourself, and turn to your holy mother church, so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon. Dr. Taylor answered, I wish that you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to antichrist. Well, said the bishop, I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures. No, said Dr. Taylor, I will not. Wilt thou not? said the bishop; I shall make thee, ere I go. You shall not, said Dr. Taylor, by the grace of God. Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not.

Upon this, he ordered another to put them upon his back, and being thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his side, walking up and down, and said, How say you, my lord, am not I a goodly fool? How say you, my masters? If I were in Cheapside, should I not have boys to laugh at these apish toys and trumpery?

At this Bonner was so enraged, that he would have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast, with his crosier-staff, when his chaplain said, My lord, strike him not, for he will certainly strike again. The bishop then laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Dr. Taylor said, Though you curse me, yet God doth bless me.

The night after his degradation, his wife, his son Thomas, and his servant, John Hull, came to him, and were, by the keepers, permitted to sup with him: at their coming, they kneeled down and prayed.

After supper, walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had so called him, and given him strength to abide by his holy word; and turning to his son, My dear son, said he, Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth all thy life long. And see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin and wicked living: be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply to thy book. In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of the lewd company of young men that fear not God, but who follow their lusts and vain appetites. Flee from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering that I, thy father, die in the defence of holy marriage.

Then turning to his beloved partner, My dear wife, said he, continue steadfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstition. I have

been unto you a faithful yoke fellow, and so have you to me, for which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, dear wife, but he will reward it. Now the time is come that I shall be taken away from you, and you discharged of the wedlock bond towards me: therefore I will give you the counsel which I think most expedient for you. You are yet in the prime of life, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry.

On the following morning, the sheriff of London, with his officers, came by two o'clock, and brought him forth, and without any light led him to the Woolpack, an inn without Algate. Mrs. Taylor, suspecting that her husband would that night be carried away, watched all night in St. Botolph's church porch, without Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, an orphan, whom the Doctor had adopted at three years old; the other, named Mary, his own daughter.

When the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph's church, the grateful little Elizabeth cried, O my dear father! mother, mother, here is my father led away. Rowland, Rowland, said his wife, where art thou? for it was so dark a morning that the one could not see the other. Dear wife, I am here, said the doctor, and stopped. The sheriff's men would have forced him on; but the sheriff said, Stay a little, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife.

She then came to him, when he took his daughter Mary in his arms; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth, kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept much, as did several of the company. The prayer finished, he rose up and kissed his wife, and pressing her hand, said, Farewell, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children. And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, God bless thee, and make thee his servant: and kissing Elizabeth, he said, God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and his word, and beware of idolatry. Then said his wife, God be with thee, dear Rowland, I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadley.

He was then led on, while his wife followed him. As soon as he came to the Woolpack, he was put into a chamber wherein he was kept with four yeoman of the guard, and the sheriff's men. As soon as he entered the chamber, he fell down on his knees, and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then seeing Mrs. Taylor there, would, in no case, grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house, and use it as her own, promising her, she should lack nothing, and sending two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding this, she desired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Dr. Taylor was confined at the Woolpack by the sheriff and his company, till eleven o'clock, by which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive him; when they sat him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

On coming out of the gates, John Hull stood at the rails with young Taylor. When the doctor saw them, he called them, saying, Come hither, my son Thomas. John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: Dr. Taylor then put off his hat, and said to the people, Good people, this is mine own son, begotten in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony. Then he lifted up his eyes towards heaven and prayed for his child, laid his hat upon his head and blessed him, and then delivered him to his faithful servant, whom he took by the hand, and said, Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant ever man had. After this, they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading them.

When they were come almost to Burntwood, one Arthur Faysy, a man of Hadley, who formerly had been Dr. Taylor's servant, met with them, and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, Master, I am glad to see you again at liberty, and took him by the hand. Sir, returned the sheriff, he is a prisoner; what hast thou to do with him? I cry you mercy, said Arthur, I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man. The sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding he bid him get quickly away, and they proceeded to Burntwood; where they caused to be made for Dr. Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe through. This they did, that no man should know him, and that he should speak to no one.

On his way, Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry. He spoke many things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and turn to the true religion. Of these yeomen of the guard, three used him very tenderly, but the fourth, named Holmes, treated him most unkindly.

At Chelmsford the sheriff of Suffolk met them, there to receive and carry him into Suffolk. Being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly besought him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him, and said, "Good Doctor, we are sorry for you, considering the loss of such a man as you. You would do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic universal church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holiness to be the supreme head

of the church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet if you will: doubt not but you shall find favour at the queen's hands. I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon; this counsel I give you, Doctor, of a good heart and will towards you: and thereupon I drink to you." In this joined all the rest, saying, Upon this condition, Doctor, we will all drink to you.

When the cup was handed to him, he stayed a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At last he said, Mr. Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good-will; I have attended to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I find that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation. With that word they all rejoiced. Yes, Doctor, said the sheriff, God's blessing on your heart; hold you there still. It is the most comfortable word we have heard you speak yet.

Then, continued Dr. Taylor, I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man of a very large body, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley church-yard, had I died in my bed, as I hoped I should have done; but herein I was deceived; and there are a great number of worms in Hadley church-yard, which would have had merry feeding upon me, but now I know we shall be deceived, both I and they; for this carcass must be burned to ashes, and they shall lose their feast.

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looking one on another, marvelling at his constant mind, that thus without all fear made but a jest at torment and death now prepared for him.

At Chelmsford Dr. Taylor was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley. On their arrival at Lanham, the sheriff stayed there two days; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices, who were appointed to aid him. These gentlemen undeavoured very much to reduce the Doctor to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, which, said they, we have here for you. They also promised him great promotions, even a bishopric if he would take it: but all their labour and flattery were in vain.

When they came to Hadley, and were riding over the bridge, there waited a poor man with five small children: who when he saw Doctor Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and holding up their hands, cried with a loud voice, O dear father and good shepherd, God help and succour thee as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children. Such witness had the servant of God of his virtuous and charit-

able life. The streets of Hadley were crowded with men and women of the town and country, who waited to see him; and in beholding him so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried one to another, Ah, Lord! there goeth our good shepherd from us, who so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so religiously hath governed us!

Coming against the alms-houses, which he well knew, he cast money to the poor people, which remained out of what had been given him in the time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first commitment to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his confinement by the charitable alms of good people that visited him.

On arriving at Aldham common, the place where he should suffer, seeing a great multitude, he asked, What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither? It was answered, It is Aldham common, the place where you must suffer; and the people are come to behold you. "Then, (said he) thanked be God, I am even at home." He then alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

Then he desired leave of the sheriff to speak; but he denied it him, and bade him remember his promise to the council.

Dr. Taylor perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him, and said, "Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour: thou hast long looked for them, now take them." Then he rose up and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away. Which done, he said with a loud voice, "Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the Holy Bible: and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." With that Homes, yeoman of the guard, who had used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head, and said, Is that keeping thy promise, thou heretic? Then he seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman who was among the people stepped in and prayed with him; but they thrust her away, and threatened to tread her down with their horses: notwithstanding this she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes towards heaven, and continually prayed.

They then bound him with chains, and the sheriff called

Richard Donningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up the faggots; but the man refused and said, I am lame, Sir, and not able to lift a faggot. The sheriff on this threatened to send him to prison: but notwithstanding, he would not do it. Then he appointed one Mulleine, of Carsey, a man well fitted for such an office; and Soyce, a very drunkard; and Warwick, who in King Edward's days lost one of his ears for his seditious talk; with one Robert King, a deviser of interludes; these he commanded to set up the faggots and make the fire, which they most diligently did; and Warwick cruelly cast a faggot at him, which striking him on the face, the blood ran down. Then said Dr. Taylor, O friend, I have suffering enough, what needeth that?

Sir John Shelton standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and saying the Psalm *Miserere* in English, struck him on the lips: "You knave, (said he) speak Latin, I will make thee." At last they kindled the fire; when the martyr holding up his hands, called upon God, and said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands." He then remained still without either crying or moving. with his hands folded together, till Soyce with an halberd struck him on the head so violently, that his brains fell out, and the corpse fell into the fire. And thus died one, of "whom the world was not worthy." But who would now exchange the eternal life of Dr. Taylor for the everlasting punishment of his enemies?

These severities were very hateful to the nation. It was observed, that in King Edward's time, those that opposed the laws, were only turned out of their benefices, and some few of them were imprisoned; but now men were put in prison on trifling pretences, and kept there till laws were made, by which they were condemned merely for their opinion, for they had acted nothing contrary to law. One piece of cruelty was also singular: when the council sent away those who were to be burnt in the country, they threatened to cut out their tongues if they would not promise to make no speeches to the people: which they, to avoid that butchery, were forced to promise. Those who loved the reformation were now possessed with great aversion to the popish party, and the whole body of the nation now disliked this cruelty, and began to hate King Philip for it. Gardiner and the other counsellors had openly said, that the queen set them on to it, so that the blame of it was laid on the king, the sourness of whose temper, together with his bigotry in matters of religion, made it seem reasonable. He finding that this was like to raise such prejudices against him as might probably spoil his design of making himself master of England,

took care to vindicate himself. Accordingly his confessor, Alphonsus, a Franciscan, preached a sermon at court, against the taking of people's lives for opinions in religion; and inveighed against the bishops for doing it: by this the blame of it was turned back on them, and this made them stop for some weeks; but at last they resolved rather to bear the blame of the persecution avowedly, than not to go on in it.

At this time a petition was printed beyond sea; by which the reformers addressed themselves to the queen: they set before her the danger of being carried by a blind zeal to destroy the members of Christ, as St. Paul had done before his conversion; they remembered her of Cranmer's interposing to preserve her life in her father's time; they cited many passages out of the books of Gardiner, Bonner and Tonstal, by which she might see that they were not acted by true principles of conscience, but were turned as their fears or interests led them. They shewed her how contrary persecution was to the spirit of the gospel, that Christians tolerated Jews, and that Turks, notwithstanding the barbarity of their tempers, and the cruelty of their religion, yet tolerated Christians. They remembered her, that the first law for burning in England was made by Henry the IVth. as a reward to the bishops who had helped him to depose Richard the Second, and so to mount the throne. They represented to her, that God had trusted her with the sword, which she ought to employ for the protection of her people, and was not to abandon them to the cruelty of such wolves. The petition also turned to the nobility and the rest of the nation; and the dangers of a Spanish yoke, and a bloody inquisition were set before them. Upon this the popish authors writ several books in justification of those proceedings. They observed that the Jews were commanded to put blasphemers to death; and said the heretics blasphemed the body of Christ, and called it only a piece of bread, &c.

Also *William Pigot*, and others, were brought before the bishops for the cause of religion: but when Stephen Gardiner perceived that all his threats and cruel devices would not serve to dishearten men from adhering to the truth, he gave over the business as utterly discouraged, meddling no more with condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to bishop Bonner, who, bestirring himself in that trust, presently called before him the persons above named, and read the sentence of death upon them.

The king of Denmark wrote two letters to Queen Mary, in the behalf of master Coverdale, at whose intercession the queen at last suffered him to go and reside in his kingdom, where he remained in a state of banishment until the accession of Queen

Elizabeth; when he returned from exile, but refused to be restored to his see of Exeter, and died in a good old age at London, where he lies buried in St. Bartholomew's, Lothbury.

Thomas Tomkins was a weaver by profession; a man of a very humble and holy conversation; that would begin all his businesses with prayer; and so charitable, that if any came to borrow money of him, he would shew them all in his purse, and bid them keep it; and when they brought it home he would bid them keep it longer till they were better able to repay it. Bonner kept this man in prison half a year, and sometimes beat him cruelly about the face, and plucked off a piece of his beard, yet he bore it patiently. And when the bishop could by no other means prevail to remove him from the truth, having Dr. Harpsfield, and some others with him, he sent for Tomkins, and endeavoured to draw him to recant, which Tomkins denying, the bishop having a wax taper by him, took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand over the flame, and burnt it cruelly. Afterwards Tomkins reported to a friend, that whilst his hand was burning, he was so ravished in spirit that he felt no pain; so that he never shrunk till the veins shrunk, and the sinews brake, and the water spurt into Dr. Harpsfield's face; who was so moved with pity, that he requested the bishop to give over, saying, that he had tried him enough. After this he was brought into the bishop's consistory, and examined whether he did believe that Christ's body was really in the sacrament? To which he answered, that he believed the sacrament only to be a remembrance thereof, and that the very body and blood of Christ are only in heaven, and no where else. Then being asked whether he would recant his errors, he answered, that seeing God had revealed his truth to him, he would continue therein to his death. Hereupon the bishop read his sentence of condemnation, and delivered him to the sheriffs, who carried him to Newgate, and from thence into Smithfield, where he sealed the truth with his blood, and quietly slept in the Lord, in 1555.

Then *William Hunter*, a godly young man of nineteen years old, born of godly parents, who instructed him in the truth, and was by them placed apprentice in London, was commanded to go to mass, and receive the sacrament, which he refused to do; whereupon he was threatened to be complained of to the bishop. Hunter, therefore, taking leave of his master, went to his parents at Burntwood, with whom he remained about six weeks. When one day going into the chapel there, and finding a bible upon the desk, he began to read therein. Presently after came in a summoner, who said to him, "What dost thou meddling with the bible, canst thou understand what thou readest, and canst thou expound the Scripture?" Hunter answered,

I take not upon me to expound the Scripture, but finding the bible here, I read in it to my comfort. The summoner replied, It was never merry world since the bible came forth in English. Hunter said, Say not so for God's sake: for it is God's book, out of which every one that hath grace may learn how he ought to please God, and therefore I pray God that we may have the blessed bible amongst us continually. The summoner replied, I perceive your mind well enough; you are one of those that do not like the queen's laws, but you and many more must turn over a new leaf or you will broil for it. Hunter answered, Pray God give me grace that I may believe his word, and confess his name whatever comes of it. Confess his name! said the summoner. No, no, you will all go to the devil, and confess his name. Then did the summoner go forth, and fetched a priest, vicar of that place, out of an alehouse, who finding William Hunter reading, reviled and rebuked him for it, and afterwards asked him what he said to the blessed sacrament of the altar, whether the bread and wine were not transubstantiated into Christ's body? Hunter answered, that he found no such thing in Scripture, and told him that he understood Christ's words like the carnal Capernaites, who thought that Christ would have given them his flesh to feed on; wherefore he said to them, "The words that I speak, they are spirit and life." Ah, quoth the vicar, now I have found you out, now I see thou art an heretic, &c. Hunter replied, Whereas you make question of my faith, would we two were fast tied to a stake, to prove whether of us should stick closest to our faith, &c. Then the vicar departed, threatening to complain of William Hunter: whereupon he went home, and took leave of his father, and fled from the danger. Presently after, master Brown sent for old Hunter, and inquired for his son; he told him he knew not where he was: yet did Brown threaten to cast him into prison, if he did not bring forth his son. The old man therefore rode after him, and after two days met with him, telling him what had happened. Yet, said he, go thy ways, and I will return home again, and say that I cannot find thee. No, said William, I will go home with you, and save you harmless whatever comes of it. As soon as he came back, he was apprehended by a constable, and carried before master Brown, who reasoned much with him about the sacrament of the altar, and being extremely enraged at his bold and judicious answers, he immediately sent him up to London to bishop Bonner. Then the bishop understanding the business, began very mildly with him, and asked him what he thought of the sacrament of the altar, whether Christ's body was not present, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary? Hunter told him that what he had said before, he would not recant for

all the good in the world: after some other conference, the bishop caused his men to set him in the stocks, in his gate-house, where he lay two whole days, and had nothing but a crust of brown bread, and a cup of cold water. At the two days' end, the bishop came to him, and finding the bread and water still by him, he bade his men to let him out, and to let him break his fast with them: but they reviled him, calling him heretic, and saying, he should not come into their company: Hunter answered, that he was as loath to be in their company, as they in his.

Presently after, the bishop sent for him, and asked him if he would recant? Hunter answered, that he would never recant that which he had confessed before men, concerning his faith in Christ. Then the bishop committed him to prison, and commanded the goaler to put as many irons upon him as he could, threatening to burn him: whereupon Hunter said, God strengthen me in his truth; and so he was carried away, the bishop allowing him but a half-penny a day to live on.

He remained thus in prison three quarters of a year, and was six times before the bishop; the last of them, he asked him whether he would recant, and whether he believed Christ's body to be present in the sacrament? Hunter answered, that he believed, that when he received the holy communion rightly and worthily, he fed upon Christ spiritually by faith in his soul, and was made partaker of all the benefits which Christ had brought to all faithful believers, through his precious death, passion, and resurrection. Hereupon the bishop read the sentence of condemnation, appointing that he should go back to Newgate, and from thence to Burntwood to be burned. After which he said to him, if thou wilt recant, I will make thee a freeman of London, and give thee forty pounds in money to set up thy occupation withal; or, I will make thee steward of my house, for I see thou hast wit enough, and therefore I will prefer thee, if thou wilt recant? Hunter answered, I thank you for your offers, but if you cannot persuade my heart by Scripture arguments, I will not turn from God for the love of the world, for I count all earthly things but dung and dross, in respect of the love of Christ: Then, said the bishop, if thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned for ever: Hunter replied, God judgeth righteously, and justifies those, whom men condemn unjustly. Thus was he sent to Newgate, and after a month to Burntwood.

Whilst he was at Burntwood, his father, and mother came to him, desiring heartily of God, that he might continue constant to the end, in that good way which he had begun: his mother added, that she was happy that she had borne such a child, which could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's sake. William

answered, for the little pain which I shall suffer, which is but for a moment, Christ hath promised me a crown of joy. Then his mother kneeling down, said, I pray God strengthen thee, my son, to the end. I think thee as well bestowed as any child that ever I bore. Whilst he remained there, many of his acquaintance came to him, whom he exhorted to come out of the abomination of popery and idolatry. Three days after, Master Brocket, the sheriff, prepared all things for his burning; and in the mean time the sheriff's son came to him, and took him in his arms, saying, William, be not afraid of these men that are present with bills and bows, to carry you to execution: William answered, I thank God I am not afraid, for I have already cast my account what it will cost me: with that the sheriff's son could speak no more for weeping. And so Hunter went on cheerfully: his father met him by the way, saying, God be with thee, my son. William answered, God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort, for I hope we shall meet again where we shall be merry. At the stake he kneeled down, and read the fifty-first psalm. Then said the sheriff, Here is a letter from the Queen, if thou wilt recant, thou shalt live, otherwise thou shalt be burnt. No, quoth William, I will not recant, and so he went to the stake, and was fastened to it: then he said to the people, Good people, pray for me whilst you see me alive, and I will pray for you. Master Brown, standing by, said, I will no more pray for thee, than I will pray for a dog. William answered, Sir, now you have that which you sought for, I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day, but I forgive you: Brown said, I ask no forgiveness of thee: William replied, If God forgive you not, I shall require my blood at your hands: and further said, *Son of God shine upon me*, and whereas it was dark till then, the sun immediately shone out of a thick cloud, so full in his face, that he was forced to turn his head aside. Then a Priest brought a book to him, to whom he said, Away thou false prophet. Beware of them, good people, and turn from their abominations, lest ye partake of their plagues: Then said the priest, Look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell: William answered, Thou liest, thou false prophet, away, thou false prophet, away.

Fire being kindled, he lift up his hands to heaven, saying, Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit, and so he ended his life in the flames.

About the same time, Master *Higbed* and Master *Causton*, two Essex gentlemen, being zealous in the service of God, were complained of to Bishop Bonner, who ordered them to be imprisoned in Colchester, together with a servant of Master Thomas Causton, in Christian godlinesse nothing inferior to his

master. But the bishop, perceiving that these gentlemen were of great esteem in their country, for fear of a tumult, he, with Master Fecknam, and some others, went thither himself, to see if he could reclaim them: and much diligence he used, both by terrors and threatenings, as also by large promises and flatteries, to reduce them to the Catholic church: but when nothing would prevail to remove them from the truth, he returned to London, and carried them prisoners with him, committing them to strait imprisonment; where he attempted sundry ways, both by himself and his chaplains, to draw them to revoke their opinions: but when he could not effect it, he brought them into the open Consistory, demanding of them if they would recant? To which they answered negatively: then he proposed sundry articles to them, to which they answered in writing: this answer satisfied not the bishop, and therefore he sent for Master Causton to him, persuading him to recant: Causton answered, You go about to catch us in snares and gins, but look what measure you mete unto us, expect that God should measure the same to you again. Then did the bishop persuade Master Higbed to abjure; to whom he answered, I will not abjure: do what you can, you shall do no more than God will permit you to do, &c.

After this the bishop again attempted, sometimes with fair promises, other sometimes with threatenings, to divert them from the truth, and when he could by no means prevail, he read the sentence of death against them, after which they were delivered to the sheriffs, and by them were carried to Newgate, where they remained in great consolation for fourteen days, at the end whereof being bound fast in a cart, they were carried and delivered to the sheriff of Essex, who carried them to their own parishes, viz. Master Higbed to Horneden on the hill, and Master Causton to Railey, where they sealed their faith with their blood, in the fire, to the glory of God, and great rejoicing of the godly.

Also about the same time, *William Pigot*, *Stephen Knight*, and *John Laurence*, were examined before Bonner, who asked them what their opinion was about the sacrament of the altar? They answered, subscribing their hands to it, that in it there is not, under the forms of bread and wine, the very substance of the body and blood of Christ, which was only in heaven, and no where else: then did the bishop persuade them to recant, and deny their profession, which they refused to do. He added many fair flatteries and cruel threatenings, which not prevailing, he condemned them, and so sent them to Newgate: there they remained together with great joy, till they were carried down into Essex, to be burnt. William Pigot was burned at Braintree, Stephen Knight at Mauldon, who at the stake kneeled down,

and prayed thus: "O Lord Jesus Christ, for the love of whom I willingly leave this life, and rather desire the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly goods, than to obey men in breaking thy holy commandments: Thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth, if I would worship a false god: I did rather choose the torment of my body, and loss of my life, counting all things but dung and dross, that I might win thee; for whose sake death is dearer to me than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, thou hast laid up in my breast that I hunger for thee, as the wounded deer desires the soil; send thy holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, strengthen, and comfort this weak piece of earth, which of itself hath no strength. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing of myself that is good, and therefore as of thine accustomed goodness and love, thou hast invited me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect: even so give me strength, O Lord, against this element of the fire, which, though terrible to sight, yet let it be sweet and pleasant to my mind, that by the strength of thy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of it into thy bosom, &c. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O sweet Son of God, my Saviour, spread thy wings over me: O blessed Holy Ghost, through whose blessed conduct I am come hither, guide me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit, Amen." Also John Lawrence was sent to Colchester, whose legs being lame with irons, and his body weak with cruel usage, he was carried in a chair to the stake, where, being constant in the faith, he was consumed in the fire. At his burning, many young children cried out, "Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise: Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise."

Doctor *Robert Farrar*, bishop of St. David's, in Wales, who was preferred to that bishopric by the good duke of Somerset, in the days of King Edward VI. met with much opposition by some covetous canons of the church of Carmarthen, by whose instigation sundry articles were exhibited against him to the king and counsel; whereupon he was sent for, and required to give in his answer to Doctor Wotton and Sir John Mason, which accordingly he did: yet the duke of Somerset being shortly after beheaded, by whom he had been promoted to the bishopric, and the good bishop finding few friends to support him against those that hunted for his bishopric, he was detained in custody under sureties all the days of King Edward: and in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign he was examined of his faith and doctrine before the bishop of Winchester, who told him, that the queen and parliament had altered religion, and therefore re-

quired him to embrace the same: to which he answered, that he had taken an oath never to consent or agree that the bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction in this realm: Winchester called him froward fellow and false knave, and so returned him to prison again. Afterwards he was examined before Henry Morgan, pretended bishop of St. David's, who ministered sundry articles to him, requiring him to subscribe thereunto, which he refused; then he exhorted him to recant, which he also refused; whereupon he read the sentence of condemnation against him: then was he degraded, and delivered to the secular power, by whom he was carried to Carmarthen, there to be burned. A little before his execution, there came to him one Richard Jones, a knight's son, who much lamented the painfulness of the death that he was to suffer; to whom Doctor Farrar answered, that if he saw him once to stir in the pains of his burning, that then he should give no credit to the doctrine which he had taught: and accordingly what he said, that he performed, standing so patiently in the midst of the flames, that he never moved, holding up his stumps, till one with a staff dashed him on the head, throwing him down into the fire, where quietly he resigned up his spirit unto God.

About the same time there was one *Rawlins White*, a fisherman in Wales, of the town of Cardiff, who when God raised up the light of the gospel in the days of King Edward VI. this Rawlins began to mislike his former superstitious courses, and became a diligent hearer and searcher out of the truth: and because he was ignorant and illiterate, he set his son to school to learn to read English, which when he had attained, he caused him, every night, to read to him a portion of the Holy Scriptures, and sometimes some other good books: by these helps, and conference with others, he attained to such a measure of knowledge, that he was able to instruct others, and thereupon he used sometimes to go from place to place to instruct such as he found most tractable, so that he became an instrument of much good in that country: he never used to go without his little boy to read to him; God gave him also an excellent memory, whereby he could quote scriptures very readily.

When Queen Mary came to the crown, and had altered religion, he was not so open as formerly he had been: but would sometimes privately call his trustiest friends together, and, with earnest prayer and great lamentation for the sins of the land, passed away the time with them. But the enemies of the truth growing violent, Rawlins looked every day when he should be dragged to prison: hereupon some of his dearest friends persuaded him to retire into some place where he was not known: but he, thanking them for their good will, told them plainly,

that if he denied Christ here, Christ would deny him at the last day; and therefore, said he, I will, by his gracious assistance, confess and bear witness of him before men, that I may find him in everlasting life. Yet his friends continued to importune him much for his departure, but he was resolute, and so continued till he was apprehended upon suspicion of heresy, and carried before the bishop of Landaff: the bishop and his chaplains often set upon him to remove him from his faith, but could not prevail: he had many opportunities of escaping, but would not make use of them: at last he was removed to the castle of Cardiff, where he remained prisoner for a year. When his friends resorted to him, he used to spend the time in prayer and exhortation, admonishing them to beware of false prophets, that come in sheep's clothing.

At last the bishop sent for him, and assayed, both by flatteries and threatenings, to remove him from his steadfastness, but Rawlins remaining resolute, he appointed a time for his condemnation, which being come, the bishop sent for him, and told him that it was well known that he held many heretical opinions, and that he had seduced many others, &c. Rawlins answered boldly, My lord, I thank God, I am a Christian man, I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; if I do, I desire to be reformed by Scripture. After much debate, the bishop told him, that if he would not recant, he must proceed to condemn him. Proceed, said Rawlins, according to your law, but for a heretic you shall never condemn me: then said the bishop, Before we proceed any farther, let us pray unto God, that he would send some spark of grace upon him, it may be God will turn his heart. Now, said Rawlins, you deal well, and if your request be according to the will of God, and that you pray as you ought, no doubt but God will hear you; therefore do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God, for I know God will hear my prayer, and perform my desire. By and by, the bishop and his company went to prayer, and Rawlins prayed by himself; and when they had done, the bishop said to Rawlins, How is it with thee now? wilt thou revoke thy opinions? No surely, said he; Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me, and, by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue. If your petitions had been good, God would have heard you, but you worship a false god, and you pray not as ye ought, and therefore God heareth you not; but God hath heard my requests, and I trust will strengthen me to the end. Then the bishop, being angry, reproved him sharply, and afterwards went to mass; whereupon Rawlins said, Good people, if there be any brethren amongst you, or but one brother, bear witness at the day of judgment, that I bow not the knee to this idol. After mass, the bishop, seeing that

nothing would prevail, proceeded to condemn him. After which the bishop sent him to Cardiff, to be put into a dark and loathsome dungeon: there Rawlins passed away his time in prayer, and singing of psalms. The night before he was to be burned, they sent him word of it; whereupon he sent to his wife for his wedding garment, meaning his shirt, which he received next morning with great joy. When he came forth to execution, he was guarded with bills and staves; whereupon he said, Alas! what needs all this ado? By God's grace I will not start away; but I heartily give thanks to God, who hath made me worthy to abide all this for his name's sake. At the stake he found his wife and children drowned in tears, which on the sudden drew some tears from him, but presently recollecting himself, he said, Ah flesh! sayest thou me so: wouldst thou fain prevail? I tell thee do what thou canst, by God's grace thou shalt not have the victory. Then falling down to the ground he kissed it, and said, Earth to earth, and dust to dust, thou art my mother, and to thee I shall return. Then went he cheerfully to be bound to the stake, and seeing a friend, he said to him, I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would very fain have its swing: therefore when you see me any thing tempted, pray you hold up your finger, and I trust I shall remember myself. When he was fastened with the chain, he gave God thanks with a loud voice, and then said to the smith, I pray you, good friend, knock it in fast, for it may be the flesh will strive mightily; but, God, of thy great mercy give me strength and patience to abide the extremity. Then did he pull the reeds and straw about him with such a cheerful countenance, that all wondered at him. Then stood up a priest to preach to the people, and Rawlins attended till he spake about transubstantiation, which he went about to confirm by Scripture, alleging that text, "This is my body," whereupon Rawlins said, Come hither, good people, and hear that false prophet no longer: and to him he said, Ah thou naughty hypocrite, dost thou presume to allege Scripture to prove thy false doctrine? Look what follows, "Do this in remembrance of me." This put the priest to silence. Then was fire kindled, and Rawlins bathed his hands in the flame, till the sinews shrank, and the fat dropped out; and all the while he cried out, O Lord, receive my soul! O Lord, receive my spirit! And thus he abode quietly and patiently, till his spirit returned to God that gave it. It was further observed of him, that whereas formerly through infirmity of age he went stooping, with a sad countenance and feeble body, when he went to his death, he went bolt upright, with a fresh and cheerful countenance, shewing much courage and vigour, both in speech and behaviour.

About the same time the queen restored all the lands that were in her possession, to the abbeys and monasteries; and a bull came from the pope, requiring that all others should do the like: but none were found that would either obey the pope, or imitate the queen therein.

There was about the same time a popish priest called Nightingal, parson of Crondal, near Canterbury, who boasted in the pulpit, that he had been with cardinal Poole, who had made him as clean from his sins, as he was at the font-stone: boasting also of the pope's bull that was come into England. But whilst the words were in his mouth, he fell down out of the pulpit, and never stirred more.

In the same month, *John Alcock*, a godly man, died in prison, and was buried in the fields. Also letters were sent to the sheriff of Kent, to apprehend Thomas Woodgate, William Mainard, and one Harwich, for preaching up and down that country.

Other letters were sent to two knights to examine master Flower, why he wore about his neck written, *Deum time, Idolum fuge;* Fear God, fly idolatry: and whosoever else they knew to wear the like. Praying them to speak to bishop Bonner, that they might speedily be proceeded against, according to law.

George Marsh, born at Dean, in Lancashire, was well educated in learning and religion by his parents. Afterwards he married a wife, by whom he had some children; but his wife dying, he left his children well disposed of, and went to Cambridge, where he studied, and much increased in learning and godliness, and at last was made a minister, and served as curate under master Lawrence Saunders. Afterwards he preached in Lancashire, where he earnestly set forth God's true religion, and beat down Anti-christianism. At length he was apprehended, and kept close prisoner by Cotes, bishop of Chester, for about four months' space, being not permitted to have the relief and comfort of his friends. Then the bishop sending for him, asked him about the sacrament of the altar. Master Marsh utterly denied transubstantiation, allowed not the abuse of the mass, nor the sacrament in one kind. The bishop laboured to draw him from his opinions, but all in vain, so he returned him to prison again.

Many resorted to him in prison, labouring to divert him from the truth, but the Lord upheld him in his integrity, giving him a mouth and wisdom, which all his adversaries were not able to resist. The bishop had divers conferences with him, giving him many taunts, reviling speeches, and odious names. At last he was brought forth to his condemnation, before the bishop and some others. There they objected many things against him;

as seducing the people, holding heretical opinions, &c. To which he answered, that he utterly abhorred all kinds of heresy, desiring all the people present to bear him witness thereof: professing that he held nothing but the truth, which had been established in King Edward's days; in which pure religion and doctrine, he would by God's grace, stand, live, and die. Then the bishop began to read the definitive sentence, but stopping in the midst, he asked him if he would have the queen's mercy in time? He answered, that he did gladly desire the same, but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, for fear of being deprived of his everlasting mercy, and of gaining to himself everlasting death. Many priests and ignorant people, called hard upon him to recant, and save his life. To whom he answered, I would as fain live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my master Christ, and thereby cause him to deny me before his Father in heaven. Then the bishop finished his sentence of condemnation; after which he said, Now I will no more pray for thee, than I will pray for a dog. Yet said master Marsh, I will pray for your lordship, and so he was delivered to the sheriffs of the city of Chester, who imprisoned him closely, so that he had no relief or comfort from any worldly creature, only some few citizens in the evening at an hole in the wall would call to him, and ask him how he did: to whom he used to answer very cheerfully, that he did well, and thanked God most highly, that he vouchsafed of his mercy, to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoice, beseeching him to give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently to bear the same to his glory, and comfort of his church. When the time came that he should suffer, the sheriffs, accompanied with many bill-men, fetched him out of the dungeon: all the way he went with a book in his hand, whereon he looked, so that the people said, This man goeth not to his death as a thief, or as one that deserveth to die. At the place of execution, one shewed him a pardon, if he would recant; whereupon master Marsh said, that he would gladly accept of the same, but seeing it tended to pluck him from God, he would not accept of it upon that condition. Then he began to exhort the people to stick to Christ; whereupon one of the sheriffs said, George Marsh, we must have no sermoning here. Then kneeled he down, and made his prayers, and so stripping himself to his shirt, he was fastened to the stake. The fire being unskilfully made, and the wind driving the flame to and fro, he suffered much extremity in his death, which yet he abode very patiently. Having been thus long tormented without moving, his flesh broiling and puffed up, insomuch that all the people thought he had been dead, he suddenly

spread abroad his arms, saying, " Father of heaven, have mercy upon me." And so he yielded up his spirit into the hands of God. He was burnt in the Spittal at Boughton, near the city.

John Cardmaker, a godly minister, who in King Edward's days was a preacher in Paul's church; with whose doctrine the papists were so angry, that in the time of his preaching they used to cut and slash his gown with their knives. This man being apprehended in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, with master Barlow, bishop of Bath, they were both cast into prison, and after a while they were brought before the bishop of Winchester and other commissioners, where they had divers things objected against them; to which they answered so learnedly and cautiously, that the lord chancellor, Gardiner, allowed of their answers, yet returned them to prison; whence after a while, master Barlow was dismissed, and went into voluntary exile, where he constantly bore witness to the truth of the gospel.

Mr. Cardmaker during his imprisonment, was often baited by the papists; who by reasoning, persuasion, and threatenings, sought to withdraw him from the truth, but all in vain. Whereupon bishop Bonner called him before him, objecting many things against him, especially about the doctrine of transubstantiation, to which he gave sound and godly answers: and when the bishop could not draw him to a recantation, he passed the sentence of condemnation upon him, delivering him over to the sheriffs of London, by whom he was carried into Smithfield. There the sheriffs talked a great while in private with him, so that the people which heard that Mr. Cardmaker would recant, seeing this his carriage, were much saddened at it. The discourse being ended, Mr. Cardmaker withdrew himself, and was long in private prayer: after which he stripped himself to his shirt, went with courage to the stake, kissed it, and so was bound to it. The people hereby being delivered from their fear, cried out with joy, saying, " God be praised. The Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker: the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit:" and so fire being put to him, he finished his life, and went to receive his everlasting crown of glory.

At the same time there was a citizen burnt with him, called *John Warne*, who denied the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, &c. for which he was brought before Bonner, who laboured much to withdraw him from the truth. But Warne answered, that he would not depart from his received profession, unless he were thereunto persuaded by the Holy Scriptures. For this he was condemned, and burnt with master Cardmaker, where he finished his course with much constancy and joy.

At this time came a letter from the king and queen to Bonner, complaining that heretics were not so reformed as they should

be; and therefore they exhorted him to be more diligent, either in reclaiming them, or proceeding against them according to law. This easily prevailed with him, who was ready enough before to cruelty. Whereupon he first began with *John Simpson*, and *John Ardely*, both of Wigborow, in Essex, whom he called before him, objected divers things against them, especially for denying transubstantiation, exhorted them to recant, &c. But John Ardely answered, "My lord, neither you nor any of your religion is of the Catholic church, for you have a false faith, which will deceive you in the end. You have shed much innocent blood, and still go on to do the same. If every hair of my head were a man, I would willingly suffer death for the truth of Christ." Then did the bishop proceed to condemn them both; and so delivered them to the secular power, who carried them down into Essex, where, upon one day, they both finished their course with joy.

About the time of the burning of John Simpson and John Ardeley, in the beginning of the month of June, the following incident took place. There was about the time that the Spaniards began first to make a stir in England, one John Tooly, a citizen and poulterer in London, who conspired with others of this society, to rob a Spaniard at St. James's, and although the deed was heinous and wicked of itself, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by others, being committed against such a person, and against such a country, which both the queen and her whole court so highly favoured. The robbery being known, and clearly proved, Tooly was found guilty, and adjudged to be hanged.

Being led to the gallows at Charing Cross, while standing upon the cart, he read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two several papers, desiring the people present to pray for him, and bear him witness that he died a christian, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's passion, and shedding of his blood, and not by any masses, or trentals, images, or saints, which were devised by the bishop of Rome; and as he and two others his fellows which were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome sold his masses and trentals from the same motives: "From whose tyranny and all his detestable enormities, from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord deliver us."

Then he addressed the people, saying, "All you who are true christians, say with me, Amen." When immediately three hundred persons and upwards, answered Amen, thrice.

When Tooly had read the paper the first time, it fell from

him, and a certain young man (who was thought to be an apprentice) took it up, and climbing up by the cart, delivered it to Tooly, when he again read it to the people. That done, he delivered unto one of the marshal's officers the book, and desired him to deliver it to Mr. Haukes, saying that it was his book. He also delivered one of the prayers, written in a paper, to Robert Bromley, a serjeant, who desired to have it; on the top of which was written a line, containing these words, "Beware of Antichrist;" and subscribed underneath "By me Thomas Harold, prisoner in the Marshalsea, enemy to Antichrist." Bromley was afterwards brought to ask pardon of the bishop, and obliged to renounce all Tooly's words.

As soon as the report of this business reached the ears of the priests and of the mitred prelates, a council was called together, as though it had been a matter of great importance, and it was thought meet that the violating of the pope's holiness should be revenged with fire and faggot. It is probable that cardinal Poole was no small doer in this sentence; for as Winchester and Bonner always thirsted after the blood of the living, so Poole's lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead. By this cardinal's orders, the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, which had been almost two years in their graves, were taken up and burned at Cambridge, as were Tooly's at London, June the 4th. And because he would shew some token of his diligence in both universities, he caused Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be taken up out of the churchyard and buried on the dunghill.

Thomas Hauks, born in Essex, was brought up a courtier, and was tall, comely, and endued with such excellent qualities, as made him to be much beloved. But that which was most commendable, was his fervent study, and singular love of true religion. This master Hauks following the court, entered into the service of the Earl of Oxford, where he was much esteemed and beloved, all King Edward's days. But in Queen Mary's reign he left the court, and retired to his own house, where he might more freely exercise himself in the study and practice of godliness. Whilst he remained at home, he had a son born, whom he would not suffer to be baptized after the popish manner. This his adversaries taking notice of, apprehended him, and carried him before the Earl of Oxford. The earl not willing to meddle with him, sent him to London to bishop Bonner. The bishop understanding the cause, asked him why he would not have his child baptized? He answered, because he was commanded to do nothing contrary to the word of God, as the papists did, using oil, spittle, cream, salt, &c. After much other conference, the bishop left him for a while, and then one

of the bishops' kinsmen, called master Darbishire, said to him, You are too curious, you will have nothing but your little pretty God's book. To which Hauks answered, Sir, is not that sufficient for salvation? Yes, said the other, but not for our instruction. Hauks replied, God send me the salvation, and you the instruction. Then the bishop again asked him if he would be content to have his child baptized, and he should not know of it. To which he answered, that if he would have done so, he needed not have come to him, for he had the same council given him before. Why, said the bishop, do you not think that the queen and I can command it to be done in despite of your teeth? Hauks answered, I question not what the queen and you can do, but you shall never have my consent to it. Afterwards the bishop said to him, Hauks, I would be glad to do thee good, thou knowest that I am thy pastor, and must answer for thy soul if I teach thee not well. To which Hauks answered, What I have said, I will stand to; there is no removing me from it. Well, said the bishop, what sayest thou? The Scripture saith, I am the bread of life, and the bread that I will give is my flesh, &c. Do you believe this? Yes, said Hauks, I believe what the Scriptures say. Well, said the bishop, let us go to even-song: but Hauks refused to be present with them, saying that he would not pray in that place, and that he thought himself best at ease when he was furthest from them, and so walked into the court. Afterwards the bishop again examined him about the sacrament of the altar; to which he answered, that he knew not what it was. But, said the bishop, we will make you know it, a faggot will make you do it. A point for your faggot, said master Hauks, what God thinks fit to be done, you shall do, and no more. Much other conference he had with the bishop and his chaplains, in all which he answered them very judiciously and resolutely, so that he was committed to prison. At last he was brought forth to condemnation, where great means were used to draw him to recant; but he still answered that he would never go from the belief which he was in, so long as he lived. Then the bishop read his sentence of condemnation, and delivered him over to the Lord Rich, who carried him to Coxshall, in Essex. By the way he used much exhortation to his friends, who were much confirmed in the truth by his example and constancy. Yet being very fearful of the torments of the fire, they entreated him that in the midst of the flame he would shew them some token, if he could, that the fire was not so intolerable, but a man might therein keep his mind quiet and patient. This he assented to, and promised that if the rage of the pain were tolerable, he would lift up his hands above his head before he gave up the ghost. At the stake

he mildly and patiently addressed himself to the fire, and after his fervent prayers made to God, fire was put to him. In it he continued long, and when his speech was taken away by the flame, his skin drawn all together, and his fingers consumed with the fire, so that all men thought that he had been dead; contrary to their expectation, he being mindful of his promise, suddenly lift up his hands burning of a light fire, and with great joy clapped them three times together; whereupon there was such shouting amongst the people, especially by those that knew the meaning of it, as the like hath scarce been heard. And so the blessed martyr presently sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit unto God, in 1555.

Thomas Watts, of Bellerica, in Essex, was by trade a linen-draper, and a godly and zealous professor of the truth; who foreseeing his apprehension, disposed of his estate to his wife and children, and gave much of his cloth to the poor. And according to his expectation, he was shortly after apprehended, and carried before the Lord Rich and other justices; where he was accused for not coming to church to hear mass, but resorting to conventicles in corners, and disobeying the laws. To this Watts answered, If I have offended the law, I am here subject to it: and after further examination, they sent him up to bishop Bonner, who examined him about the sacrament of the altar, &c. Watts answered, that he believed Christ's body to be in heaven, and no where else, and that he would never believe that it was in the sacrament; that he believed the mass to be abominable idolatry, &c. The bishop advised him not to cast away himself, or at least not wilfully to cast away his soul, by adhering to such heresies. To which Watts answered, "My lord, I am weary to live in such idolatry, as you would have me to live in." Other flatteries and endeavours were used to draw him to a recantation, but they could not prevail; whereupon at last he was brought forth to be condemned, at which time the articles were read against him, and he was required to deny his profession. But he said, "God keep me from the doctrine that you would have me to embrace; and I beseech God that I may persevere in that which I have hitherto held, for I will stand to my answers." Hereupon the bishop condemned him, and delivered him to the sheriffs, who kept him awhile in Newgate, and then sent him down to Chelmsford. After he had spent there some time in prayer, he came to his wife and six children, saying to them, "Wife, and my good children, I must now depart from you, and therefore henceforth know I you no more: as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you back again to the Lord, whom I charge you to fear and to obey; and beware that you turn not to this abominable papistry, against

which I shall anon by God's grace give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be stronger in the Lord's quarrel, and I doubt not he will be a merciful Father unto you:" and so bidding them farewell, he kissed them all, and went to the fire, where he patiently and cheerfully ended his days.

At the same time there were *Thomas Osmond*, *William Bamford*, and *Thomas Osborn*, all of Coxshall in Essex, who were apprehended for not receiving the sacrament at Easter, and sent up to bishop Bonner. Against these men many things were objected, to which they made answers after a godly sort: and being often urged to recant, they stiffly refused the same; whereupon the bishop proceeded to condemn them, and delivered them over to the secular power, by which they were carried down into Essex, and there burnt at several places.

Mr. *Bradford* was born at Manchester in Lancashire; his parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, and continued his education until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and such skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in a respectable situation. He then entered into the service of Sir John Harrington, knight, who in the great affairs of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI. which he had in hand when he was treasurer of the king's camps and buildings at Boulogne, had such experience of Mr. Bradford's activity, expertness, and faithfulness, that he placed great confidence in him.

Mr. Bradford continued several years in a thriving way, after the course of this world, and so would have continued, if his mind could have been so satisfied. But the Lord had ordained him to more glorious and important objects, namely, to preach the word and the will of God to man. He, therefore, called his chosen servant, who forsook his worldly affairs and worldly wealth, and after a just account given to his master, he departed from him, and gave himself wholly to the study of the Scriptures. And the better to accomplish his design, he went down to the university at Cambridge, where his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge, and his pious conversation, so pleased all men, that the university gave him the degree of master of arts.

When Mr. Bourne was preaching at Paul's Cross, the populace were enraged at his papistry, and would have slain him, if Mr. Bradford had not interposed and quieted, by which means Bourne escaped death.

The same Sunday, in the afternoon, Mr. Bradford preached at Bow church in Cheapside, and reproved the people for their seditious conduct.

Within three days after, he was sent for to the Tower of

London, where the queen then was, to appear before the council. He was committed first to the Tower, then to the King's Bench, in Southwark, and, after his condemnation, he was sent to the Compter; in which two places he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him. He did not eat above one meal a day, which was but very little when he took it; and his continual study was upon his knees.

In the afternoon before he was removed to Newgate, walking in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, being almost out of breath, said, "Oh, Mr. Bradford! I come to bring you heavy news."—"What is that?" said he. "To-morrow," said she, "you must be burned; and your chain is now a-buying, and you must soon go to Newgate." With that Mr. Bradford put off his cap, and, lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, "I thank God for it: I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof!" and so thanking her for her kindness, went up to his chamber, where he continued in prayer for some time.

The time, at which they carried him to Newgate, was about eleven or twelve o'clock at night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad; but, contrary to their expectation, there was in Cheapside and other places between the Compter and Newgate, a great multitude of people who had come to see him, and who most kindly bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable tears; and he, in return, most gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare.

It was nine o'clock in the morning before Mr. Bradford was brought into Smithfield; and, in going from Newgate thither, he espied a friend of his whom he loved, standing on one side of the way, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and also his handkerchief, with other things, and, after a little private talk with him, they parted; when immediately there came to him Mr. Roger Beswick, a brother-in-law of his, who as soon as he had taken Mr. Bradford by the hand, Woodrofe, one of the London sheriffs, came with his staff and brake Mr. Beswick's head, so that the blood ran about his shoulders; which sight Mr. Bradford beholding with grief, bade his farewell, desiring him to recommend him to his mother and the rest of his friends, and speedily to go to some surgeon; so they parting thus, had little or no talk together. Then was he led to Smithfield, with a great company of armed men to guard him thither. Mr. Bradford now fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God; then rising again,

and putting off his clothes unto his shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of twenty years of age, named John Leaf, joyfully and constantly.

He remained in the Tower from the month of August, 1553, to the 22d of January, 1555, upon which day he was called before Stephen, bishop of Winchester, and other commissioners, when the following examination passed between them.

After the lord chancellor, and the rest of the queen's council in commission with him, had assembled, the under-marshal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford: who, being come into the presence of the council, kneeled down; but the lord chancellor immediately commanded him to stand up, which he did.

When he was risen, the lord chancellor told him, that he had been a long time justly imprisoned for his seditious behaviour at Paul's Cross, the 13th of August, in the year 1553, for his false preaching and arrogancy, taking upon him to preach without authority.

Mr. Bradford answered, "My lord and lords, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and, with humble reverence be it spoken, unjustly, for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but rather sought truth and peace, as an obedient and faithful subject, both in going about to serve the present bishop of Bath, then Mr. Bourne, the preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly.

Chancellor. I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shew thou makest; but all is lies thou speakest. And again, I have not forgot how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the Tower, whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, for which cause thou hast been keep in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of.

Bradford. My lord, I stand as before you, so before God, and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea, my lord, I dare say, that my lord of Bath, Mr. Bourne, will witness with me, that I sought his safeguard with the peril of mine own life.

Bonner. That is not true; for I myself did see thee take upon thee too much.

Bradford. No, I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of Mr. Bourne himself, as, were he present, I dare say he would affirm. For he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your honours, if I did

or said any thing that did not beseem me, if your lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would presently make you answer.

Chancellor. Well, to leave this matter: how sayest thou now? Wilt thou return again, and do as we have, and thou shalt receive the queen's mercy and pardon?

Bradford. My lord, I desire mercy with God's mercy, but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from: although, I thank God, my conscience doth not accuse, that I did speak any thing why I should need to receive the queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I spake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and to the laws of the realm at that time, and tended much to peace.

Chancellor. I know well enough that we shall have glorious talk enough of thee: be sure, that as thou hast deceived the people by false, devilish doctrine, so shalt thou receive.

Bradford. I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than, by God's grace, I shall be ready to confirm with my blood. And as for the devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry you could so prove it.

Durham. Why, tell me, what say you by the ministration of the communion, as now you know it is?

Bradford. My lord, here I must desire of your lordship, and of all your honours, a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question, wherein you now begin. I have been six times sworn that I shall, in no case, consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority on the bishop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your honours to tell me, whether you ask me this question by his authority or not? If you do, I dare not, nor may I answer you any thing in his authority, which you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid.

Bourne. Hast thou been sworn six times? What office hast thou borne?

Bradford. I was thrice sworn in Cambridge; when I was admitted master of arts, when I was was admitted Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and when I was there, the visiters came thither and sware the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry, when I had a prebend given me, and when I was sworn to serve the king a little before his death.

Rochester. My lords, I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I see well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad: what the cause was that he was put in prison I know not; but I now well know that not without a cause he was, and is to be kept in, prison.

Bourne. Yea, it was reported this parliament time by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhort-

ing those that have come to him in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach any false doctrine, and most heartily exhorteth them, to whom he writeth, to continue still in that they received by him, and such like as he is. All which words several of the council affirmed. Whereunto the said Mr. Bourne added, saying, "How say you, Sir, have you not thus seditiously written and exhorted the people."

Bradford. I have not written, nor spoken any thing seditiously; neither, I thank God, have I admitted any seditious thought, nor trust ever shall do.

Bourne. Yea, thou hast not written letters?

Chancellor. Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?

Bradford. What I have written, I have written.

Chancellor. We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be short, wilt thou have mercy?

Bradford. My lords, if I may live as a quiet subject, without a clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave myself, then I am in danger of the law: in the mean season, I ask no more than the benefit of a subject, till I be convicted of transgression. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done.

Now, after a little pausing, the chancellor began again to declare, that the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was heresy, using for probation and demonstration thereof, no scripture nor reason, but this: that it ended with treason and rebellion, "so that," said he, "the very end were enough to prove that doctrine to be naught."

Bradford. Ah, my lord, that you could enter into God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine, that you now so magnify.

Here the chancellor again offered mercy, and Bradford answered as before. Whereupon the chancellor rang a bell, when the under marshal came in, to whom he said, "You shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge, and suffer him not to write any letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge to you now, than he was before," And so they departed, Bradford looking as cheerful as any man could do.

After the excommunication of Mr. Saunders, Mr. Bradford was called in again, and the chancellor addressed him with an exhortation, that he would recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended his oration, Mr. Bradford said, "As the answers I made yesterday were by protestation and saving mine oath, so I would your honours should know

that mine answers shall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guilt of perjury."

At these words the lord chancellor was angry, and said that they had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the blessed sacrament.

Bradford. My lord, you gave me no time for any such deliberation, neither did I speak any thing of the sacrament which you dissallow. For I declare, a presence of Christ to be there to faith, and before I could answer, you went from that subject to clear yourself that you were not cruel, and so went to dinner.

Chancellor. What? I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did I not make it plain, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?

Bradford. No, indeed, my lord: you said so, but you have not proved it yet, nor ever can do.

Chancellor. O Lord God, what a fellow art thou! Thou wouldst go about to bring into the people's heads, that we, all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm be perjured. O what a heretic is this! here, good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I should make an oath, I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need; were this a good answer to tell my neighbour, desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?

Bradford. O my lord, discern betwixt oaths that be against charity and faith, and oaths that be according to faith and charity, as this is against the bishop of Rome.

Here a long time was spent about oaths, which were good, and which were evil, the lord chancellor captiously asking often of Bradford a direct answer concerning oaths; which Bradford would not give simply, but with a distinction. Whereat the chancellor was much offended: but Bradford still kept him at bay, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was a lawful oath, using thereto the lord chancellor's own book, of true obedience, for confirmation.

Then came Mr. Chamberlain, of Woodstock, and told my lord chancellor, that Bradford had been a serving man with Mr. Harrington.

Chancellor. True, and did deceive his master of seven-score pounds, and because of this, he went to be a gospeller and a preacher, good people, and yet you see how he pretendeth conscience.

Bradford. My lord, I am ready to face him, whosoever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch, that ever I deceived my master.

Here my lord chancellor and Mr. Chamberlain were smitten blank, and said they heard it. But, said my lord chancellor, we have another manner of matter than this against you: for you are an heretic.

Yea, added the bishop of London, he wrote letters to Mr. Pendleton, who knoweth his hand as well as his own; your honour did see the letters.

Bradford. This is not true. I never wrote to Pendleton since I came to prison, and therefore I am not justly spoken of.

London. But you indited it.

Bradford. I did not, nor know not what you mean, and this I offer to prove.

Chancellor. You say true: for we have his hand to shew.

Bradford. I deny that you have my hand to shew of letters sent into Lancashire.

Here the lord chancellor began to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, lay-man; Why, said he, art thou no priest?

Bradford. No, nor ever was a priest, or beneficed, or married, or any preacher, before public authority had established religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion, and yet I am thus handled at your hands: but God, I doubt not, will bless where you curse. And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he had counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake; and prayed to God to give him repentance and a good mind. After the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, and so had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the Poultry, in the city of London; this being proposed by his murderers, that he should be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the town of Manchester, where he was born: but their purpose concerning the place was altered, for he suffered in London.

After the condemnation of Mr. Bradford, which was the last day of January, he being sent to prison, remained there till the first of July, during which time he had many conferences with sundry adversaries, who repaired to him. Of whom bishop Bonner, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor on the 4th of February, began to discourse as follows:

Bonner. Well, Mr. Bradford, you are well beloved, I pray you consider yourself, and refuse not charity when it is offered: because I perceive you are desirous to converse with some learned men, I have brought Mr. Archdeacon Harpsfield to you.

Bradford. Indeed, my lord, this is small charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, who never brake your laws. In Turkey a man may have charity, but in England I could

not yet find it. I was condemned for my faith as soon as I uttered it at your requests, before I had committed any thing against the laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom you will. But to say that I desire to confer, that do I not.

In the month of July he was taken from Newgate into Smithfield, where, at the stake, he exhorted the people to repent and return to Christ, he cheerfully ended his painful life, in company with—

John Leaf, a 'prentice of nineteen years old, who being examined before Bonner, gave a firm and christian testimony of his profession. The bishop assayed by all manner of ways, to revoke him from the truth to error: but notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, Leaf continued constant, so planted upon the Rock of truth, that neither words nor deeds could remove him from the same. Hereupon the bishop proceeded to his condemnation, and delivered him over to the sheriffs of London, by whom he was carried into Smithfield, to be burned, where he finished his days with much comfort and joy. At his execution there was one master Woodroofe, one of the sheriffs who used master Leaf very churlishly, as he had done master Rogers before: he used also to laugh, and make himself sport at the sufferings of these innocent servants of Jesus Christ, and to beat away the people which were desirous to take them by the hands. But the Lord, who signally punisheth cruel persecutors, shortly after struck him with a lameness on one side, that he could never turn himself in his bed afterwards, but as two men in a sheet used to stir him; he had also such a dog-like appetite to his food, that he could never be satisfied with the same: both which judgments continued eight years upon him, even till his death.

The next day after, master *William Minge*, minister, died in prison at Maidstone, in Kent, lying there in bonds for religion; he yielded up his spirit with great constancy and boldness.

There was also one *James Trevisam*, dwelling in Lothbury, in London, who being lame and sick, kept his bed. He caused his servant to read to him in the bible, and one day as he was reading, there came in a promoter, and went up into his chamber, where he found the young man that read, and three others, all which he apprehended and carried to prison. He would also have carried away the sick man in a cart, but that the neighbours by importunity prevented it; yet he caused him to put in sureties for his forth-coming. The sick man shortly after dying, they would not suffer him to be buried, so that his wife was fain to carry him out upon a table into Moorfields, and bury him there.

About the same time there was in Kent one master *John*

Bland, a godly minister, who had spent his younger time in training up children in learning and virtue. Afterwards being called to the ministry, he was inflamed with an incredible desire to profit the church of God. Two or three times he was cast into prison for it in Canterbury; and being delivered by the mediation of friends, he still returned to the work of the ministry; for which being again imprisoned, he might have been delivered, if he would have promised to abstain from preaching, but he would not accept of liberty upon those terms. Then was he examined by Dr. Harpsfield, dean of Canterbury, who charged him for preaching, That the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, was not the very body and blood of Christ. Master Bland answered, that he perceived that he intended to ensnare him, and therefore he thought himself not bound to make an answer. The Doctor replied, that St. Peter commands him to make an answer to every man that asked a reason of the faith that is in him. Well, said master Bland, I know what the apostle's meaning is; but, for argument's sake, I am content to commune with you: and so they reasoned a long time about the sacrament. A few days after he was again brought before Harpsfield, who charged him for holding divers heinous errors, and for infecting and deceiving many with his evil preaching. Then master Bland said, I protest before God and you all, that my conscience is not guilty of any error or heresy, or that willingly I have taught any such thing. Harpsfield replied, Whereon dost thou ground thy conscience? Let me hear what thy faith is.

Bland. I know no reason why you should examine me of my faith, more than any other man here present.

Harpsfield. Why, thou heretic, art thou ashamed of thy faith? If it were christian, thou wouldst not be ashamed of it.

Bland. I am not ashamed of it: for I believe in God the Father Almighty Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, &c. And I believe all the Holy Scriptures of God to be most certain and true. More than this I will not confess.

Harpsfield. Why, thou heretic, I will proceed against thee, because thou wilt not confess thy faith to me. Thou hast taught that the body and blood of Christ, are not in the sacrament after consecration. How sayest thou? Hast thou not?

Bland. Sir, you promised to confer with me about this out of the Scriptures; but now I see you seek to bring me into trouble, rather than to win me. But pray you tell me; Is there in the sacrament after the consecration, Christ's natural body, with all the qualities of a natural body? Yea, or no.

Harpsfield. The same natural body that was born of the Virgin

Mary, and is glorified, is also in the sacrament. But I perceive, thou arrogant heretic, thou askest me the question, but wilt not answer thyself. And so after much other railing, and reviling language, he was remanded to prison; and after divers other examinations he was at last brought forth to his condemnation, at which time Articles were exhibited against him, to which he gave his answers. Yet they proceeded to read his sentence, and so delivered him to the secular power. At the time of his death he made this prayer: "Thou, Lord Jesus, for whose love I willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, and the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy holy name, or to obey man in the breach of thy commandments. Thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in wordly wealth, if I would worship false gods, I choose rather the torments of body and loss of this my life, and have counted all things but dross and dung, that I might win thee; which death is more dear unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee as the wounded deer desires the soil. Send thy Holy Spirit, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which of itself is void of all strength. O Lord, as thou of thy goodness hast bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect, give me strength against the fire; that as it is terrible to my sight, so to my mind it may be at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, sweet, and pleasant. And through this fire let me pass into thy bosom, for this mortality, receiving immortality, and for this corruptible, putting on incorruption. Accept this burnt-offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice sake, but for Jesus Christ my dear Saviour's sake: for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart, and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive the whole world. O sweet Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Spirit, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither. Conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Lord Jesus, receive my soul." And so he sweetly and quietly slept in the Lord.

At the same time there was one *Nicholas Sheterden*, his fellow-prisoner, examined before Harpsfield, who asked him the meaning of those words, This is my body. Sheterden replied, that they must be taken spiritually; else when Christ saith, This cup is my blood, the substance of the cup must be changed into blood. After much other conference he was at last condemned to be burned, together with *Humphrey Middleton*, and *John Frankesh*, minister, who were both condemned also for the truth.

Nicholas Sheterden, at the stake, made an excellent prayer, wherein amongst other things he hath these expressions: "Thou knowest, Lord, that if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy word, we might enjoy the commodities of life as others do, as wife, children, goods, and friends: but seeing, Lord, the world will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I sin against thy holy laws; behold, I give unto thee my soul, spirit, and body: and, lo, I leave here all the pleasures of this life for the hopes of eternal life purchased by Christ's blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, &c. O Lord Jesus, receive my spirit into thy hands:" and so they all three quietly slept in the Lord.

A few days after, *Nicholas Hall*, *Christopher Waid*, *Joan Beach*, widow, *John Harpole* and *Margary Polley*, were all condemned for the truth by the bishop of Rochester, and burned in Kent.

Christopher Waid, of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burnt at Dartford. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was carried out of town betimes in the morning in a cart, a stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of town, called the Brimth, into a gravel-pit, near the spot, the common place for the execution of felons. Thither also was brought a load of faggots and tall wood. About ten o'clock, the sheriff came riding with a great many other gentlemen and retinue, appointed to assist him, and with them Christopher Waid and Margary Polley, riding both pinioned, and singing a psalm. As soon as Mrs. Polley espied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where they should suffer, waiting their coming, she said to Waid very loud and cheerfully, You may rejoice, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day.

They proceeded by the place, which joined to the highway, when they were straightway carried down to the town, where Mrs. Polley was kept till the sheriff returned from Waid's execution. Mr. Waid being ready, and having stripped off his clothes in an inn, a long white shirt was brought unto him from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, he was led on foot to the place of execution. When he was come to the stake, he took it in his arms, and kissed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a pitch barrel which was taken from the beacon, being hard by; then a smith brought a hoop of iron, and with two staples made him fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus settled, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he spake with a cheerful and loud voice the last

verse of the 86th Psalm; "Shew some good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed: because thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me." Near to the stake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were set up four stays, quadrangle-wise, with a covering round about like a pulpit; into which place as Waid was thus praying at the stake, entered a friar with a book in his hand; whom when Waid espied, he cried earnestly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace that of the gospel preached in King Edward's days. While he was thus speaking to the people, the sheriff interrupted him, saying, "Be quiet, Waid, and die patiently." "I am quiet, (said he) I thank God, Mr. Sheriff, and so trust to die." All this while the friar stood still looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered somewhat: but Waid strongly admonished the people to beware of that doctrine; which when the friar perceived, whether he was amazed, or could have no audience of the people, he withdrew immediately, without speaking any word, and went down to the town. Then the reeds being set about the martyr, he pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, with his hands making a hole against his face, that his voice might be heard. His tormentors perceiving this, cast faggots at the hole; but notwithstanding, he still, as he could, put them off, his face being hurt with the end of a faggot cast thereat. Then fire being set to them, he cried unto God often, Lord Jesus, receive my soul, without any token or sign of impatience; till at length after the fire was thoroughly kindled, he was no longer heard to speak, but still holding up his hands together over his head towards heaven, even when he was dead and altogether roasted, as though they had been stayed up with a prop standing under them.

This sign did God shew upon him, whereby his very enemies might perceive, that God had, according to his prayer, shewed such a token upon him, even to their shame and confusion.

Shortly after, *Dirick Carver*, and *John Launder* of the county of Surrey, were apprehended as they were at prayer together, and sent up to London, where they were committed to Newgate till Bonner could attend to examine them. After a while the bishop sent for them, and caused them to swear truly and directly to answer to such articles as should be objected against them. This they did: and Bonner after many persuasions asked them, whether they would stand to their answers? Yea, said they, we will never go from our answers so long as we live. Afterwards they had sundry articles objected against them; whereunto they made such answers that Bonner proceeded to condemn them, and so delivered them to the sheriffs, by whom they were conveyed into

Surrey to be burned. Dirick was a rich man, yet his riches were no clog to him to hinder him from heaven. He was so industrious that, though at his apprehension he knew not a letter of the book, yet, before his execution, he could read any printed English. When he came to the town of Lewes to be burned, the people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ. At the stake he stripped himself, and having made his fervent prayers unto God, went into the barrel. They threw in his book also, but he threw it out again to the people: whereupon the sheriff charged them in the queen's name to throw it into the fire. Then spake he with a joyful voice, saying, "Dear friends, bear witness that I am come to seal with my blood the gospel of Christ, because I know that it is true. You all know that it hath been truly preached to you, but now is not: and because I will not deny that gospel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die. Dear friends, so many of you as do believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, unto everlasting life, see that ye walk answerable to your profession. But such as believe in the pope or any of his laws, do believe to their utter condemnation: and, without God's great mercy, they shall burn in hell for ever." Then said the sheriff, Except thou believe on the pope thou art damned both body and soul: adding further, Pray now to thy God that he may deliver thee, or else to strike me down to the example of this people. The martyr answered, The Lord forgive you your sayings. He also prayed, saying, O Lord God, thou hast said, he that forsaketh not wife, children, house, and all that he hath, and takes up his cross to follow thee, is unworthy of thee. Thou knowest, Lord, that I have forsaken all to come unto thee. Lord, have mercy upon me, for to thee I commend my spirit, and my soul doth rejoice in thee. And so the fire being put to him, he cried, O Lord, have mercy on me, and ended his days.

At the same time there was examined before Bonner, one *Thomas Iveson*, of Godston, in Surrey, carpenter, before whom he made a good confession of his faith. The bishop laboured by all means to draw him to a recantation: to whom he answered, I would not recant, and forsake my opinion for all the goods in London. I appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor submit myself to the same. Yea, though there should come an angel from heaven to teach me any other doctrine than that which I have received, I would not believe him. Hereupon he was condemned for an heretic, and being delivered to the secular power, was burned, finishing his course with much joy.

Presently after, there was *John Aleworth*, that died in prison

at Reading, for the testimony of the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and was buried in the fields.

In these troublesome times there was one *James Abbes*, a godly young man, who, for his safety, was forced to shift from place to place: but, when God had ripened him for himself, he was caught and carried before the bishop of Norwich, who, after examination, so laboured with him, partly by threats, and partly by fair promises, that, at last, the poor young man yielded to him; whereupon the bishop gave him some money, and dismissed him. When he was departed, his conscience began to accuse him, and to shew him how he had displeased God, by yielding to their beastly illusions; so that, being upon the rack of conscience, he went back to the bishop, and threw him his money, saying, that it repented him for that he ever gave consent to their wicked persuasions, or that he took any money of him. Then did the bishop with his chaplains labour afresh to win him again, but all in vain, for though he had played Peter before, through infirmity, yet now he was resolved, through God's grace, to stand manfully in his Master's quarrel unto the death, which accordingly he did, being shortly after burned in Bury.

In the midst of these troubles, there was one Edmund Tyrel, Esquire, and Justice of Peace in Essex, who, coming from the burning of some godly persons, upon the way, met with Master *John Denley*, and *John Newman*, both of Maidstone, in Kent, going to visit some of their godly friends in Essex: Tyrel, suspecting them, caused them to be searched, and finding about them the confessions of their faith, sent them up to the commissioners in London, who seeing they could prevail nothing by their persuasions, they sent them to bishop Bonner, who examined them of their faith, and used many persuasions to withdraw them from the truth: but Master Denley answered, The Lord deliver me from your counsel, and keep me in the mind that I am in, which you count heresy; but I know it to be the truth: thereupon he sent them to prison. Afterwards they were brought forth into the Consistory, had articles objected against them, and when they could not be removed from their steadfastness, were condemned. Master Denley was sent to Uxbridge to be burned, where, in the midst of the flames, he sung a psalm; whereupon Doctor Story commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a faggot at him, which, hitting him on the face, made it to bleed, so that he gave over singing: truly, said Doctor Story, to him that hurled it, thou hast marred a good old song: then did Master Denley sing again till he yielded up his spirit.

A few days after, suffered martyrdom at the same place, *Patrick Packingham*, who, amongst other things wherewith he was charged, this was one; that being at bishop Bonner's chapel at

mass, he would not put off his hat till it was taken from him: the bishop labouring to draw him to recant, he protested that the church wherein the bishop believed, was no Catholic church, but a synagogue of Satan, and therefore he would not turn to it.

Also *John Newman* was burnt at Saffron Walden, in Essex. *Richard Hook*, at Chichester.

About the same time, *William Coker*, *William Hooper*, *Henry Lawrence*, *Richard Collier*, *Richard Wright*, and *William Stere*, Kentish men, were all examined before Doctor Harpsfield, and some others, who, all of them sticking close to the truth, were condemned, and burned at Canterbury.

Elizabeth Warne was the widow of John Warne, upholsterer, and martyr, who was also burnt the latter end of the May before.

She had been apprehended, amongst others, the first of January, in a house in Bow-church-yard, in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and was carried to the Compter, where she remained till the 11th day of June, when she was brought to Newgate, and confined there till the 2d of July. Then was she sent by the queen's commissioners to Bonner, bishop of London, who, on the 6th of the same month, caused her, with divers others, (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before him into his palace, and there examined her upon sundry articles, such as were commonly administered to the martyrs of God.

The chief objection that he made against her, was respecting the corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chief ground and most profitable foundation for their catholic dignity. Many other matters he objected against her and her fellow-prisoners, as for not coming to the church, for speaking against the mass, despising their ceremonies and new-found sacraments, &c.

In the end, when she had been several times brought before him and his adherents, and by them earnestly exhorted to recant, she said, Do what you will; for if Christ were in an error, then am I in one. Upon which she was condemned as an heretic, on the 12th of the same month, and so delivered to the secular power to be put to death, which took place at Stradford-Bow on the following month.

The chief procurer of her death was Dr. Storey, being, as it was thought, somewhat related to her, or else to her late husband. Who, at her first apprehension, endeavoured, by all means to get her pardon, and accordingly applied to Dr. Martin, one of the commissioners in matters of religion, himself being not then one, and by his suit obtained her deliverance for that present; yet, afterwards, upon what occasion God only knoweth,

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except upon some burning charity, the said Dr. Storey, becoming one of the commissioners, caused not only John Warne, but also his wife, and afterwards his daughter, to be again apprehended, never leaving them till he had brought them all to ashes.

George Tankerfield, of London, cook, born in York, about the age of 27 years, had been, in the days of King Edward, a papist, till the time Queen Mary came in, and then perceiving the great cruelty which the papists used, he was brought into a doubt of their doctrines, and began (as he said) in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the mass, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving with himself in that case, he at length fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein, whether it were of God or not; if not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart. The Lord mercifully heard his prayer, daily working more and more in him to detest his former errors. He was then moved to read the Testament, whereby, as is said, the Lord enlightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working a lively faith in him to believe the same, and utterly to detest all popery, and at length he came no more to their doings: and, moreover, the truth kindled such a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but uttered itself by the confession thereof, reproving his former ways to his friends, exhorting them likewise to repent and turn to the truth with him, till they at length discovered him.

It pleased God to strike him with sickness, whereby he lay long confined; and, on a certain day, to take the air abroad, he rose and walked into the Temple fields to see the shooters. In the mean time Mr. Beard, yeoman of the guard, came to his house, and inquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came only to have him dress a banquet at the lord Paget's. His wife, because of his apparel, which was very rich, took him to be some great friend, and with all speed prepared herself to fetch her husband; and lest this gentleman should be tired with tarrying, she fetched him a cushion for him to sit on, and laid a fair napkin before him, and set bread thereon, and came to her husband; who, when he heard it, said, A banquet, woman; indeed it is such a banquet as will not be very pleasant to the flesh, but God's will be done. And when he came home, he saw who it was, and called him by his name, which when his wife perceived, and wherefore he came, she seized a spit, and would have run him through, had not the constable which Mr. Beard had sent for by his man, come in and rescued him: yet she sent a brickbat after him, and hit him on the back. And so Tankerfield was delivered to the constable, and brought to Newgate, about the last day of February, 1555.

Tankerfield being thus brought to prison by his adversaries, at length, with the others before-named, was brought to his examination before bishop Bonner, who, after his accustomed manner, ordered his articles and positions unto him.

To these he answered again, constantly declaring his mind concerning auricular confession, the sacrament of the popish altar, and the mass, &c. First, that he has not confessed to any priest for five years past, nor to any but only to God: and further declaring, that he would not hereafter be confessed to any priest, for that he found it not in Christ's book.

And concerning the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, he confessed, that he neither had nor did believe, that in the sacrament there was the real body and blood of Christ, because the body was ascended into heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of God the Father.

He likewise said, that the mass now used in the church of England was full of idolatry and abomination, and against the word of God; affirming also, that there were but two sacraments in the church of Christ, baptism, and the supper of the Lord, &c. And to these assertions he said he would stand; which he did to the end.

And when at last the bishop began to read the sentence, first exhorting him, with many words, to revoke his professed opinion, (which they called damnable and heretical) he resisted all their persuasions. I will not, said he, forsake mine opinions, except you, my lord, can refute them by the Scriptures; and I care not for your divinity; for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them. And after many words of exhortation, which Bonner then used, to convert, or rather, pervert him, he answered boldly, That the church, whereof the pope is supreme head, is no part of Christ's catholic church; and adding thereunto, and pointing to the bishop, spake to the people, saying, Good people, beware of him, and such as he is, for these be the people that deceive you, &c.

The bishop, then reading the sentence of condemnation, gave him to the secular power.

He was brought to St. Alban's by the high sheriff of Hertfordshire, Edward Brocket, Esq. and Mr. Pulter, of Hitchen, who was under-sheriff. They put up at the Cross-keys inn, where there was a great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner; some were sorry to see so pious a man brought to be burned; others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. Some said, it was pity he did stand in such opinions: and others cried against him; one called him heretic, and said it was pity that he lived. But Tankerfield spake unto them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting their ignorance,

and protesting unto them his unspotted conscience, that God did mollify their hardened hearts, insomuch that some of them departed out of the chamber weeping.

There came a certain schoolmaster to have communication with him, the day before he was coming to St. Albans, concerning the sacrament of the altar, and other points of the popish religion: but as he urged Tankerfield with the authority of the doctors, wresting them after his own will; so, on the other side, Tankerfield answered him mightily by the Scriptures, not wrested after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus, &c. So that as he would not allow such allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the Scriptures without the opinions of the doctors; so again Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he would confirm it by the Scriptures. In the end, Tankerfield prayed him that he would not trouble him in such matters, for his conscience was established, &c. He, therefore, departed from him, wishing him well, and protesting that he meant him no more hurt than his own soul.

When the hour drew on that he should suffer, he desired the wine-drawer that he might have a pint of malmsey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, because he could not have it administered to him by others in such manner as Christ commanded: and then he kneeled down, making his confession unto the Lord with all who were in the chamber with him; and after he had prayed earnestly, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus out of the evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those who are thy ministers, but only because I cannot have it administered according to thy word, &c. and when he had spoken these and such like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

When some of his friends desired him to eat some meat, he said he would not eat that which should do others good that had more need, and that had longer to live than he.

He prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber, which was granted him; and then he, sitting on a form before it, put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leg to the flame; and, when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg, shewing the flesh did persuade him one way, and the spirit another. The flesh said, O thou fool, wilt thou burn, and needest not? The spirit said, Be not afraid, for this is nothing in respect of fire eternal. The flesh said, Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing. The spirit said, The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence do exceed all fleshly friends.

The flesh said, Do not shorten thy time, for thou mayest live if thou wilt, much longer. The spirit said, This life is nothing unto the life in heaven which lasteth for ever, &c. And all this time the sheriffs were at a gentleman's house at dinner, not far from the town, whither also resorted many knights and gentlemen out of the country, because his son was married that day, and until they returned from dinner, the prisoner was left to the care of his host, by whom he was kindly treated: and considering that his time was short, his saying was, That although the day was ever so long, yet at the last it ringeth to evening song.

About two o'clock, when the sheriffs returned from dinner, they brought Mr. Tankerfield out of the inn to the place where he should suffer, which was called Romeland, being a green place near the west end of the Abbey church; unto which when he was come, he kneeled down by the stake that was set up for him; and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven.

While the faggots were set about him, there came a priest and persuaded him to believe on the sacrament of the altar, and he would be saved. But Tankerfield cried vehemently, I defy the whore of Babylon: fy on that abominable idol: good people, do not believe him. And then the mayor of the town commanded fire to be set to, and said, If he had but one load of faggots in the world, he would give it to burn him. Amidst this confusion there was a certain knight who went unto Tankerfield, and, taking him by the hand, said, Good brother, be strong in Christ; this he spake softly; and Tankerfield said, O Sir, I thank you, I am so; I thank God. Then fire was set unto him, and he desired the sheriff and all the people to pray for him; most of them did so. And so embracing the fire, he called on the name of the Lord Jesus, and was quickly out of pain.

The History of Robert Smith.

Mr. Smith was brought to Newgate on the 5th of November, by John Matthew, a yeoman of the guard, by the command of the council. He had formerly devoted his services to the house of Sir Thomas Smith, knight, being at the same time provost of Eton: from thence he was preferred to Windsor, having there in the college a clerkship of ten pounds a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighted in the art of painting, which, many times, rather for his amusement than gain, he practised. In religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth: wherein he was much confirmed by the preaching of Mr. Turner, of Windsor, and others.

At the coming in of Queen Mary he was deprived of his clerkship by her visitors; and not long after was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner. The following examinations were written with his own hand.

About nine in the morning I was, among the rest of my brethren, brought to the bishop's house; and first of all I was brought before him into his chamber, where he began as followeth, after he had asked my name.

Bonner. How long is it since you were confessed to any priest?

Smith. Never since I had years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, neither commanded by God to come to shew my faults to any of that sinful number whom you call priests.

Bonner. Thou shewest thyself even at thy first speech to be a rank heretic, who being weary of painting, art entered into divinity, and so fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into heresy.

Smith. Although I understand painting, yet I praise God, I have had little need all my life hitherto to live by it.

Bonner. How long is it since you received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion in the same?

Smith. I never received it since I had years of discretion, nor ever will, by God's grace; neither do I esteem it in any point, because it hath not God's ordinance, but rather is set up to mock him withal.

Bonner. Do you not believe that it is the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration?

Smith. I shewed you before it was none of God's ordinances, as you use it; then much less to be God, or any part of his substance; but only bread and wine erected to the use aforesaid: yet, nevertheless, if you can prove it to be the body that you spake of by the word, I will believe it; if not, I will do as I do, account it a detestable idol.

Then after many raging words and vain objections, he said, there was no remedy, but I must be burned.

Smith. You shall do no more unto me than you have done to better men than either of us. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither to make your matter good. For your sore is too well seen to be healed so privily with blood. For even the very children have all your deeds in derision; so that although you patch up one place with authority, yet shall it break out in forty to your shame.

Bonner. Then after many railing sentences, he said, throwing away the paper of my examination, Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go to confession I will tear this paper in pieces.

Smith. It would be too much to your shame to shew it to men of discretion.

After which answer, I was carried down to the garden with my jailor, and there remained till my brother Harwood was examined; then being again brought up before Bonner, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession upon the following articles.

Bonner. What say you to the catholic church? Do you not confess there is one in earth?

Smith. Yes, verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which, as the apostle saith, is built upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone: which church, in all her words and works maintaineth the word, and bringeth the same for her authority, and without it doth nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am assured I am by grace made a member.

Bonner. You shall understand, that I am bound when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation: now if your church be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before it?

Smith. It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the tyranny of the bishops was so great against the church in Jewry, they were fain to assemble in houses and secret places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheless the church of God: and seeing they had their matters redressed being shut up in a corner, may not we do the like now-a-days?

Bonner. Yea, their church was known full well. For St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, to have the man punished and excommunicated that had committed evil with his father's wife. Whereby we may well perceive it was a known church; but your's is not known.

Smith. Then could you not persecute it as you do: but as you say the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and St. Paul; even so is this church of God in England, which you persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will know their truth nor conversation; yea, and your sinful number have professed their verity, and maintained the same a long season.

Bonner. Well, thou sayest that the church of God was only at Corinth, when St. Paul wrote unto them, and so will I put in writing, shall I?

Smith. I greatly marvel, my lord, that you are not ashamed to lay snares for your brethren on this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me. First, to make me confess that the church of England is not the church of Christ. Secondly, to say it is not known. Thirdly, to say the church of

God is not universal, but particular. And this is not the office of a bishop. For had an innocent come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him.

Well, friend, said Dr. Harpsfield, you are no innocent, as it appeareth.

Smith. By the grace of God I am that I am; and this grace in me I hope is not in vain.

Well, said Bonner, laughing, tell me, how sayest thou of the church?

Smith. I told you whereon the true church is built, and I affirm in England to be the congregation of God, and also in *omnem terram;* as it is written, "Their sound is gone forth into all lands," and this is the afflicted and persecuted church, which ye cease not to imprison, slay, and kill. And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the church of God, as many thousands more which also communicated in that Holy Spirit.

Bonner. What call you catholic, and what call you church?

Smith. Catholic is universal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity.

Then after much like talk it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I spake one thing. For which I praised God, and was sent again to the garden. Where, after a while, as I and brother Harwood had been together, came one of my lord's chaplains, that much desired to commune with me, demanding first if I were a prisoner.

Smith. I am in this flesh a prisoner, and subject to my master and your's; but I hope yet the Lord's free man through Christ Jesus.

Doctor. I do much desire to talk to you lovingly, because you are a man I much lament.

To which I answered, *Sub melle latet venenum.* And after much ado about his god, I compelled him to say, that it must needs enter into the belly, and so fall into the draught.

Then the doctor started away, and would have his humanity incomprehensible, making a comparison between the soul of man and the body of Christ, bringing in to serve his turn, which way Christ came in among his disciples, the doors being shut?

Smith. Although it be said, that when he came the doors were shut, yet have I as much to prove, that the doors opened at his coming as you have to prove he came through the door. For that Almighty God who brought the disciples out of prison, which yet when search was made was found shut, was able to let Christ in at the door, although it were shut: and yet it maketh

not for your purpose; for they saw him, heard him, and felt him, and that you cannot say you do, neither is he in more places than one at the same time.

At which answer when he had made many scoffings, he went from me, and we were carried into my lord's hall, where we were baited by the band of servants almost all the day, until our keeper, seeing their rudeness, shut us all up in a handsome chamber, while my lord went into his synagogue to condemn Mr. Denley and John Newman.

Then they brought my lord mayor up into the chamber where my lord intended to sup, to hear the matter; and I was the first that was called: where my lord mayor being set with the bishop and one of the sheriffs, wine was flowing on every side, whilst I stood before them like a mute; which made me remember how Pilate and Herod were made friends, but no man was sorry for Joseph's hurt. But after my lord had well drunk, my articles were sent for and read, and he demanded whether I did say as was written?

Smith. That I have said, I have said, and what I have said I mean.

Bonner. Well, my lord mayor, your lordship hath heard, in some measure, what a stout heretic this is, and that his articles have deserved death: yet nevertheless forasmuch as they report me to seek blood, and call me bloody Bonner, whereas, God knoweth, I never sought any man's blood in all my life, I have kept him from the consistory this day, whither I could have brought him justly; I desire him to turn, and I will, with all speed, despatch him out of his trouble; and this I profess before your lordship and all this audience.

Smith. Why, my lord, do you put on this fair vizor before my lord mayor, to make him believe that you seek not my blood, to cloak your murders, through my stoutness, as you call it? Have you not had my brother Tomkins before you, whose hand when you burned most cruelly, you burned also his body, and not only him, but a great many of the members of Christ, men that lived virtuously, and also the queen's majesty's most true subjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifest? And seeing in these saints you have shewed so little mercy, shall it seem to my lord and this audience that you shew me more? No, no, my lord. But if you mean as you say, why then do you examine me of what I am not bound to answer you?

Then my lord rose up and went to the table, where the lord mayor desired me to save my soul. I answered, I hoped it was saved through Christ Jesus: desiring him to have pity on his own soul, and remember whose sword he carried.

I was then carried into the garden, and there abode till the

rest of my friends were examined, and then were we sent away to Newgate with many foul farewells, my lord bishop giving the keeper a charge to lay me in limbo.

Upon Saturday, at eight o'clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there examined by him as followeth.

Bonner. Well, what sayest thou to auricular confession? Is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church? And wilt thou not be confessed by the priest?

Smith. It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered yesterday. But if it be needful for your church, it is to pick men's pockets; and such pick-pocket matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies: for all that you maintain is but money-matters.

Bonner. Why, how art thou able to prove that confession is a pick-pocket matter? Art thou not ashamed to say so?

Smith. I speak by experience: for I have both heard and seen the fruits of the same. For first it hath been, we see, a betrayer of king's secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences; who being delivered, and glad to be discharged from their sins, have given great sums of money to priests to absolve them, and sing masses for their souls.

Bonner. If the queen's majesty were of my mind, thou shouldst not come to talk before any man, but shouldst be put in a sack, with a dog in the same, and be thrown into a river.

Smith. I know you speak by practice, as much as by speculation, for both you and your predecessors have sought all possible means to kill Christ secretly.

Bonner. Ah, you are a generation of liars; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths.

Smith. Yes, my lord, I have said that Jesus Christ is dead for my sins, and risen for my justification, and this is no lie.

At this time Sir John Mordaunt came in, and sat down to hear my examination. Then said my lord, How sayest thou, Smith, to the seven sacraments? Believest thou not that they be of God's order, that is to say, the sacrament of, &c.

Smith. I believe that in God's church are but two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of Baptism, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper: and as for the sacrament of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church, but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to answer them, nor you to examine me of them.

Bonner. Why is God's order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?

Smith. First, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the same; in baptising of children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt, and with many other lewd

ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order.

Bonner. By the mass, this is the most unshame-faced heretic that ever I heard speak.

Smith. Well sworn, my lord, you keep a good watch.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, you catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant.

By my troth, my lord, said Sir John Mordaunt, I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, mark well his answer for baptism. He disalloweth therein holy ointment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no christian will deny.

Smith. That is a shameful blasphemy against Christ, so to use any mingle mangle in baptizing young infants.

Mordaunt. Sir, I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned.

Bonner. Yea, and so do I, and all catholic men, Mr. Mordaunt.

Smith. Well, my lord, such catholic, such salvation!

Bonner. Well, Sir, what say you to the sacrament of orders?

Smith. You may call it the sacrament of mis-orders; for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, polling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God's book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, if you had grace and intelligence, you would not so disfigure yourself as you do.

Bonner. Sayest thou so? Now, by my troth, I will go shave myself to anger thee withal; and so he sent for his barber, who immediately came: and before my face at the door of the next chamber, he shaved himself, desiring me before he went, to answer to these articles.

Bonner. What say you to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?

Smith. I say they be baubles for fools to play withal, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in, and therefore they may go among the refuse. Then Mr. Mordaunt went away, and my lord also leaving certain doctors, as he called them, to try what they could do, by whom I was baited for half an hour: of whom I also asked this question, Where were you all the days of King Edward, that you spake not that which you speak now?

Doctors. We were in England.

Smith. Yea, but then you had the faces of men, but now you put on lions' faces again, as saith St. John, "Ye shew yourselves as full of malice as ye may be." For you have for every time a vizor; yea, and if another King Edward should arise, you would then say, Down with the pope, for he is Antichrist, and so are all his angels.

With this my lord returned, and asked me, how I liked him, now he was shaven?

Smith. Forsooth, you are even so wise as you were before you were shaven.

Bonner. How standeth it, Doctors, have you done any good?

Doct. No, my lord, we can do no good.

Smith. Then it is fulfilled which is written, "How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?"

Bonner. Well, wilt thou neither hear them nor me?

Smith. Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but you cannot compel me to follow you.

Bonner. Well, thou shalt be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn.

Smith. And you shall burn in hell, if you repent not: but, my lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesy with you: I perceive you will not with your doctors come unto me, and I am determined not to come unto you, by God's grace. For I have hardened my face against you as hard as brass.

To which the bishop answered, By my troth, Mr. Speaker, you shall preach at a stake.

Smith. Well sworn, my lord, you keep a good watch.

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, I am no saint.

Smith. No, my lord, nor yet a good bishop. For a bishop, saith St. Paul, should be faultless, and a vessel dedicated unto God; and are you not ashamed to sit in judgment and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, you are faultless.

Smith. My lord mayor, I require you, in God's name, that I may have justice. We be here to-day a great many innocents wrongfully accused of heresy. And I require of you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have no more favour at your hands, than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippus, who being heathens and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, who being a christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have suffered: if you do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the heathen, speak shame of your act. For all that do well come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light.

At this, the lord mayor, hanging down his head, said nothing, but the bishop told me, I should preach at the stake, and so the sheriff cried with the bishop, away with me.

Thus came I in before them four times, desiring justice, but could have none: at length my friends required the same with one voice, but could not have it; so we had sentence; and then being carried out, were brought in again, and received it sepa-

rately. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me, in derision of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I answered, My lord, you fill the people's ears with fantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but if you were a true bishop, you should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.

Bonner. Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, Mr. Speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor should here instruct him, but he hath with great disdain refused it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee into the right way?

Smith. My lord, if your chancellor will do me any good, and take any pains, as you say, let him take mine articles in his hands, that you have objected against me, and either prove one of them heresy, or any thing that you do to be good: and if he be able so to do, I stand here with all my heart to hear him; if not, I have no need, I praise God, of his sermon: for I come to answer for my life, and not to hear a sermon.

Then began the sentence, "In the name of God," &c. To which I answered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him, where he learned in Scripture to give sentence of death against any man for his conscience' sake. To which he made no answer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, Away with him. Then I turned to the mayor, and said, Is it not enough for you, my lord mayor, and you that are the sheriffs, that you have left the straight way of the Lord, but you must condemn Christ causeless?

Bonner. Well, Mr. Controller, now you cannot say, but I have offered you fair to have instruction. And now, I pray thee, call me bloody Bishop, and say, I seek thy blood.

Smith. Well, my lord, if neither I nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet shall these stones cry it out, rather than it shall be hidden.

Bonner. Away with him, away with him.

I then turned to my fellow-sufferers, and said, Well, good friends, you have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and you are all witnesses that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it hath not been granted: but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my lord mayor, forasmuch as you have here exercised God's sword causeless, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, who will judge all men according to right, before whom we shall both stand without authority; and there will I stand in the right, and have judgment, to your great confusion, except you repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will. And then was I, with the rest of my brethren, carried to Newgate.

Thus was this steady martyr condemned on the 12th of July. While he remained in prison, between the periods of his sentence and his death, he was very active in exhorting and encouraging his fellow martyrs, and teaching the way of life to those who were confined for criminal offences, many of whom he converted to the truth.

He terminated his triumphant career at Uxbridge, on the 8th of August, rejoicing in the cross even in the midst of the flames. While in prison, he also wrote several letters to his friends, some of which were in verse.

The Martyrdom of Stephen Harwood and Thomas Fust.

These two martyrs suffered about the same time as their brethren, Smith and Tankerfield, in whose company they were condemned by bishop Bonner, and as the proceedings against them were so much alike, it would be superfluous to repeat the particulars. Harwood was burnt at Stratford, and Fust at Ware. It is worth observing of Mr. Fust, that on his last examination, when Bonner was persuading him to recant, he answered with great boldness, No, my lord, for no truth cometh out of your mouth, but all lies: you condemn men, and will not hear the truth.

William Hale, at Barnet, was one of those who were sent to bishop Bonner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners. He belonged to Thorpe, in the county of Essex. Ah, good people, said he to the lookers on, when he received his sentence, beware of this idolater, and this Antichrist, (pointing to the bishop of London.) He was then delivered to the sheriffs to be burnt as an heretic, who sent him to Barnet, where, about the latter end of August, he most constantly sealed his faith with his death.

George King, *Thomas Leyes*, and *John Wade*, falling sick in Lollard's Tower, were so weak that they were removed into sundry houses within the city of London, where they died, and were then thrown into the fields, and there buried in the night by some of the faithful brethren, none of whom in the day time durst do it, *Propter metum Judœorum*. The last that remained of this company was *Joan Laysh*, or *Layshford*, the daughter-in-law of John Warne, and Elizabeth Warne, martyrs; but because she was reprieved to another time, we shall defer her story and martyrdom till the month of January the next year following.

The same catholic charity was also shewn upon *William Andrew*, of Horsley, in the county of Essex, carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the first day of April, 1555. His principal persecutor was the lord Rich, who sent him first to prison.

William Andrew being twice examined before bishop Bonner, boldly stood in defence of his religion. At length, by the severe

usage he met with in Newgate, he there lost his life, which otherwise would have been taken away by fire: and so after the popish manner he was cast out into a field, and by night was privately buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

At Cobdock, near Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, lived a justice of the peace, named Foster, remarked for his zeal and hatred against the faithful, whom he took every means of persecuting. Among many whom he had troubled, was Mr. Samuel, in King Edward's days, a very godly and faithful preacher of God's word, who, for his constant behaviour in his sermons, seems worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfold, in Suffolk, where he industriously and successfully taught the flock, which God had committed to his charge, as long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

At last, he was removed from the ministry, and deprived of his benefice, and although he could not avoid the violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care for his flock, but continued to teach them by stealth, when he could not openly do so. When the order was given by the queen, that all priests, who had been married in King Edward's days, should put away their wives from them, and be compelled to live in chastity and single life; this decree Mr. Samuel would not abide by, because he knew it to be manifestly abominable; but, determining with himself, that God's laws were not to be broken for man's traditions, he still kept his wife at Ipswich, and gave his diligence, in the mean time, to the instructing of others, which were about him, as occasion served. At last, Mr. Foster, having intelligence hereof, being very officious in those parts, spared no time nor diligence, but quickly sent his spies abroad, laying close wait for Mr. Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prison.

In conclusion, they espied him at home with his wife, and brought word to the officer, who came to the house, and beset it with a great company, and so took him in the night, because they durst not do it in the day-time, for fear of trouble and tumult, although Mr. Samuel did not withstand them at all, but meekly yielded himself into their hands. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich goal, where he patiently spent his time among his pious brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. However, not long after, he was carried to Norwich, where Dr. Hopton, bishop of that diocese, and Dr. Dunnings, his chancellor, exercised great cruelty against him. These men were most abhorred instruments of cruelty, exceeding all the rest of their class, in tormenting the bodies of the martyrs. For although the others were sharp enough in

their generation, yet would they be satisfied with imprisonment and death, and could go no farther.

The bishop, therefore, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might as easily prevail with Mr. Samuel, as he had done with several before, kept him in a very close prison at his first coming, where he was chained bolt-upright to a great post, in such sort, that, standing only on tip-toe, he was fain to stay up the whole poise or weight of his body thereby. And to this they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed, through hunger and thirst; saving that he had every day allowed him two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reserved to farther torment, than that they would preserve his life. O worthy constancy of the martyr! O pitiless hearts of papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O the wonderful strength of Christ in his members! Whose heart, though it had been made of adamant stone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature!

At last, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison of those pains that he had passed, there were several, that heard him declare what strange things had happened to him during the time of his imprisonment: namely, that after he had been famished, or pined with hunger, two or three days together, he then fell into a sleep, as it were, one-half in a slumber, at which time, one, clad all in white, seemed to stand before him, which adminstered comfort unto him by these words: "Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee. For, after this day, shalt thou never be either hungry or thirsty." Which came to pass accordingly, for, soon after, he was burned; and, from that time till he suffered, he felt neither hunger nor thirst. And this he declared, to the end, as he said, that all men might behold the wonderful works of God. Many other matters concerning the great comfort he had of Christ in his afflictions, he could utter, he said, besides this, but that modesty would not suffer him to utter it. And yet, if it had pleased God, I wish he had been less modest in that behalf, that the love and care, that Christ hath of his servants, might have the more appeared thereby unto us, by such present arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be sufficient testimonies of the same in the holy Scriptures already.

No less memorable it is, and worthy also to be noted, concerning the three ladders, which, he said, he saw, in his sleep, set up towards heaven! of which there was one somewhat longer than the rest, but yet, at length, they became one, joining, as it

were, all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the martyrdom first of himself, and from the death of two honest women, who were brought forth, and suffered in the same town not long after.

As the martyr was going to the stake, a certain maid came to him, and kissed him, which being marked by them that were present, she was sought for the next day after, to be had to prison and burned: however, as God of his goodness would have it, she escaped their fiery hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after. But as this maid, called Rose Nottingham, was marvellously preserved by the Providence of God; so there were two other honest women who fell into the rage and fury of that time, the one was the wife of a brewer named Potten, the other of a shoemaker named Trunchfield.

With these two this maid aforesaid was very familiar and well acquainted, and once advised one of them, that she should convey herself away while she had time, seeing she could not bear the queen's proceedings; but her friend answered her, I know, that it is well enough to flee away, which remedy you may use if you please. But my case standeth otherwise. I am tied to an husband, and have besides, young children at home; and then I know not how my husband, being a carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Christ and his truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter.

The day after that on which Mr. Samuel suffered, these two pious wives, namely, Ann Potten and Joan Trunchfield, were apprehended and imprisoned together. Who, as they were both by sex and nature somewhat tender, so they were at first less able to endure the straitness of the prison, and especially the brewer's wife was cast into great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Christ beholding the weak infirmity of his servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity. At length they both suffered after Samuel, February 19, 1556.

It was reported by some who were present at Mr. Samuel's sufferings, August 31, and saw him burn, that his body did shine as bright and white as new tried silver in the eyes of all that stood by.

After the suffering of Mr. Samuel, about the beginning of September, *William Allen*, a labouring man, was burnt in Walsingham. He being brought before the bishop, and asked the cause why he was imprisoned, answered, That he was put in prison because he would not follow the cross, saying, that he would never go in procession.

Then being willed by the bishop to return again to the catholic church; he answered, That he would turn to the catholic church, but not to the Romish church: and said, That if he saw the

king and queen, and all others follow the cross, or kneel down to the cross, he would not. For which, sentence of condemnation was given against him on the 12th of August, to be burnt at Walsingham about the beginning of September. He declared such constancy at his martyrdom, and had such credit with the justices, by reason of his well tried conversation among them, that he was suffered to go untied to his execution, and there being fastened with a chain, stood quietly without shrinking until he died.

Roger Coo, being brought before the bishop, was first asked by him, why he was imprisoned?

Coo. At the justices commandment.

Bishop. Is not the holy church to be believed?

Coo. Yes, if it be built upon the word of God.

The bishop said to Coo, that he had the charge of his soul.

Coo. Have you so, my lord? Then if you go to the devil for your sins, what shall become of me?

Bishop. Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?

Coo. It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, "There shall come a people with the prince that shall destroy both city and sanctuary." I pray you shew me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or now?

The bishop not answering his question, asked him, whether he would not obey the king's laws?

Coo. As far as they agree with the word of God I will obey them.

Bishop. Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we are bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel.

Coo. If Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confessed the living God.

Bishop. These two and twenty years we have been governed by such kings.

Coo. My lord, why were you then dumb, and did not speak or bark?

Bishop. I durst not for fear of death. And thus they ended.

But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I recollected, and wrote down my railing (as they called it) that light should not be taken for darkness, nor sin for holiness.

Mr. Roger Coo was an aged father, and after his sundry troubles and conflicts with his adversaries, he at length was committed to the fire at Yexford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his years, in the month of September, 1555.

Thomas Cob was a butcher of Haverhill, and was condemned on the 12th day of August, and executed in the month of Sep-

tember. Being examined by Michael Dunnings, the bloody chancellor of Norwich; first, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; answered, That the body of Christ, born of the Virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise (he said) he would not answer, because he had read it in the Scripture, that Christ did ascend, and never did descend since; and therefore said, that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Christ should be in the sacrament.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of the faith, or not; he answered, That his body should be at the queen's commandment so far as the law of God would suffer, &c. In fine, he being condemned, was burnt in the town of Thetford, in September, 1555.

George Catmer, was of Hithe: *Robert Streater*, of Hithe; *Anthony Burward*, of Calete; *George Brodbridge*, of Bromfield; and *James Tuttey*, of Brenchley.

These, upon the third day of August, were brought before Dr. Thornton, the bishop of Dover, and his accomplices, and were jointly and severally examined upon certain articles, touching the sacrament of the altar, auricular confession, &c.

On this they were condemned as heretics, and were all five burned at Canterbury in one fire, about the 6th day of September following.

Although the rage and vehemency of this terrible persecution in Queen Mary's days chiefly existed in London, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as hath been partly declared; yet notwithstanding, few parts of the realm were free from this fatal storm, but in almost all places some were put to death for the cause of righteousness. In the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry, two persons, *Thomas Hayward*, and *John Goreway*, were both condemned as heretics, and burnt at Litchfield about the middle of September.

Mr. *Robert Glover* was a gentleman by birth. He was apprehended, and put to death in the month of September, in the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry. But his apprehension and troubles cannot well be treated of, without mentioning some things relating to his brother, *John Glover*, for whom the commission was chiefly sent down, although it pleased God that John escaped, and Robert in his stead was apprehended. In describing some part of their virtuous order of life, we shall first begin with John, the eldest; who, being heir to his father in the town of Mancetor, was endowed with considerable possessions and worldly goods, but much more plentifully was he enriched with God's heavenly grace, which so wrought in him, that he with his brothers Robert and William, not only embraced the holy

gospel, but also most zealously professed it, and lived accordingly.

John Glover was a man of a very tender conscience, and seemed to have a deeper sense of heavenly things than the others. His spiritual conflicts were very extraordinary. For a long time he had lain under the fearful impression of having committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, as spoken of by the Lord in Matt. xii. 31, 32, which, precluding from his mind all hope of future happiness, rendered him extremely miserable, so that he could enjoy nothing, but was worn as by a baleful disease. At length it pleased the Lord to give him *Faith*, when his fears were dispersed, and he could cry, *Abba, Father*. He now was filled with joy and peace, became dead to the world, and seemed like one in heaven, abhorring in his mind all profane doings. Neither was his talk any thing different from the fruits of his life, never throwing out a vile, or vain word. The most part of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the management of his servants and officers, whereby he might the more quietly give himself up to his godly study, as to a continual Sabbath. This was about the latter end of King Henry's reign, and continued in the time of Edward VI.

After this, in the persecuting days of Queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard of his fame, and of his being so ardent and zealous in the gospel of Christ, he immediately wrote a letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry to apprehend him as soon as possible. But by the good Providence of God, it happened otherwise: so that Robert his brother, being stronger in body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries, (being a Master of Arts in Cambridge) should sustain that conflict.

For as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters for the apprehending of Mr. John Glover, he forthwith sent private notice to him to convey himself away. He accordingly escaped with his brother William.

But when the officer had searched a long time for him in vain, he went into an upper chamber, where he found Robert lying on his bed, who had been long sick, and brought him immediately before the sheriff. Which sheriff, notwithstanding, favouring Robert and his cause, would indeed fain have dismissed him, and wrought what means he could, saying, that he was not the man for whom they were sent: yet, being terrified with the threats of the officer, who insisted on his being detained till the bishop's coming, he was constrained, against his will, to confine him till the bishop arrived.

The following Account is contained in a Letter from Mr. Robert Glover, to his Wife.

The peace of conscience which passeth all understanding, the

sweet consolation, strength, and boldness of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in your heart, through a fervent, earnest, and steadfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

I thank you heartily, for your letters sent to me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice; with tears (I say) for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work: first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a voluntary submission and obedience to the will of God in all things. Which when I read in your letters, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

After I came into prison, and had reposed myself a while, I wept for joy and gladness, musing much of the great mercies of God, and saying to myself, O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldst bestow this great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for the gospel's sake.

Not long after, Mr. W. Brasbridge, Mr. C. Phineas, and Mr. N. Hopkins, came unto me, persuading me to be dismissed upon bonds. But I answered, that as the masters had nothing to burden me withal; if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they had no matter to lay to my charge, they might as well let me pass without bonds as with them.

They, however, used many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture if I brake my promise. I said, I had cast up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.

The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Mr. Warren came to the Guildhall, and ordered the chief jailor to carry me to the bishop. I laid to Mr. Warren's charge the cruel seeking of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so; for he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

And so he departed from me, saying, I needed not fear if I would be of his belief.

When I came before the bishop in Mr. Denton's house, he began with this protestation, That he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit myself.

Mr. Chancellor standing by, said I was a master of arts.

Then my lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church.

Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, forasmuch as I had not been in his diocese for a long season, neither were any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding, I answered him through God's

merciful help, that I neither had, nor would come to their church, as long as their mass was used there, to save (if I had them) five hundred lives. I desired him to shew me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures, for the proof and defence of the mass.

He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught.

I was content, I told him, to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

Bishop. Who shall judge the word?

Glover. Christ was willing that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the Scriptures, and so was Paul; methinks you should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had. If you will be believed because you are a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed bishop Latimer, bishop Ridley, and bishop Hooper, &c.

Bishop. Because they were heretics.

Glover. And may not you err as well as they? I expected my lord to use some learned arguments to persuade me, but instead of that, he oppressed me only with his authority. He said, I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before King Edward's time?

I desired him to shew me where their church was in Elias's time, and what outward shew it had in Christ's time.

Bishop. Elias's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics.

Glover. You are not able to shew any prophets that the other two tribes had at that same time.

My lord making no answer to that, Mr. Rogers, one of the masters of the city, cometh in the mean season, taking upon him as though he would answer to the text. But my lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common jail, saying, he would at the end of the visitation of his diocese, weed out such wolves. Mr. Rogers willed him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleaseth you, said I to my lord, I am content; and so I was returned at that time to the common jail again from whence I came.

Certain serjeants and constables at Coventry being appointed to convey us to Litchfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot, the chancellor's man, sent from Coventry with us for the same purpose, we were commanded to be on horseback about eleven o'clock on Friday, it being a market-day, in order that we might be the more gazed at; and to set the people's hearts more against us, they proclaimed a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in and disannulling all such books as truly expounded the Scriptures. We arrived at Litchfield about four o'clock, and had leave to repose ourselves for supper-time. The house

we put up at was the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

I was put into a prison that same night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next the dungeon, where was small room, strong building, and very cold, with little light; and there I was allowed a bundle of straw instead of my bed, without chairs, form, or any thing else to rest myself upon. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that if it had been his pleasure, I could have been contented to have ended my life: but Jephcot, and one Percy, the bishop's man, who afterwards was my continual keeper for the most part, came to me in the morning, to whom I said, This is a great extremity, God send us patience.

Then they consented that I should have a bed of my own procuring. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great sickness; nor yet paper, pen, ink, or books, except my New Testament in Latin, and a Prayer-book which I brought privily in.

Within two days after, Mr. Chancellor and Mr. Temsey, a prebendary there, came into my prison. The first exhorted me to conform myself to my lord and to the church. He wished no more hurt to my soul than he did to his own; perhaps this was because I had laid to his charge at Coventry the seeking of my blood unjustly and wrongfully.

I answered, That I refused not to be ruled by that church, which was content to be governed by the word of God.

Chancellor. How know you the word of God, but by the church?

Glover. The church sheweth which is the word of God, therefore the church is above the word of God; this is no good reason in learning, said I to Mr. Chancellor. For it is like unto this; John sheweth the people who Christ was, therefore John was above Christ.

He said, he came not to reason with me, and so departed. And I remained for the space of eight days without further conference with any man, until the bishop's coming: in which time I gave myself continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promises of God unto all, without exception of person, that call upon the name of his Son Jesus Christ. I found in myself daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, and sometimes as it were a taste and glimmering of the life to come.

At the bishop's first coming to Litchfield, after my imprisonment, I was called into a bye-chamber next to my prison, to my lord. Before whom when I came, and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, except it were an old priest, I was

partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance.

He asked me how I liked my imprisonment; I gave him no answer touching that question. He then proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued so many years. As for your church, said he to me, it was not known but lately in Edward's time.

I profess myself to be a member of that church, said I, that is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone. And this church hath been from the beginning, said I, though it bear no glorious shew before the world, being ever under the cross and affliction, contemned, despised, and persecuted; my lord contended, on the other side, that they were the church.

So cried all the clergy, said I, against the prophets of Jerusalem, saying, "The church of the Lord, the church of the Lord." And always when I was about to speak any thing, my lord cried, Hold thy peace; I command thee, by the virtue of thy obedience, to hold thy peace; calling me a proud, arrogant heretic.

I desired him to lay something to my charge in particular, and then to convince me with some scriptures and good learning.

He began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said, I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point, until he said, I should go to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had answered him.

Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

The first question was this, How many sacraments Christ instituted to be used in the church?

The sacrament of baptism, said I, and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper.

He asked me further, Whether I allowed their confession?

I answered, No.

Then the bishop would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

I answered, That their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament; because, said I, you have taken away the true institution, which, when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.

And thus much did this worthy martyr leave behind him in his own hand-writing, concerning the manner of his usage in prison, and also of his disputes with the bishop and his chancellor. More examinations he had, no doubt, in the public consistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which

he would also have left unto us, if life had permitted him to finish what he intended; but, by reason of the writ of his burning being sent from London, want of time did neither serve him so to do, neither could the records of his last examination be procured.

Only this could be learned by the relation of one Augustine Bernher, a minister, and a familiar friend of his: Mr. Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the bishop, and was now to be delivered out of this world, found his heart heavy, and desolate of all spiritual consolation, and felt in himself no willingness, but rather a heaviness and dullness of spirit, to bear the bitter cross of martyrdom.

Whereupon, fearing in himself lest the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, he made his moan to this Augustine, his friend above-mentioned, signifying unto him how earnestly he had prayed, day and night, unto the Lord, and yet could receive no sense of comfort from him.

Augustine desired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet, seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to adhere to the same, and to play the man, nothing doubting but the Lord, in his good time, would visit him, and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation.

The next day, when the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was come within sight of the stake, (although, all the night before, praying for strength and courage, he could feel none) suddenly he was so mightily replenished with God's holy comfort and heavenly joys, that he cried out, clapping his hands to Austin, and saying these words, "Austin, he is come, he is come," &c. and that with such joy and alacrity, as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly danger to liberty and life, than as one passing out of the world, by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lord's hand upon that good man.

In the same fire with Mr. Glover was *Cornelius Bungey*, of Coventry, likewise burnt. He also was condemned by the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield.

John and *William Glover*, the brothers of Robert Glover, ought not to be omitted in this history, although they were not called to martyrdom, yet they were excommunicated even after they were dead, and had christian burial denied them.

When the sheriffs, with their under officers and servants, were sent to seek John Glover, they came into his house, where he and his wife were. It chanced, as he was in the chamber by himself, the officers, bursting into the house, and searching other rooms, came to the very room where John was, who holding the

latch softly in his hand, perceived and heard the officers bustle about the door, one of whom, having the string in his hand, was ready to draw the same.

In the mean time, another, coming by, (whose voice he both heard and knew,) bade them come away, saying, they had been there before. Whereupon, they, departing thence, went to search other corners of the house, till they found Agnes Glover, his wife, who being carried to Litchfield, and examined before the bishop, at length was constrained to give place to their tyranny. Her husband, in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he lay, caught an ague, of which he lost his life.

After he was dead and buried in the church-yard, without priest or clerk, Dr. Dracot, then chancellor, six weeks after, sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it happened that he was buried there. The parson answered, that he was sick at the time, and knew not of it. Then the chancellor commanded him to go home, and cause the body to be taken up, and cast over the wall into the highway. The parson answered, that he had been six weeks in the earth, and that, in consequence, none were able to undertake it. Well, said Dr. Dracot, then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul, and a twelvemonth after, take up his bones, (for then the flesh will be consumed,) and cast them over the wall, that the horses may tread upon them, and then I will come and hallow again that place in the church-yard where he was buried.

Similar usage was practised also by these catholic children upon the body of William, the third brother, who it had pleased Almighty God, about the same season, to call out of this vale of misery. The well-disposed people of the town of Weme, in Shropshire, where he died, brought the body into the parish church, intending there to have it buried. But one Bernard, curate of the said church, in order to stop the burial, rode to the bishop, named Ralph Baine, to inform him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time, the body having lain a whole day, in the night-time Richard Maurice, a taylor, would have interred him, but he was hindered by John Thorlyne, of Weme, with some others, who would not suffer the body to be buried; so that after he had lain there two days and a night, Bernard, the curate, came with the bishop's letter, which forbad the interment of the body, and which commanded the churchwardens, &c. to assist the curate in hindering any persons who should attempt to put it in the ground. Accordingly they who brought the corpse to the church, were obliged to carry it away at their own charges. But, as it was corrupted, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broomfield, and there bury it.

The same example of charitable affection was also to be seen and noted in the burying of one *Edward Burton*, Esq. who, in the same diocese of Chester, departing this world the very day before Queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his parish church, (which was St. Chad's, in Shrewsbury,) so that no Romish priest should be present thereat. Which thing being declared to the curate of that parish, John Marshall, and the body being brought to the burial, upon the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate said plainly, that he should not be buried in the church there. Whereunto one of the friends of the deceased, named George Torpelley, answering again, said, That God would judge him in the last day, &c. Then, said the priest, judge God or devil, the body shall not come there. And so they buried him in his own garden,

Likewise, in the said county of Salop, one *Oliver Richardine*, of the parish of Whitchurch, was burnt in Hardford-west, Sir John Yonge being sheriff the same time, which seemeth to be about the last year of King Henry VIII.

William Wolsey, and *Robert Pygot*, were the next who followed Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey to martyrdom. They were both of the town of Wisbeach, and were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the bishop's chancellor, Dr. Shaxtone, his suffragan, Robert Stewart, dean of Ely, and John Christopherson, dean of Norwich, October 9, 1555. William Wolsey was a constable, and was very harshly treated by Richard Everard, a justice, who caused him to put in sureties for his good behaviour, and appearance at the next general sessions, held within the isle of Ely. Being called again, at the next sessions, he was still constrained to put in new sureties, which, at length, he refused to do, and, in consequence, was committed to goal at the assize held at Ely in Lent.

In the Easter week following, Dr. Fuller, the chancellor, with Christopherson, and Dr. Yong, came to confer with him, and charged him with being out of the catholic faith, desiring him to meddle no further with the Scriptures, than it became such a lay-man as he was, to do. Wolsey standing still a great while, suffering them to speak their pleasure, at last he answered: Good Mr. Doctor, What did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these words, "Wo unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites; for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in."

Dr. Fuller said, You must understand, that Christ spake to the scribes and pharisees.

Nay, Mr. Doctor, Christ spake even to you, and your fellows here present, and to all such as you are.

Dr. Fuller said, I will leave thee a book to read, of a learned man's writing, that is to say, Dr. Watson's, (who was then bishop of Lincoln.)

Wolsey, receiving the same book, diligently read it over, and found it, in many places, manifestly contrary to God's word. At length, a fortnight or three weeks following, Dr. Fuller, resorting again to the prison to converse with Wolsey, asked him how he liked the book. Wolsey replied, Sir, I like the book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it. Whereupon the chancellor taking his book, departed home.

At night, when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he found in many places, contrary to his mind, the book rased with a pen by Wolsey, and being vexed therewith, said, O this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book.

Then the assizes, to be held at Wisbeach, drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller came again to Wolsey, and spake to him on this manner: Thou dost much trouble my conscience, wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee, and come to the church when thou wilt; and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee, I will not hear of it.

Doctor, said Wolsey, I was brought hither by a law, and by a law I will be delivered.

Then being brought to the sessions, he was laid in the castle at Wisbeach, he, and all his friends, thinking, that he should have suffered there at that present time, but it proved otherwise.

Robert Pygot was a painter, and being at liberty, was there presented by some evil disposed persons, (sworn men, as they called them) for not coming to the church. Being called in the sessions, he would not absent himself, but appeared before Sir Clement Hygham, who was judge, who said unto him, Ah, are you the holy father the painter? How chance you came not to the church? Sir, answered Pygot, I am not out of the church, I trust in God.

No, Sir, said the judge, this is no church, this is a hall. Yea, Sir, said Pygot, I know very well it is a hall; but he, that is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but present in the church of God.

Ah, sirrah, said the judge, you are too high for me to talk with, wherefore I will send you to them that are better learned than I, on which he straightway commanded him to the goal where Wolsey lay. The sessions being ended, they were carried again to Ely to prison.

In the mean time, some of their neighbours of Wisbeach being

at Ely, came to see how they did. There visited them also a chaplain of bishop Goodrick's, a Frenchman, named Peter Valentius, who said to Wolsey and Pygot, My brethren, according to my office, I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner here these twenty years and above. Wherefore, I must desire you, to take it in good part that I am come. I promise you not to pull you from your faith. But I both require and desire, in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel, and I beseech Almighty God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve you and me in the same unto the end. For I know not myself, my brethren, how soon I shall be at the same point that you are. Thus, with many like words, he proceeded, causing all, that were there present, to water their cheeks, contrary to the expectation they all had of him.

A short time after, Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment, before Dr. Fuller, then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Christopherson, and others in commission, who laid to their charge divers articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto their answer was, That the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ was not present really in the sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would keep, perfectly believing the same to be no heresy, but the very truth. On this the doctors said, that they were out of the catholic faith.

Then Dr. Shaxton said unto them, Good brethren, remember yourselves, and become new men, for I myself was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man.

Ah, said Wolsey, are you become a new man? Wo be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God shall justly judge thee.

Dr. Fuller then said, This Wolsey is an obstinate fellow, and one that I could never do good upon. But as for the painter, he is a man quiet and indifferent, so far as I perceive, and is soon reformed, and may very well be delivered, for any ill opinion I find in him.

Then Christopherson called for pen and ink, and wrote these words following: I, Robert Pygot, do believe, that after the words of consecration, spoken by the priest, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, the self-same that was born of the Virgin Mary; and, reading it to the prisoner, he said, Dost thou believe all this, according as it is written?

No, Sir, said the painter, that is your faith, and not mine.

Christopher. Lo, Dr. Fuller, you would have let this fellow go, he is as much an heretic as the other. And so immediately judgment was given upon them to die. Which done, after the sentence read, they were sent again to prison. On the day

appointed for their execution, one Peacock, a bachelor of divinity, being to preach, took his text out of the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. v. most maliciously reporting Wolsey to be out of the faith, and in many places quite denying the Scriptures.

His sermon being ended, the prisoners were brought to the place of execution, and bound to the stake with a chain; thither came Richard Collinson, a priest: who said unto Wolsey, Brother Wolsey, the preacher hath openly reported in his sermon this day, that you are quite out of the catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you do err in the Holy Scripture; wherefore I beseech you, for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what place of the Scripture you do err and find fault.

Wolsey. I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness, that I do err in no part or point of God's book, the holy bible, but hold and believe in the same to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points most worthy for my salvation, and for all other christians to the end of the world. Whatever mine adversaries report of me, God forgive them therefore. With that came one to the fire with a great sheet full of books to burn, like as they had been New Testaments. O, said Wolsey, give me one of them, and Pygot desired another, both of them clapping them close to their breasts, saying the 106th Psalm, desiring all the people to say, Amen. They then were soon enveloped in flames, committing their souls to the Lord!

Wolsey while in prison at Ely, was visited by *Thomas Hodilo*, brewer. To him he delivered certain money to be distributed (as he appointed) part to his wife, and part to his kinsfolk and friends, and especially six shillings and eight pence, to Richard Denton, a smith, at Wells, in Cambridgeshire, with his commendation, that he marvelled he tarried so long behind him, seeing that he was the first who delivered the book of scripture into his hand, and assured him that it was the truth.

This Thomas Hodilo, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witness of his doings herein, delivered the said sum of money to one Mr. Lawrence, preacher in Essex, to be distributed as Wolsey had appointed. And when this six shillings and eight pence was delivered to Richard Denton, with the commendation aforesaid, his answer was this, "I confess it is true, but, alas! I cannot burn." This was almost one whole year after Wolsey was burned. But he that could not burn in the cause of Christ, was afterwards burned against his will, when Christ had given peace to his church. For in the year of our Lord 1564, on Tuesday, being the 18th of April, his house was set on fire, and while he went in to save his goods, he lost

his life, with two others that were in the same house!—How true are the words of Christ, "He who will save his life, shall lose it."

Mr. *Webb* was brought before the bishop of Dover, and Nicholas Harpsfield, or some other deputed in their room, on the 16th of September, and there had propounded unto him such articles as were commonly administered by Bonner to those of his jurisdiction. Being advised for the present to depart, and deliberate with himself upon the matter, against the next appearance; he answered, That he would say no otherwise (by God's grace) than he had already said, which was, that the sacrament was simply a commemoration of the death of the Lord for his church: and that the bread and wine underwent no transformation.

After this (besides sundry other times) on the third of October, Mr. *John Webb*, *George Roper*, and *Gregory Parke*, were all brought together before the said judges; who there and then agreeing, and steadfastly adhering to the answer made before, by Mr. Webb, were, by the bloody prelates, adjudged heretics; and, in consequence, about the end of the same month they were brought out of prison together to the place of martyrdom; repeating certain psalms in their way.

And being brought to the stake, and there fastened with a chain, they were burned in one fire at Canterbury, most patiently enduring their torments, and accounting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for his sake.

On the 13th of December, *William Wiseman*, a cloth-worker of London, died in Lollards' Tower, where he had been confined on account of the gospel. It was thought by some that he had been starved to death; but the truth of this could not be ascertained.

After his death, the papists cast him out into the fields, as was their usual custom to such of the protestants as expired under their hands, commanding that no man should bury him. Notwithstanding their merciless commands, some good Tobits there were who buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the rest thrown out in like manner, whom they were wont privily by night to cover, and many times the archers in the fields standing by, and singing psalms together at their burial.

In the same month also, *James Gore*, imprisoned and in bonds for the same offence, died in prison at Colchester.

The History and Martyrdom of Mr. John Philpot.

Mr. Philpot was of a family highly respectable, his father being a knight, and was born in Hampshire. He was brought up

at New College, Oxford, where he studied civil law and other branches of liberal education, particularly that of languages, and became a great proficient in the Hebrew. He was witty, courageous, and zealous; ever careful to adorn his doctrine by his practice, and his learning is fully evinced by what he has left on record.

Desirous to travel, he went over to Italy, and places thereabouts, and coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, he was in danger, through a Franciscan friar's accompanying him in his journey, who, coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England, as the time permitted more boldness in the days of King Edward, he had several conflicts with bishop Gardiner, in the city of Winchester.

After that, having an advowson by the said bishop, he was made archdeacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet, who then succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric, and here he continued during the reign of King Edward, to the great profit of those parts. When that pious prince was taken away, and Mary, his sister, succeeded, her study was wholly bent to alter the state of religion in England.

A convocation was called, and in this convocation, Mr. Philpot, according to his degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel against the adversary; for which, notwithstanding the liberty the house had promised before, he was called to account before the chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was first examined, although that examination came not to hand. From thence again he was removed to bishop Bonner, and other commissioners, with whom he had divers conflicts, as may appear by the following examinations.

The First Examination of Mr. John Philpot, Oct. 2, 1555.

Before I was called into an inner parlour, where the commissioners sat, Dr. Story came into the hall where I was, to view me among others who were there; and passing by me, he grossly observed, that I was well fed indeed.

Philpot. Mr. Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison these twelve months and a half.

Story. We hear thou art a suspected person, and of heretical opinions, and therefore we have sent for thee.

Philpot. I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspicion of setting forth the report thereof.

Story. If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do well: or else thou shalt be committed to the bishop of London. How sayest thou, wilt thou revoke?

Philpot. I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary.

Story. If thou answerest thus when thou comest before us anon, thou shalt hear more of our minds; and with that he went into the parlour, and I a little while after was called in.

The Scribe. Sir, what is your name?

Philpot. My name is John Philpot.

Story. This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Dr. Poinet's presentment.

Philpot. I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment; but by virtue of a former advowson given by my lord chancellor that now is.

Story. You may be assured that my lord chancellor would not make any such as he is archdeacon.

Roper. Come hither to me, Mr. Philpot. We hear that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of which, whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore if you will come into the same, you shall be received and find favour.

Philpot. I am come before your worshipful masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorised by the queen's majesty, whom I own, and will do my due obedience unto the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, for which I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire of you that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my wrongful imprisonment, where I have lain a year and a half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without law.

Roper. Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may, by our commission, and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you: and besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal.

Philpot. If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal, and if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's laws, by force whereof you now sit, I desire that if I be not found a transgressor of any of them, I may not be burthened with more than I have done.

Cholmley. If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him upon suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison though there be no fault done.

Story. I perceive whereabout this man goeth: he is plain in Cardmaker's case, for he made the same allegations. But they

will not serve thee; for thou art a heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass: how sayest thou to that?

Philpot. I am no heretic.

Story. I will prove thee an heretic. Whosoever hath held against the blessed mass is an heretic: but thou hast held against the same, therefore thou art an heretic.

Philpot. That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the queen's majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to speak his mind freely of such questions in religion as there were propounded by the prolocutor: for which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now to be compelled by you to answer for the same.

Story. Thou shalt go to Lollard's Tower, and be handled there like an heretic as thou art, and answer to the same that thou there didst speak, and be judged by the bishop of London.

Philpot. Sir, you know it is against all equity, that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such, as by the law, have nothing to do with me.

Roper. You cannot deny, but that you spoke against the mass in the convocation-house.

Story. Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there, or not?

Philpot. I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death for it, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto.

The Scribe. This man is fed of vain glory.

Cholmley. Play the wise gentleman and be conformable, and be not stubborn in your opinion, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good.

Philpot. I desire you, Sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands, than the law chargeth me, for what I have done, since there was no law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And you, Mr. Doctor, (of old acquaintance in Oxford) I trust will shew me some friendship, and not extremity.

Story. I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholic, I would spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to an heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?

Philpot. I am not come now to dispute, and the time serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal.

Story. Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into Lollard's Tower.

Philpot. Sir, since you will needs shew me this extremity, and charge me with my conscience, I desire to see your commission, whether you have this authority so to do.

Story. Shall we let every vile person see our commission? Let him lie in the Lollard's Tower; for I will sweep the King's Bench, and all other prisons also, of these heretics: they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies.

Philpot. I mind not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse used than I am.

Story. Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday.

Philpot. God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in which he will judge us with righteousness, however you judge of us now.

Roper. Shew yourself a catholic man.

Philpot. Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you: and why be you so earnest to have me shew myself a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?

Roper. We do not require you to dissemble with us to be a catholic man.

Philpot. If I do stand in any thing against that, wherein any man is able to burthen me with one jot of the Scripture, I shall be content to be counted no catholic man, or an heretic, as you please.

Story. This man is like his fellow Woodman, who, the other day, would have nothing but Scripture. And this is the beginning of the tragedy.

On the 24th of October, he was again brought before the same party, and experienced from them the most harsh, illiberal, and vulgar treatment. On demanding the fulfilment of their promise, in being shewn their commission, the scribe, in compliance, began to open it, when Dr. Cook, now added to their number, exclaimed,

Cook. Fo, what will ye do? he shall not see it.

Philpot. Then you do me wrong, to call me and vex me, not shewing your authority in this behalf.

Cook. If we do you wrong, complain of us: and in the mean time thou shalt lie in the Lollard's Tower.

Philpot. Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust that you will not commit me to so vile a place, being no heinous trespasser.

Cook. Thou art no gentleman.

Philpot. Yes, I am.

Cook. An heretic is no gentleman: for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

Philpot. The offence cannot take away the state of a gentle-

man as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor: but I mean not to boast of my gentlemanship, but I will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it.

Story. What, will you suffer this heretic to prate all day?

Cook. He saith he is a gentleman.

Story. A gentleman, said he, he is a vile heretic knave: for a heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollard's Tower come in, and have him away.

Keeper. Here, Sir.

Story. Take this man with you to the Lollard's Tower, or else to the bishop's coal-house.

Philpot. Sir, if I were a dog, you could not appoint me a worse nor more vile place; but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you, Mr. Cholmley, shew me some friendship, that I may not be carried to so vile a place. On this Mr. Cholmley called me aside, and said, I neither understand their doings nor their laws; I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good.

After this, I, with four others, were brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster-Row, where we supped, and after supper I was called up to a chamber, by a servant of the archdeacon of London, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for that night. I thanked him, and said, That it would be a grief to me to lie one night well, and the next night worse: wherefore, said I, I will begin as I am likely to continue, to take such part as my fellows do. And with that we were brought through Paternoster-Row to my lord of London's coal-house; unto which was joined a little dark house, with a great pair of stocks, both for hand and foot; and there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. The minister at my coming, desired to speak with me, telling me that he greatly lamented his infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment, he had been constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London: whereupon he had been set at liberty, and afterward felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he went to the bishop's register, desiring to see his bill again; which, as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces, after which, he was joyful as any man. When my lord of London understood this, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and buffeted him, so that he made his face black and blue; and plucked away a great piece of his beard.

On the second night of my imprisonment in his coal-house, the bishop sent Mr. Johnson's register to me, with a mess of

meat, and a good pot of drink and some bread, saying, That he had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, not knowing whether I would receive the same.

I thanked God for his lordship's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring the Almighty to increase the same in him, and in all others; and that I would not refuse his beneficence, and therewith took the same unto my brethren.

Johnson. My lord would know the cause of your being sent hither, (for he is ignorant thereof,) and wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners that are not of his own diocese. On this I declared unto him the whole cause. After which he said, that my lord's will was, I should have any friendship I would desire, and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen came for me; and brought me into his presence, where he sat at a table with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his register.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand. (Which I did.)

I am sorry for your trouble, and promise you, that till within these two hours, I knew not of your being here: I pray you tell me the cause, for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, and marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my betters, and I fear men speak otherwise of me than I deserve.

I told him, that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for which I was against all right molested.

Bonner. I marvel that you should be troubled for that, if there was no other cause. But peradventure you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked, whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, yea; and for this you might be committed to prison.

Philpot. If it shall please your lordship, I am burthened no otherwise than I have told you, by the commissioners who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same.

Bonner. A man may speak in the parliament-house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it, as in case he speak words of high-treason against the king or queen; and so it might be that you spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ.

Philpot. I spake nothing which was out of the articles which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and by permission of the queen and council.

Bonner. Why, may we dispute of our faith?

Philpot. That we may.

Bonner. Nay, I think not by the law.

Philpot. Indeed, by the civil law, I know it is not lawful, but, by God's law, we may reason thereof. For St. Peter saith, "Be ye ready to render account unto all men of the hope which is in you."

Bonner. Indeed, St. Peter saith so. Why, then I ask of you what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar.

Philpot. My lord, St. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot shew you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes, in danger of my life for it. Wherefore, as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so say I to your lordship; Take away the law, and I shall reason with you. And yet, if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any.

Bonner. I perceive you are learned, I would have such as you about me. But you must come and be of the church, for there is but one church.

Philpot. God forbid I should be out of the church; I am sure I am within the same: for I know as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation, out of which there is no salvation.

Bonner. How chanceth it then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?

Philpot. My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is built, which is the word of God.

Bonner. What age are you of?

Philpot. I am four and forty.

Bonner. You are not now of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers promised for you, in which you were baptized.

Philpot. Yes, I am, for I was baptized into the faith of Christ which I now hold.

Bonner. How can that be? there is but one faith.

Philpot. I am assured of that, by St. Paul, saying, "That there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism," of which I am.

Bonner. You were twenty years ago of another faith than you are now.

Philpot. Indeed, my lord, to tell you plainly, I was then of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

Bonner. Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?

Philpot. I desire your lordship to hold me excused for answer-

ing at this time. I am sure, that God's word was thoroughly with the primitive church.

Bonner. Well, I promise you, I mean you no hurt. I will not therefore burthen you with your conscience now: I marvel that you are so merry in prison as you are, singing and rejoicing, as the prophet saith, Rejoicing in your naughtiness. Methinks you do not well herein: you should rather lament and be sorry.

Philpot. My lord, the mirth that we make is but singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, singing together in hymns and psalms: and, I trust, your lordship cannot be displeased with that.

We are, my lord, in a dark, comfortless place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart.

Bonner. I will trouble you no farther now. If I can do you any good, I shall be glad. God be with you, good Mr. Philpot, and good night. Take him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine.

Thus I departed, and, by my lord's register, I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my lord's chaplain, Mr. Courin, followed me, making acquaintance, saying, that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

After that, I was carried to my lord's coal-house again, where I, with my six companions, housed together in straw, as cheerfully as others in their beds of down.

The Examination of Mr. Philpot, in the Archdeacon of London's House, in the month of October, before the Bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, it hath pleased my lords to take pains here to day, to dine with my poor archdeacon, and in the dinner-time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here by many who knew you at New College, in Oxford. And I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned: and therefore now I have sent for you to come before them.

Bath. My lords here have not sent for you, to fawn upon you, but, for charity's sake, to exhort you to come into the right catholic church.

Worcester. Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call upon God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth.

Philpot. With that, I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner:

"Almighty God, who art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee, of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner in thy sight) the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the satisfaction of the hearers, before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing."

Bonner. Nay, my lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in which they glory much. For, in this point, they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing praise unto God before dawning of the day.

Philpot. My lord, God make me, and all you here present, such heretics as those were, that sung those morning hymns: for they were right christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended.

Bath. Proceed to what he hath to say. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what.

Bonner. Say on, Mr. Philpot; my lords will gladly hear you.

Philpot. I have, my lords, been these twelve months and a half in prison, without any just cause, and my living is taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from my own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why.

Bonner. There is none here that goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, you were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your conscience, without any fear.

Philpot. My lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief cause why you count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is, because we be not at unity with your church. You say, that whosoever is out of your church is damned: and we think verily, on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore, if your lordships can bring any better authority for your church, than we can for our's, and prove, by the Scriptures, that the church of Rome now is the true catholic church, as in all sermons, writings, and arguments you uphold: and that all christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation, (as you say) and that the same church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the Scriptures as it seemeth good to her, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only; I shall be as conformable to the same church as you may desire, which, otherwise, I dare not.

Worcester. It is to be proved, most manifestly, by all ancient

writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late, certain heretics had defaced the same.

Philpot. Let that be proved, and I have done.

Worcester. Nay, you are of such arrogancy, singularity, and vain-glory, that you will never see it, be it ever so well proved.

Philpot. Ha, my lords, is it now time, think you, for me to follow singularity or vain-glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And I know if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly: and again, I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and a great many more: yet, I had rather perish by your hands, than perish eternally. And, at this time, I have lost all my goods of this world, and lay in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog.

Gloucester. Why, Mr. Philpot, do you think that the universal church hath erred, and that you only are in the truth.

Philpot. The church that you are of was never universal, for two parts of the world, which are Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, neither did they follow his decrees.

Gloucester. Yes, in the Florentine council they did agree.

Philpot. It was said so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home: but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all proved the contrary.

Gloucester. I pray you, by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy which happen daily?

Philpot. By the word of God. For Christ saith in St. John, "The word that he spake, shall be judge in the latter day."

Gloucester. What if you take the word one way, and I another way; who shall be judge then?

Philpot. The primitive church.

Gloucester. I know you mean the doctors that wrote thereof.

Philpot. I mean verily so.

Gloucester. What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another: who shall be judge then?

Philpot. Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word.

Worcester. Thou art the arrogantest fellow that ever I knew.

Philpot. I pray your lordship to bear with my hasty speech; it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily; but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your lordship.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, my lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go to whence you came, and have such favour, as, in the mean while, I can shew you: and, upon Wed-

nesday next you shall be called upon again to be heard what you can say for the maintenance of your error.

Philpot. My lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I required; and your lordship shall find me as I have said.

Worcester. God send you more grace.

Philpot. And increase the same in you, and open your eyes, that you may see to maintain his truth, and his true church.

Then the bishops rose, and after consulting together, caused a writing to be made, in which, I think, my blood by them was bought and sold, and thereto they put their hands; after which I was carried to my coal-house again.

And after this Dr. Story came in. To whom I said, Mr. Doctor, you have done me great injury, and, without law, have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And besides this, you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after.

Story. I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this is? nay, he is no man, he is a beast: yea, these heretics be worse than brute beasts; for they will, upon a vain singularity, take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and ass-heads, not able to maintain that which, of an an arrogant obstinacy, they do stand in.

Philpot. I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you like. God forgive it you; yet I am no heretic. Neither you, nor any other, shall be able to prove that I hold one jot against the word of God, otherwise than a christian man ought.

Story. The word of God? forsooth! It is but folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But yet I may reason with thee, not that I have any hope to win thee: whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou standest?

Philpot. Verily the word itself.

Story. Well, Sir, you are like to go after your father Latimer, the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself but that he learned his heresy of Cranmer. But I despatched them; and I tell thee, that there never yet hath been one burnt, but I have spoke with him, and have been a cause of his despatch.

Philpot. You will have the more to answer for, Mr. Doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you now triumph.

Story. I tell thee, I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak to my lord, I pray one of you to tell my lord, that my coming was to signify to his lordship,

that he must, out of hand, put this heretic out of the way. And going away, he said to me, I certify thee, that thou mayest thank no other man but me.

Philpot. I thank you, therefore, with all my heart, and forgive it you.

The Sixth Examination of Mr. Philpot, before the Lord Chamberlain, Viscount Hereford, Lord Rich, Lord St. John, Lord Windsor, Lord Shandois, and others, with the Bishop of London, Nov. 6, 1555.

While the lords were seating themselves, the bishop of London came, and whispered in my ear, desiring me to behave prudently before the lords of the queen's council, and to take heed what I said.

He, then, after the lords and other gentlemen were sat, placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and, by the lords, I was placed at the upper end, against him: where I kneeling down, the lords commanded me to stand up, and the bishop spoke to me in the following manner.

Bonner. Mr. Philpot, I have heretofore both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once caused you to be conversed with, to reform you of your errors, but I have not yet found you so tractable as I could wish.

Philpot. My lord, I thank God that I have, this day, such an honourable audience to declare my mind before.

Rich. How say you? will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it.

Philpot. My lord, I do acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, such a presence, as the word of God doth allow and teach me.

Rich. Shew us what manner of presence you allow in the sacrament.

Philpot. My lords, the reason that at first I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you, is, because I cannot speak without the danger of my life.

Rich. There is none of us here who seek thy life, or mean to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak.

Philpot. Although I mistrust not your lordships that be here of the temporality, yet here is one that sitteth against me, (pointing to the lord of London) that will lay it to my charge even to death. Notwithstanding, seeing you require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceive I am not ashamed of the presence of Christ, neither do

maintain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority of the Scripture, I will shew you frankly my mind.

I do protest here, first before God and his angels, that I speak it not of vain glory, neither of singularity, neither of wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded upon God's word, against which I dare not go for fear of damnation, which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge.

There are two things principally, by which the clergy at this day deceive the whole realm; that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the catholic church: which they do both usurp, having indeed neither of them. And as touching their sacrament, which they term of the altar, I say, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen, and you the nobility of this realm, in making you to believe that to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make, I will yield my life; which to do, if it were not upon sure ground, it were to my utter damnation.

And where they take on them the name of the catholic church (whereby they blind many people's eyes) they are nothing so, calling you from the true religion, which was revealed and taught in King Edward's time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say, for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church, I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my lords, to be a means for me to the queen's Majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial hereof.

Bonner. You see, my lords, that this man will have his own mind, and wilfully cast himself away. I am sorry for him.

Philpot. The words that I have spoken are none of mine, but the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my lord, can bring better authority for the faith you would draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same.

Rich. What countryman are you?

Philpot. I am Sir P. Philpot's son, of Hampshire.

Rich. He is my near kinsman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him.

Philpot. I thank your lordship that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred of a poor prisoner.

Rich. In faith I would go a hundred miles on my bare feet to do you good.

Lord Chamberlain. He may do well enough if he will.

St. John. Mr. Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well.

Rich. I dare be bold to procure for you of the queen's Majesty, that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you, will you promise here before my lords so to do?

Philpot. I will be contented to be judged by them.

Rich. Yea, but will you promise to agree to their judgment?

Philpot. There are causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the word of God.

The Seventh Examination, &c.

Bonner. Sirrah, come hither. How chance you came no sooner? Is it well done of you to make Mr. Chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming.

Philpot. My lord, it is well known to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors be shut upon me, and I cannot come when I please; but as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately.

Bonner. We sent for thee to the intent that thou shouldst have come to mass. How say you, would you have come to mass or not, if the doors had been sooner opened?

Philpot. My lord, that is another manner of question.

Bonner. Lo, Mr. Chancellor, I told you we should have a froward fellow of him; he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before the spiritual lords and the temporal, thus he fareth still; yet he reckoneth himself better learned than all the realm. Yea, before the temporal lords the other day, he was so foolish as to challenge the best: he would make himself learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed.

Philpot. I reckon I answered your lordship before the lords, plain enough.

Bonner. Why answerest thou not directly, whether thou wouldest have gone to mass or not, if thou hadst come in time?

Philpot. Mine answer shall be thus, that if your lordship can prove your mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a christian ought to come, I will afterwards come with a good will.

Bonner. Look, I pray you; the king and queen, and all the nobility of the realm do come to mass, and yet he will not. By my faith, thou art too well handled; thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

Philpot. Your lordship hath power to treat my body as you please.

Bonner. Thou art a very ignorant fool. Mr. Chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can desire. I did let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? The other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads, with a number of apprentices gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty: but I cut off their resort; and as for the apprentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them.

Philpot. My lord, we have no such resort to us, as your lordship imagineth, and there come very few unto us. And of apprentices, I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our coal-house, that I know of: wherefore your lordship hath mistaken your mark.

Bonner. Nay, now you think, (because my lord chancellor is gone) that we will burn no more; yes, I warrant thee, I will despatch you shortly, unless you recant.

The conversation then turned again upon the supremacy of the Romish church, in which nothing new transpired; at length the chancellor thus concluded.

Chancellor. Well, Doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him: let us administer the articles which my lord hath left us, unto him. How say you, Mr. Philpot, to these articles? Mr. Johnson, I pray you write his answers.

Philpot. Mr. Chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for I am not of my lord of London's diocese; and to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein than I have already to the bishop.

Chancellor. Why then, let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away.

Two days after, an hour before it was light, the bishop sent for me again by the keeper.

Keeper. Mr. Philpot, arise, you must come to my lord.

Philpot. I wonder what my lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus early, I fear he will use some violence towards me; wherefore I pray you make him this answer, That if he did send for me by an order of law, I will come and answer; otherwise, since I am not of his diocese, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not (without I be violently constrained) come unto him.

With that, one of them took me by force by the arm, and led me up into the bishop's gallery.

Bonner. What, thou art a foolish knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetched.

Philpot. I am brought indeed, my lord, by violence unto you, and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you;

I would your lordship would gently proceed against me by the law.

Bonner. I am blamed by the lords, the bishops, that I have not despatched thee ere this; and am commanded to take a further order with thee, and in good faith if thou wilt not relent, I will make no further delay. Marry, if thou wilt yet be conformable, I will forgive thee all that is past, and thou shalt have no hurt for any thing that is already spoken or done.

Philpot. My lord, I have answered you already in this behalf, what I will do.

Bonner. Hadst thou not a pig brought thee the other day, with a knife in it? Wherefore was it but to kill thyself? Or, as it is told me, (marry I am counselled to take heed of thee) to kill me? But I fear thee not, I think I am able to tread thee under my feet, do the best thou canst.

Philpot. My lord, I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the pig's belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpose, I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat, thought I was without a knife. But other things your lordship needeth not to fear; for I was never without a knife, since I came to prison. And touching your own person, you shall live long if you should live till I go about to kill you; and I confess, by violence your lordship is able to overcome me.

Bonner. I charge thee to answer to mine articles. Hold him a book. Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such articles as I shall demand of thee.

Philpot. I refuse to swear in these causes before your lordship, because you are not mine ordinary.

Bonner. I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce, by sentence peremptory, I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my diocese: and here he ordered others to be called in to bear him witness. And I make thee (taking one of his servants by the arm) to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles, to which, when he had read them, he admonished me to make answer, and said to the keeper, Fetch me his fellows, and I shall make them be witnesses against him.

In the mean while came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the bishop placed by him, saying, Mr. Sheriff, I would you should understand how I do proceed against this man. Mr. Sheriff, you shall hear what articles this man doth maintain; and so read a rabblement of feigned articles: That I should deny baptism to be necessary to them that were born of christian parents, that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds, that I maintained only bare faith to be sufficient to salvation, whatsoever a man did besides, and I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

Philpot. Ah, my lord, have you nothing of truth to charge me withal, but you must be fain to imagine these blasphemous lies against me? You might as well have said I had killed your father. The Scriptures say, "That God will destroy all men that speak lies." And is not your lordship ashamed to say before this gentleman, (who is unknown to me) that I maintain what you have rehearsed? which if I did I were well worthy to be counted an heretic, and to be burnt.

Bonner. Wilt thou answer to them?

Philpot. I will first know you to be my ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things.

Bonner. Well, then I will make thy fellows to be witnesses herein against thee: where are they? Are they come?

Keeper. They are here, my lord.

Bonner. Come hither, Sirs; hold them a book: you shall swear by the contents of that book, that you shall say the truth of all such articles as shall be demanded of you concerning this man here present, and take you heed of him that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth, and strengtheneth you in your errors.

Prisoners. My lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto; we can accuse him of no evil, we have been but a while acquainted with him.

Philpot. I wonder your lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the same, for your lordship doth take them to be heretics, and by the law an heretic cannot be a witness.

Bonner. Yes, one heretic against another may be well enough. And, Mr. Sheriff, I will make one of them to be a witness against another.

Prisoners. No, my lord.

Bonner. No! will you not? I will make you swear, whether you will or not. I think they be Anabaptists, Mr. Sheriff, they think it not lawful to swear before a judge.

Philpot. We think it lawful to swear for a man judicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind corner.

Bonner. Why, then seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves; and I do here in the presence of Mr. Sheriff, object the same articles unto you, as I have done unto him, and require you, under pain of excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them when you shall be examined, as you shall be soon, by my register and some of my chaplains.

Prisoners. My lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay any thing against us, we are here ready to answer thereto: otherwise we pray your lordship not to burden us; for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why.

Bonner. Mr. Sheriff, I will trouble you no more with these froward men. And so he rose up, and was going away, talking with Mr. Sheriff.

Philpot. Mr. Sheriff, I pray you record how my lord proceedeth against us in corners, without all order of law, having no just cause to lay against us. And after this, we were all commanded to be put in the stocks, where I sat from morning until night; and the keeper at night upon favour let me out.

The Sunday after, the bishop came into the coal-house at night, with the keeper, and viewed the house, saying, that he was never there before: whereby a man may guess how he kept God's commandment in visiting the prisoners. Between eight and nine, he sent for me, saying:

Bonner. Sir, I have great displeasure of the queen and council for keeping you so long, and letting you have so much liberty; and besides that, you strengthen the other prisoners in their errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough; I will sequester you therefore from them, and you shall hurt them no more as you have done, and I will out of hand despatch you as I am commanded, unless you will be a conformable man.

Philpot. My lord, you have my body in your custody, you may transport it whither you please, I am content. And I wish you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as you say; I long for it: and as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I.

Bonner. Why, will you believe no man but yourself, whatsoever they say?

Philpot. My lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice that I bear to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God; but you persecute both the truth and the true church of God, for which cause you cannot prosper long. You see God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectations; he hath of late shewed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who, by report, died miserably.* I envy not the authority you are in. You that have learning, should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and living again, use the same to God's glory, and to the setting forth of his true religion; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can. With this saying he paused, and at length said:

Bonner. That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the keeper? Come, let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before.

He then followed me, calling the keeper aside, commanding

* The bishop of Winchester.

him to keep all men from me, and narrowly to search me, commanded two of his men to accompany the keeper to see me placed.

I afterwards passed through St. Paul's up to Lollard's Tower, and after that turned along the west-side of St. Paul's, through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to my lodging, through many streets; where I called to remembrance, that strait is the way to heaven. And it is in a tower, right on the other side of Lollard's Tower, as high almost as the battlements of St. Paul's, eight feet in breadth, and thirteen in length, and almost over the prison where I was before, having a window opening towards the east, by which I could look over the tops of a great many houses, but saw no man passing into them.

And as I came to my place, the keeper took off my gown, searched me very narrowly, and took away a pen-case, ink-horn, girdle, and knife, but (as God would have it) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removal, and thereupon made an errand to the stool, where (full sore against my will) I cast away many a friendly letter: but that which I had written of my last examination before, I thrust into my hose, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with walking it was fallen down to my leg, which he by feeling, soon found out, and asked what that was. I said, they were certain letters: and with that he was very busy to have them out. Let me alone, said I, I will take them out: with that I put my hand, having two other letters therein, and brought up the same writing into my breeches, and there left it, giving him the other two that were not of any importance: which, to make a shew that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, till they snatched them from me, and so deluded him of his purpose.

Then he went away, and as he was going, one of them that came with him, said, that I did not deliver the writing I had in my hose, but two other letters I had in my hand before. Did he not? says he, I will go and search him better; which I hearing, conveyed my examination I had written, into another place near my bed, and took all my letters I had in my purse, and was tearing of them when he came again; and as he came, I threw the same out of the window, saying, That I heard what he said. By this, I prevented his searching any further.

This zealous and unshaken servant of God, still continued to be held in suspense, and underwent seven more examinations, being combated with all the learning and sophistry of the various heads of the corrupted church; but armed with truth, he bravely stood the test, and proved himself to be *founded on a rock.*

To relate the whole of the examinations, would only be a tedious repetition of the insolence of Bonner, of the pride and

arrogancy of the other bishops; and of points of dispute, already discussed. We, therefore, proceed to his final examination.

Bishop Bonner, having wearied himself with repeated interviews and conferences with our christian champion, by turns insulting, threatening, and exhorting him, with equally hopeless effect, at length resolved to terminate the contest. Accordingly, on the 13th of December, he ordered him to be brought before him and others, in the consistory of St. Paul's, and thus addressed him:

Mr. Philpot, amongst other things that were laid and objected against you, these three you were principally charged with.

The first is, that you, being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, do refuse to be reconciled thereunto.

The second is, That you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry.

And the third is, That you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same.

And according to the will and pleasure of the synod legislative, you have been often by me invited and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if you will now willingly do, you shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can shew you. And now to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore, if you so refuse, I do ask of you, whether you have any cause that you can shew, why I now should not give sentence against you.

Philpot. Under protestation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also, not to consent to you as my competent judge, I say, respecting your first objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as to the sacrament of the altar, I never spoke against the same. And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me to come: and, in that time, I have been many times sworn, both in the reign of King Henry VIII. and of Edward, his son, against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, which oath, I think, I am bound in my conscience to keep, because I must perform unto the Lord mine oath. But, if you, or any of the synod, can, by God's word, persuade me, that my oath was unlawful, and that I am bound, by God's law, to come to your church, faith, and religion, I will gladly yield unto you, otherwise not.

Bonner, then, not able, with all his learned doctors, to accom-

plish this offered condition, had recourse, as usual, to his promises and threats; to which Mr. Philpot answered:

You, and all other of your sort, are hypocrites, and I wish all the world knew your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry.

Upon these words, the bishop, for that time, dismissed him, commanding, that, on Monday the 16th of the same month, he should again be brought thither, there to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him, if he then remained resolved.

The day being come, Mr. Philpot was accordingly presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Litchfield; when the former thus began:

Bonner. My lords, Stokesley, my predecessor, when he went to give sentence against an heretic, used to make this prayer:

"O God, who shewest the light of thy truth and righteousness to those that stray, that they may return into thy way, give to all who profess themselves Christians, to refuse those things which are foes to thy name, and to follow those things which are fit, by Christ, our Lord, Amen." And when he came to these words, "To refuse those things which are foes to thy name," Mr. Philpot said,

Then they all must turn away from you; for you are enemies to that name.

Bonner. Whom do you mean?

Philpot. You and all of your generation and sect. And I am sorry to see you sit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute justice, and to do nothing less, but deceive all in this realm.

And then turning himself unto the people, he further said, O all you gentlemen, beware of these men, and all their doings, which are contrary to the primitive church. And I would know of you, my lord, by what authority you proceed against me.

Bonner. Because I am bishop of London.

Philpot. Well, then you are not my bishop, nor have I offended in your diocese: and, moreover, I have appealed from you, and therefore, by your own law, you ought not to proceed against me, especially being brought hither from another place by violence.

Bonner. Why, who sent you hither to me?

Philpot. Dr. Story and Dr. Cook, with other commissioners of the king and queen; and, my lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own sheep, but you must also meddle with other men.

Bonner and another bishop. With what can you charge us?

Philpot. You are enemies to the truth, and all your doings are full of idolatry, saving the article of the Trinity.

Whilst they were thus debating, there came hither Sir William Garret, knight, then mayor of London, Sir Martin Bowes, knight, and Thomas Leigh, then sheriff of the same city, and sat down with the bishops in the consistory.

They were no sooner seated, than Bonner again addressed Mr. Philpot, with the prayer, and again repeated the charge against him: after which he addressed him in a formal exhortation, which he had no sooner ended, than Mr. Philpot turned himself to the lord mayor, and said,

Philpot. I am glad, my lord, now to stand before that authority, that hath defended the gospel, and the truth of God's word: but I am sorry to see that that authority, which represented the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the command of Antichrist; and I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ.

Coventry. In our true catholic church are the apostles, evangelists, and martyrs; but, before Martin Luther, there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr, of your church.

Philpot. Will you know the cause why? Christ did prophecy that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you are.

Coventry. Your church of Geneva, which you call the catholic church, is that which Christ prophecied of.

Philpot. I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same, for it is catholic and apostolic, and doth follow the doctrine which the apostles preached.

Bonner. My lord, this man had a roasted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put secretly between the skin and flesh thereof. And also this powder, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat and drink; which powder was only to make ink to write withal. For when his keeper perceived it, he took it, and brought it unto me: which, when I saw, I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so. I then took a little water, and made as good ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is.

Philpot. Ah, my lord, have you nothing else to charge me withal, but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church? &c.

Then the bishop brought forth a certain instrument, containing articles and questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and

Cambridge. Also he exhibited two books in print; the one was the catechism composed in King Edward's days, in the year 1552, the other concerning the report of the disputation in the convocation-house.

Moreover, he brought forth two letters, and laid them to Mr. Philpot's charge; the one was addressed to him by a friend, complaining of the bishop's ill usage of a young man named Bartlet Green; the other was a consolatory letter from lady Vane. Besides these, was produced a memorial drawn up by Mr. Philpot to the queen and parliament, stating the irregularity of his being brought to bishop Bonner, he not being of his diocese; also complaining of the severity of his treatment.

These books, letters, supplications, &c. having been read, the bishop demanded of him, if the book entitled, "The true report of the disputation, &c." were of his penning, or not? To this Mr. Philpot answered in the affirmative.

The bishops growing weary, and not being able, by any sufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, began with flattering speech to persuade him; promising, that if he would revoke his opinions, and return to their Romish church, he would not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would, with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. But when Bonner found that it would take no effect, he demanded of Mr. Philpot, whether he had any just cause to allege, why he should not condemn him as an heretic. Well, quoth Mr. Philpot, your idolatrous sacrament, which you have found out, you would fain defend, but you cannot, nor ever shall.

In the end, the bishop, seeing his steadfastness in the truth, openly pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, And you an obstinate, pernicious, and impenitent heretic, &c. Mr. Philpot said, I thank God that I am an heretic out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you grace to repent your wicked doings.

Whilst Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, My lord, my lord, know of him first, whether he will recant or not. Bonner said, O let him alone, and so read forth the sentence.

When he had concluded, he delivered him to the sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the bishop's house, into Paternoster-Row, where his servant met him, and when he saw him, he said, Ah, dear master.

Content thyself, said Mr. Philpot, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again.

The officers then thrust him away, and took him to Newgate; where they delivered him to the keeper. Then his man strove to go in after his master, and one of the officers said unto him, Hence, fellow, what wouldst thou have? And he said, I would speak with my master. Mr. Philpot then turned about, and said to him, To-morrow thou shalt speak with me.

When the under-keeper understood it to be his servant, he gave him leave to go in with him. And Mr. Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a short time, when Alexander, the chief keeper, came unto him; who said, Ah, hast thou not done well to bring thyself hither? Well, said Mr. Philpot, I must be content, for it is God's appointment; and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour, for you and I have been of old acquaintance.

If you will recant, said the keeper, I will shew you any pleasure I can. Nay, said Mr. Philpot, I will never recant that which I have spoken, whilst I have my life, for it is most certain truth, and in witness hereof, I will seal it with my blood. Then Alexander said, This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics. Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons to be put upon his legs as he could bear.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that Mr. Philpot had given his man money. Alexander said to him, What money hath thy master given thee? He answered, My master hath given me none. No, said Alexander, hath he given thee none? That will I know, for I will search thee.

Do with me as you like, and search me all that you can, quoth his servant; he hath given me a token or two to send to his friends, to his brothers and sisters. Ah, said Alexander unto Mr. Philpot, thou art a maintainer of heretics, thy man should have gone to some of thine affinity, but he shall be known well enough. Nay, said Mr. Philpot, I do send it to my friends; there he is, let him make answer to it. But, good Mr. Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off. Well, said Alexander, give me my fees, and I will take them off: if not, thou shalt wear them still.

Then said Mr. Philpot, Sir, what is your fee? He said, Four pounds was his fees. Ah, said Mr. Philpot, I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison. What wilt thou give me then? said Alexander. Sir, said he, I will give thee twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for, or else I will give you my gown in pledge; for the time is not long, I am sure, that I shall be with you; for the bishop said unto me, that I should be soon despatched.

What is that to me? said Alexander. And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo;

but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would nave a groat.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Mr. Philpot said to his servant, Go to the sheriff, and shew him how I am used, and desire him to be good to me; and so his servant went, and took another person with him.

When they came to the sheriff, and shewed him how Mr. Philpot was treated in Newgate, he took his ring from off his finger, and delivered it to the person that came with Mr. Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander, the keeper, and commanded him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him.

And when they returned to Alexander, and delivered their message from the sheriff, he took the ring and said, Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is, therefore to-morrow I will shew it to his betters: yet at ten o'clock he went in to Mr. Philpot, where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had before taken from his servant.

Upon Tuesday, the 17th of December, while he was at supper, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade Mr. Philpot make ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake. Mr. Philpot answered, I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection. And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto God, giving him most hearty thanks, that he had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning, the sheriffs came according to order, about eight o'clock, and calling for him, he most joyfully came down to them. And there his man met him, and said, Ah, dear master, farewell. His master answered, Serve God, and he will help thee. And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, What, will you make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot. But on entering into Smithfield, he kneeled down, and said, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!"

On arriving at the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer the most vile death upon the cross for me? And then with an obedient heart he repeated the cvith, cviith, and cviith Psalms: and when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, What have you done for me?

And when they severally declared what they had done, he gave money to them.

They then bound him to the stake, and lighted the fire, when the blessed martyr soon resigned his soul into the hands of him who gave it.

The death of this blessed martyr, was the last scene of blood which closed the dark tragedies of the year 1555.

SECTION II.

THE Roman Catholic party, although glutted with the blood of the faithful, were yet not satiated; but still pursued their sanguinary career; and in the first month of 1556, seven more christians were added to the army of martyrs.

Mention has been made in Mr. Philpot's story, of a married priest, whom he found in bishop Bonner's coal-house at his first going thither, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in King Edward's days, whose name was *Thomas Whittle*, of Essex. This Thomas Whittle, after he had been expelled from the place in Essex, where he served, went abroad where he might, now here and there, as occasion offered, preaching and sowing the gospel of Christ. At length, being apprehended by one Edmund Alablaster, in hope of reward and promotion, which he miserably gaped after, he was brought first as prisoner before the bishop of Winchester, who then was lately fallen sick of his disease, whereof, not long after, he died. But the apprehender, for his proffered service, was highly checked by the bishop, asking if there were no man unto whom he might bring such rascals, but to him? Hence, quoth he, out of my sight, thou varlet, why dost thou trouble me with such matters? The greedy cormorant being thus defeated of his desired prey, yet thinking to seek and to hunt further, carried his prisoner to the bishop of London, with whom what ill usage this Whittle had, and how he was by the bishop beaten and buffeted about the face, by this his own narration in a letter sent to his friend, manifestly may appear.

"Upon Thursday, which was the 10th of January, the bishop of London sent for me, Thomas Whittle, minister, out of the porter's lodge, where I had been all night, lying on the earth, on a little low bed, where I had as painful a night of sickness as ever I had. And when I came before him, he talked with me upon many things of the sacrament so grossly, as is not worthy to be rehearsed. And amongst other things, he asked me, if I

would have come to mass that morning if he had sent for me. I answered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, but to your mass (said I) I have small affection. At which answer he was sore displeased, and said, I should be fed with bread and water. And as I followed him through the great hall, he turned back, and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek, and then on the other, as the sign of my beating did many days appear. And then he led me to a little salt-house, where I had neither straw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table, and slept soundly."

Soon after, he was sent for by Bonner, who degraded him, and afterwards delivered him to the secular power to be burnt.

Story of Bartlet Green.

Mr. *Green* was of a respectable family, and was blessed with parents, who, understanding the value of a good education, were anxious to bestow one upon their son. After having been placed at preparatory schools, he was sent to the University of Oxford, where, by his diligence, he made great advances in his studies; but was, for a time, so far from feeling any interest in eternal things, that he was utterly averse to the subject. At length, by attending the lectures of Peter Martyr, then reader of the divinity-lecture, his mind was struck with the importance of religion.

When he had once tasted of this, it became unto him as the fountain of living water, that our Saviour Christ spake of to the woman of Samaria. Insomuch that when he was called by his friends from the university, and was placed in the Temple at London, there to study the common laws of the realm, he still continued, with great earnestness, to read and search the Scriptures.

But, (such is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the special assistance of God's Holy Spirit) through the continual accompanying and fellowship of such worldly youth as are commonly in that and the like places, he became by little and little a partner in their follies, as well in his apparel as also in banquetings, and other superfluous excesses: which he afterwards bewailed sorely, as appeareth by his own testimony, left in a book belonging to Mr. Bartram Calthorp, one of his friends, written a little before his death, as follows:

"Two things have very much troubled me while I was in the Temple, pride and gluttony; which under the colour of glory and good fellowship, drew me almost from God. Against both there is one remedy, earnest prayer, and without ceasing."

And now to return to our history: for the better maintenance of himself in his studies, and other his affairs, he had a large

exhibition of his grandfather, Dr. Bartlet, who during the time of Green's imprisonment, made him large offers of great livings, if he would recant, and return to the church of Rome. But his persuasions took small effect in his faithful heart. He was a man beloved of all (except the papists, who esteem none that love the truth) and so he well deserved; for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and gentle behaviour to all; injurious to none, beneficial to many, especially to those who were of the household of faith.

The cause of Mr. Green's sufferings originated from a letter of his being intercepted. This letter was written to an exiled friend, who having in a letter to Mr. Green, amongst other things, asked whether the queen was dead, as a report of that nature had been circulated on the continent; Mr. Green, after answering other questions, briefly said in his letter—*the queen is not dead.*

These letters, with many others, written to divers of the godly exiles, by their friends in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came, by the apprehension of the bearer, into the hands of the king and queen's council; who, at their convenient leisure, perused the whole number of the said letters, and amongst them espied that of Mr. Green's, written to his friend, Christopher Goodman; in the contents whereof they found these words, The Queen is not yet dead. Which words were only written as a simple answer. Howbeit, to some of the council they seemed very heinous words, yea treason they would have made them, if the law would have suffered. Which when they could not do, they then examined him upon his faith in religion, but upon what points it is not certainly known.

It was clear, however, that his answers displeased them; for he was committed to prison, and after being confined for some time, was, at length, sent to bishop Bonner.

Many other conferences and examinations they brought him to. But in the end, seeing his steadfastness of faith to be such, that neither their threatenings, nor their flattering promises could prevail against it, the 15th day of January the bishop caused him, with the rest before mentioned, to be brought into the consistory of St. Paul's; where, being set in his judgment-seat, accompanied by Mr. Fecknam, then dean of the same church, and other of his chaplains, after he had condemned the other six, he called for Bartlet Green, and again repeated the articles to him. After which, Dr. Fecknam disputed with him upon the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, &c. At length, impatient of longer delay, bishop Bonner demanded if he would recant and return to his Romish mother; and on his answering in the negative, he pronounced the definitive sentence against

him, and then committed him to the sheriffs of London, who sent him to Newgate.

As he was going thither, there met him two gentlemen, particular friends, minding to comfort this their persecuted brother: but their hearts not being able to contain their sorrow, Ah, my dear friends, said the martyr, is this the comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have consolation ministered to me, become now a comforter of you? And thus declaring his most quiet peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others, until he came to the prison door, into which he joyfully entered, and there remained, either in prayer or in meditation, until the 28th of January, when he, with his brethren, went most cheerfully to the place of their torments, often repeating, both by the way and at the stake, these Latin verses:

Christe Deus, sine te spes est mihi nulla salutis:
Te duce vera sequor, te duce falsa nego.

In English thus,

O Christ, my God, sure hope of health,
Besides thee I have none:
The truth I love, and falsehood hate,
Be thou my guide alone.

Thomas Brown was born in the parish of Histon, within the diocese of Ely, and came afterwards to London, where he dwelt in the parish of St. Bride's, in Fleet-street. He was a married man, aged thirty-seven, and his troubles first arose because he came not to his parish church, for which neglect he was presented by the constable of the parish, to bishop Bonner. Being brought to Fulham with the others to be examined, he was required to come into the chapel to hear mass, which he refusing to do, went into the warren, and there kneeled among the trees. For this he was charged by the bishop as for a heinous matter, because he said it was done in despite and contempt of their mass. At length, being brought to his last examination before the said bishop, the 15th day of January, there to hear the definitive sentence against him, he was required, with many fair words and glossing promises, to revoke his doctrine. But he resisted with steadfast faith, and told the bishop he was a blood-sucker.

After this, Bonner read the sentence against him; which being done, he was committed to the sheriffs, to be burned on the day appointed.

John Tudson was born in Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, and apprenticed in London to George Goodyear, of the parish of St. Mary Botolph, within the diocese of London. Being com-

plained of to Sir Richard Cholmley and Dr. Story, he was sent to Bonner, and was divers times before him in examination.

On his last examination, when the bishop promised, on condition of his recanting, to forgive him all his offences, he demanded wherein he had offended; said the bishop, In your answers. No, said Tudson, I have not therein offended; and you, my lord, pretend charity, but nothing thereof appeareth in your works. Thus after a few words, the bishop pronounced against him the sentence of condemnation; which being read, the martyr was committed to the secular power, and so with much patience finished this life with his fellows, on the 27th day of January.

John Went, born in Langham, in Essex, within the diocese of London, of the age of twenty-seven, and was a sheerman by occupation. He was first examined, as is partly mentioned before, by Dr. Story upon the sacrament of the altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, Dr. Story sent him up to Bonner. Who, likewise, after various examinations upon the articles in the consistory, attempted the like manner of persuasions with him as he did to the others, to recant and return. To whom, in very few words, the said Went answered again, he would not; but that by the leave of God, he would stand firm and constant in what he had said. Whereupon being condemned by the bishop's sentence, he was committed unto the sheriffs, and so brought to his martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blessed society.

Isabel Foster was born in Graefstock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and was afterwards married to John Foster, cutler, of the parish of St. Bride's, in Fleet-street, being of the age of fifty-five years. She likewise, for not coming to their church, was sent to bishop Bonner, who put her in prison, and examined her sundry times, but she would never be removed from the constant confession of Christ's gospel.

At length, coming unto her final examination before the bishop, she was tried again, whether she would yet go from her former answers. Whereunto she gave a resolute answer; I will not, saith she, go from them, by God's grace. The bishop, promising both life and liberty, if she would associate herself in the unity of the catholic church, she said again, That she trusted she was never out of the catholic church, &c. and so persisting in the same, continued constant till the sentence was pronounced, when she was committed by command of the bishop to the secular power, and so brought a few days after to the stake.

Joan Lashford was the daughter of Elizabeth Warne, by her first husband Robert Lashford. When her father and mother

were in prison, she, then about twenty years of age, attended upon them and administered to their wants, with all the tenderness and affection of a dutiful child. She was soon discovered to hold the same doctrines as her parents, and was, in consequence, sent to Bonner, bishop of London, by Dr. Story, and so committed to the Poultry Compter, where she remained about five weeks, and from thence she was conveyed to Newgate, where she continued some months.

After that, remaining prisoner in the custody of Bonner, and being examined, her confession was, that for above a twelvemonth before, she came not to the popish mass-service in church, neither would, either to receive the sacrament of the altar, or to be confessed, because her conscience would not suffer her so to do; denying that auricular confession or absolution after the popish sort, was necessary; but said, that both the said sacraments, confession, and absolution, and the mass, with all their other superfluous sacraments and ceremonies, as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's word and institution; so that they were neither at the beginning, nor shall be at the latter end. This resolute maid, feeble and tender of age, yet strong by grace in her confession and faith, stood so firm, that neither the promises nor the threats of the bishops could turn her; and on being exhorted by the bishop to return to the catholic unity of the church, she boldly said, If you will leave off your abomination, I will return, but otherwise I will not. Do as it pleaseth you, and I pray God that you may do that which may please him.

And thus she constantly persevering in the truth, was condemned and committed to the sheriffs, by whom she with the rest was brought unto the stake.

John Lomas, *Anne Albright*, *Joan Catmer*, *Agnes Snoth*, and *Joan Sole*, were burnt at Canterbury in one fire, on the 31st day of January.

John Lomas, of the parish of Tenterden, was discovered to be of that religion which the papists call heresy, and cited to appear at Canterbury, where he was examined whether he believed the catholic church or not; he answered, that he believed so much as was contained in God's book, and no more.

Then next, whether he would be confessed by a priest or not; he said, that he found it not written that he should be confessed to any priest in God's book, neither would he be confessed, unless he were accused by some man of sin. Again, being examined whether he believed the body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar really under the forms of bread and wine after the consecration? He answered, that he believed no reality of Christ's body to be in the sacrament; neither found he written,

that he is there under form or trestle, but he believed so much as was written. Whereupon the sentence was given and read against him on the 18th of January, and so he was committed to the secular power, and afterwards constantly suffered for the true faith.

Agnes Snoth was a widow, of the parish of Smarden, and was likewise cited and accused for her faith. She was divers times examined, and being compelled to answer to such articles as should be administered unto her, she first denied to be confessed to a priest. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she protested that if she or any other, did receive the sacrament so as Christ and his apostles after him did deliver it, then she and they did receive it to their comfort: but as it is now used in the church, she said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation, as she thought. Afterwards being examined again concerning penance, whether it were a sacrament or not, she plainly denied it. Whereupon the sentence being likewise read, she was committed to the sheriffs of Canterbury, and suffered with her faithful companions.

Anne Albright. This female, strong in her belief, on appearing before the judge and his colleagues, told them, That she would not be confessed by a priest. And speaking unto the judge and his assistants, she told them that they were subverters of Christ's truth.

And concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said it was a wicked and abominable idol. Thus persevering in her former sayings and answers, she was condemned the 18th of January, with the others before-mentioned.

Joan Sole was of the parish of Horton, and was condemned by the priests for denying auricular confession, and the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament. She was accordingly condemned and brought to the stake.

The fifth and last of this little company of martyrs, was *Joan Catmer*, of the parish of Hith, wife of George Catmer, who had suffered before. She, also refusing to be confessed by a priest, and denying the bodily presence in the sacrament, was, in consequence, condemned and burnt.

These five faithful persons were fastened to two separate stakes, but surrounded by one fire; and in the midst of the flames, they lifted up their souls in singing psalms, and expired while they praised.

Presently after in the town of Ipswich, *Agnes Potten* and *Joan Trunchfield* were examined about their religion, and their opinion about the sacrament; whereto they answered, that in the sacrament was the memorial only of Christ's death and passion: for, said they, Jesus Christ is ascended into heaven, and there sits at

the right hand of God, according to the Scriptures; and therefore he is not in the sacrament. For this they were condemned and burned: at which time, with comfortable words of the Scriptures, they earnestly entreated the people to entertain and believe the truth of God, and not to trust the inventions and devices of men, and institutions of the Romish Antichrist; but to abominate him with all his superstitions and rotten religion. In the fire they held up their hands, and called upon God earnestly so long as life did endure, yielding up their spirits with much joy and comfort.

About the same time, in the diocese of Salisbury, *John Maundrel*, of the parish of Revel, in Wiltshire, after the Scriptures were translated into English by master Tindal, became a diligent hearer, and a fervent embracer of the truth; delighting in nothing so much as in hearing and conferring of God's word, always carrying a New Testament about him. And because he could not read himself, when he came into any company that could read, his book was always ready, and having a very good memory, he could recite by heart most places of the New Testament: his life and conversation were very honest, and full of charity. And thus he continued till Queen Mary's days: and then when popery was again restored, and God's true religion persecuted, he left his house, and went into Gloucestershire, going up and down to such as he knew feared God, and sometimes remained as a servant with some of them. At last he went to a friend of his at the Devizes, declaring to him his purpose of returning to his own house: his friend would have dissuaded him, but he told him that he must needs go home, and so he did. There he used to meet with *William Coberley*, and *John Spicer*, to confer with them. These three agreed the Sabbath following to go to the parish-church; where seeing the people to follow the procession, and to worship the idol, exhorted them to leave the same, and to return to the living God. Afterwards the priest going into the pulpit, where he prayed for the souls in purgatory, &c. John Maundrel speaking to him said, that purgatory was the pope's pinfold, which his other two friends affirmed also. For this, by the command of the priest, they were put into the stocks, then had before a Justice of Peace, who sent them to Salisbury to the bishop, Dr. Capon. The bishop examined them of their faith, and cast them into prison. When they were brought to a public hearing, they were examined about the sacrament of the altar, &c. they answered, that the popish mass was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Christ, &c. For this they were condemned, and so delivered to the sheriff; whereupon John Spicer said, O master sheriff,

now must you be their butcher, whereby you will make yourself guilty of innocent blood. When they came to the place of their martyrdom, they kneeled down, and prayed together: then, having stripped themselves to their shirts, Spicer said, This is the joyfullest day that ever I saw: and so in the flames they cheerfully gave up their souls to God.

Presently after *Robert Drake*, and *William Tims*, ministers, *Richard Spurg*, *Thomas Spurg*, *John Cavel*, and *George Ambrose*, tradesmen, all of Essex, were apprehended, and sent up to London to the bishop of Winchester, who sent them to prison, where they lay almost a year, till after the bishop's death: and Dr. Heath succeeding in the chancellorship of England, four of these men being weary of prison, petitioned Heath for their enlargement. Hereupon Sir Richard Read was sent to the prison to examine them; before him they confessed, that they had not been at church since the English service was taken away. Robert Drake was also examined, and William Tims, who answered boldly according to the truth; and so shortly after, these six persons were brought forth before bishop Bonner in his consistory. The bishop began with Tims, and told him that he was the ringleader and seducer of the rest, &c. Then said Tims, My lord, I marvel that you dare begin with a lie; for there are none of these, but before their imprisonment held the same opinions that they do now, so that they learned not their religion in prison; and for mine own part I never knew them till we met in prison: how then could I be their teacher? The bishop then asked him, if he would submit to the catholic church, otherwise he should be condemned for an heretic? Then said another of the prisoners, My lord, you judge us according to your own lust, but if you will judge us according to the holy Testament of Christ, which is the Word of Truth, we will stand to it. This so angered the bishop, that he called him busy knave, and bid him hold his tongue. Then said Tims, My lord, I doubt not but I am of the catholic church whatsoever you judge of me. But as for your church, you yourself have formerly renounced it, and by your oath promised never to consent to the same; contrary to which you have now submitted to the pope's authority, and therefore all of you are falsely forsworn and guilty of perjury. Yea, you have both spoken and written earnestly against the pope's power, and yet you now burn men that will not acknowledge it.

Bonner. Where have I written any thing against the church of Rome?

Tims. My lord the bishop of Winchester wrote learnedly against it in his book *De vera obedientia*, to which you prefixed

an Epistle, inveighing largely against the bishop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and falsehood, calling his power false and pretended, &c.

Indeed, said Bonner, my lord of Winchester wrote a book against the supremacy of the pope's holiness, and I prefixed a preface before it; but this we did because of the perilous world that then was, for then it was treason to maintain the authority of the pope, and therefore fear compelled us thereunto; but since the coming in of the Queen's majesty, we have acknowledged our faults. Do thou also as we have done.

My lord, quoth Tims, that which you then wrote was agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, but that which you now do is against the word of God, as I can well prove. After other such like conference the bishop fell to entreating, and persuading them earnestly to revoke their errors, and to conform themselves to the church of Rome. To which Tims answered, The See of Rome is the see of Antichrist, and therefore to that church I will not conform myself, nor once consent unto it. The like said all the rest; whereupon the bishop proceeded to their condemnation, and delivered them over to the secular power.

Out of prison master Tims wrote many godly letters to his friends in Hockley, and elsewhere, in one of which he hath these passages.—I give hearty thanks to God for you, that he hath given you such loving hearts to Christ's gospel, and to his poor afflicted flock. Remember, I beseech you, what I have taught you, and then I doubt not, but we shall shortly meet together with a most joyful meeting. I am now going to the bishop's coal-house; but I hope I shall not long tarry there, before I be carried up to my dear brethren and sisters, that are gone before me to heaven in a fiery chariot: hie you after me; I have tarried a great while for you, and seeing you are so long making ready, I will tarry no longer. You shall find me singing merrily, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth*, at my journey's end. Therefore now, my dear hearts, make haste, and loiter not by the way, lest night overtake you, and so ye be shut out with the foolish virgins. And now in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, I here write my name with my blood, for a testimony unto you, that I will seal my doctrine with the rest. And thus fare you well, and God defend you from Antichrist, and all his ministers, the false priests. Amen. *Continue in prayer, ask in faith, and obtain your desires.*

Shortly after, in the flames they quietly and joyfully resigned up their spirits unto God.

John Harpool, and *Joan Beach*, being brought before the bishop, were examined of the like articles; and persevering in

the truth, were condemned, and suffered martyrdom together in the same fire, at Rochester in Kent.

Also master *John Hullier*, minister, first brought up in Eaton School, and then in King's College, in Cambridge, suffered under Thurlbey, bishop of Ely, for the sincere preaching of the gospel.

At Colchester these six persons, *Christopher Lyster*, *John Mace*, *John Spencer*, *Simon Joyn*, *Richard Nichols*, and *John Hammond*, were examined by the bishop, and sent up to London to Bonner, who examined them of sundry ordinary articles, to which they answered according to the truth. And when neither by flattery nor fear, they could be brought to recant, he condemned them, and so delivered them to the secular power. Then were they sent to Colchester, where they ended their lives to the glory of God's holy name, and the great encouragement of others.

Hugh Laverock, an old lame man, and *John Ap-Rice*, a blind man, being accused by some of their neighbours to bishop Bonner, were sent for, and by him examined about the sacrament of the altar. To which Hugh Laverock answered, that he would stand to his first answer, and that he could not find in the Scriptures, that the priest should lift over his head a cake of bread. Then the bishop asked Ap-Rice, what he said to it? Who answered, The doctrine which you teach is so agreeable to the world, and embraced of the same, that it cannot be agreeable to the word of God, neither are you of the true church, for you make laws to kill men, and you make the queen your hangman. Then did the bishop denounce the sentence of condemnation against them, and delivered them to the temporal power, and so they were carried in a cart from Newgate to Stratford-Bow.

When they were chained to the stake, Laverock threw away his crutch, and comforting Ap-Rice, said unto him, Be of good comfort, my brother, for my lord of London is our good physician, he will heal us both shortly, thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness. And so patiently suffering the pains of the fire, they resigned up their spirits unto God.

About the same time *Catherine Hut*, *Joan Hornes*, *Elizabeth Thackvel*, and *Margaret Ellis*, were sent up to bishop Bonner out of Essex, by Sir John Mordant and Edmund Tyrel, Esq. The bishop received and examined them, especially about the sacrament of the altar; to which Catherine Hut answered, I deny it to be God, because it is a dumb God, and made with men's hands. The like said all the rest, whereupon they were condemned, and being carried into Smithfield, they there joyfully suffered martyrdom.

Mention has been made of a blind boy that came to Hooper,

bishop at Gloucester, a little before his martyrdom. This poor boy being shortly after apprehended, and cast into prison, was at last brought forth before the chancellor of Gloucester, who examined him whether he believed Christ's body to be really present in the sacrament of the altar? To which he answered negatively. Then said the chancellor, Who taught thee this heresy? The boy answered, You, master chancellor, when in yonder pulpit you taught us that the sacrament was to be received spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really as the papists teach. But said the chancellor, do thou as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning. The boy answered, Though you can so easily dispense with your conscience, and mock God and the world, yet will not I do so. Then said the chancellor, God have mercy upon thee, for I will read the sentence of condemnation against thee. God's will be fulfilled, said the boy. So the chancellor condemned him, and another called *Thomas Croker*, delivering them over to the secular power, by whom they were both burned; and joyfully yielding up their spirits into the hands of God.

About the same time *Thomas Spicer*, *John Dennis*, and *Edmund Poole*, being apprehended for not coming to church, and receiving the sacrament, were carried before Dunnings, chancellor of Norwich, who essayed by all means to turn them from the truth; but when he could not prevail, he condemned them, and delivered them over to the sheriff, Sir John Silliard, who burned them at Beckles in Suffolk. At the stake, when they had made their prayers, and said the Belief, fire was put to them, and in the flames they praised God with such an audible voice, as was wonderful to all that heard them. Hereupon Robert Bacon willed the tormentors to throw a faggot to stop the knaves' mouths, as he called them: but these good men not regarding his malice, confessed the truth, and yielded their lives as a testimony thereunto, constantly and very joyfully.

A great persecution was raised up at the same time, against many godly persons of Winson and Mendlesam, in the county of Suffolk; who, by the rage of their enemies, were forced to leave their houses and estates, and to fly for their lives.

There was an honest poor man of Maulden, called *Gregory Crow*, who with his man and boy, was going over into Kent to fetch fuller's earth: but by the way meeting with a storm, his boat was driven upon the sand, so that it sunk, and the men were forced to hold upon the mast: at which time Crow seeing his New Testament in the water, caught it up, and put it into his bosom. The tide being gone, they were left upon the sands at least ten miles from the land. There they made their prayers together, that God would send some ship that way, for within

half an hour, it would be flood. In which time, they found their chest, wherein were five pounds six shillings and eight pence; but Crow cast it into the sea, saying, If the Lord will save our lives, he will provide us a living: and so they went up the mast, where they hung by the arms and legs for ten hours together, in which time the boy was so weary and beaten with the sea, that he fell off, and was drowned.

The water being gone, and the sand dry, Crow said to his man, It is best for us to take down our mast, and when the flood comes to sit upon it, and so it may please God to bring us to some ship that may take us in. This they did, and rid upon the mast Tuesday night, Wednesday, and Wednesday night; in which time the man was so tired out with hunger, watching, and cold, that he died. Then was Crow left alone, who being driven up and down in the sea, prayed to God for help, but durst not sleep lest the sea should beat him off. When he was almost spent, his flesh being sodden with the water, and his mouth and eyes almost closed up with salt,—behold the Providence of God! a ship that was going for Antwerp, the wind being not good, was driven out of the way, whereby they spied something afar off in the sea, but supposing it to be a fisher-boy, they steered from it. This Crow seeing, held up his cap, and shaked it above his head, whereby at length they were moved to go to him, and so they took him in. When he came into the ship, though half dead, yet careful of his New Testament, he plucked it out of his bosom, and gave it to them to dry. The ship-men were very careful of him, and at last recovered him, and carried him to Antwerp; where the people hearing of his miraculous deliverance, came to see him, some giving him clothes, and others money, so that he was no loser by his dependence upon God.

William Slech being prisoner in the King's Bench for the truth of the gospel, died there, and was buried in the back-side of the said prison.

At Lewes in Sussex, were burned *Thomas Harland*, *John Oswald*, *Thomas Avington*, and *Thomas Read*, for their constant adhering to the truth.

Shortly after them were burned in the same place, master *Thomas Wood*, minister, and *Thomas Mills*, for the same cause.

In the King's Bench, master *William Aderal*, minister, and *John Clement*, dying, were buried in the back-side of the prison.

A godly young man, servant to a merchant, suffered grievous persecution, and at last was burnt at Leicester.

Presently after, eleven men and two women were condemned by Bonner, and sent to Stratford-Bow to be burnt. The sheriff divided them into two parts, and went to the one, and told them that their fellows had recanted, wishing them to do the like,

whereby their lives might be saved. To whom they answered, That their faith was not built on man, but on Christ crucified. When he could not prevail with them, he went to the other part, telling them that their friends had recanted, desiring them to do the like, and not wilfully to cast away themselves. But they answered, as the other, That their faith was not built on man, but on Christ, and his sure word. Thus seeing that he could prevail with none of them, he carried them to the fire. There they prayed earnestly, and went joyfully to the stake, embracing and kissing it, and so cheerfully yielded up their souls to God.

About the same time, a great persecution was raised in the diocese of Litchfield, by Dr. Bane, the bishop thereof; whereby many were forced to do penance, and amongst the rest one *Thomas Flier*, of Uttoxeter, who was afterwards slain by a desperate papist.

In the King's Bench *Thomas Parret*, *John Norris*, and *Martin Hunt*, died in prison for the truth; whereof the latter was famished to death, and were all buried in the prison-yard.

At St. Edmundsbury, *Roger Bernard* being brought before Dr. Hopton, the bishop, was examined whether he was shriven at Easter? To which he answered, that he had not confessed his sins to the priest, but he had confessed them to Almighty God, who he hoped had forgiven them. The bishop told him that he must confess them to the priest; to which he answered, that, by God's grace, he would not do it. Then the bishop called him heretic, &c. Bernard answered, that it grieved him not to be called heretic by him, for so his fore-fathers had called the prophets and confessors long before him. After some other conference, the bishop bade the gaoler take him away, and lay irons enough on him, for he would tame him before he had done. Then went divers priests to him, who, with flattering and enticing words, sought to pervert him from the truth, and when that would not prevail, they threatened him with stocking, whipping, and burning. To whom he answered, Friends, I am not better than my master Christ, and the Prophets, whom your fathers served after such sort: and I, for his name's sake, am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God shall so permit, trusting that he will strengthen me in the same, according to his promise, in spite of the devil and all his instruments. Then carried they him to the bishop, who condemned him, and delivered him to the secular power.

Adam Foster, of Mendlesham in Suffolk, was apprehended by Thomas Mouse and George Rivet, for not coming to church; and carried before Sir John Tyrel, who sent him to Norwich to the bishop. But it pleased God, that immediately Mouse was

stricken by God with a grievous disease, and died shortly after. And Rivet not warned thereby, but persisting in his ways, had a great swelling in his legs, which grievously vexed and troubled him; and at length falling into a fearful disease, he died most miserably, and in so impatient a manner, that it terrified all that heard thereof.

Robert Lawson being also apprehended for not going to church, was by Sir John Tyrel sent to the bishop; and so all these three godly men being condemned, were to be burnt at Bury. At the stake they made their prayers unto God, and died with much cheerfulness.

John Fortune, otherwise called Butler, of Hintlesham, in Suffolk, was by occupation a blacksmith, whom they had before them in examination a little before, the 20th of April. In spirit he was zealous and ardent, in the Scriptures ready, in Christ's cause stout and valiant, in his answers marvellous, and no less patient in his wrongful suffering than constant in his doctrine. Whether he was burned, or died in prison, I cannot certainly find; but rather I suppose that he was burned. Certain it is, howsoever he was made away, he never yielded. What his answers and examinations were, before Dr. Parker and the bishop, is written with his own hand.

The Examination of John Fortune, before Dr. Parker and Mr. Foster.

First, Dr. Parker asked me how I believed in the Catholic faith? And I asked him which faith he meant; whether the faith that Stephen had, or the faith of them that put Stephen to death? Dr. Parker being moved, said, What a naughty fellow is this! You shall see anon he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Then said Mr. Foster, I know you well enough; you are a busy merchant: how sayest thou by the blessed mass?

And I stood still and made no answer.

Then said Mr. Foster. Why speakest thou not, and makest the gentleman an answer? And I said, Silence is a good answer to a foolish question.

Then said the doctor, I am sure he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar also. And I said, I know none such, but only the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Then said he, You deny the order of the seven sacraments; and why dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar? And I said, Because it is not written in God's book.

Then said he, You will not believe unwritten verities. And I said, I will believe those unwritten verities that agree with the written verities, to be true; but those unwritten verities that be

of your own making, and invented by your own brain, I do not believe.

Well, said Mr. Foster, you shall be whipped and burned for this gear, I trow.

Then said I, If you knew how these words do rejoice my heart, you would not have spoken them. Why, thou fool, (said he) dost thou rejoice in whipping? Yea, (said I) for it is written in the Scripture, and Christ saith, Thou shalt be whipped for my name's sake; and since the time that the sword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that was whipped: happy were I, if I be the first to suffer this persecution.

Away with him then, (said he) for he is ten times worse than Samuel. And so he was carried to prison again.

When I came before the bishop of Norwich, he asked me, if I did not believe in the catholic church? I said, I believe in that church whereof Christ is the head.

Then said the bishop, Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the church? And I said, No, Christ is the head of the true church.

So do I believe also, (said the bishop) but the pope is God's vicar upon earth, and the head of the church, and I believe that he hath power to forgive sins also.

Then said I, The pope is but a man, and the prophet David saith, that no man can deliver his brother, nor make agreement for him unto God: for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that he must let that alone for ever.

Then the bishop said, Like as the bell-wether weareth her bell, and is the head of the flock of sheep; so is the pope our head. And as the hives of bees have a master bee, that bringeth the bees to the hive again; so doth our head bring us home again to our true church.

Then I asked him, whether the pope were a spiritual man? And he said, Yea. And I said again, They are spiteful men, for in 17 months there were three popes, and one poisoned another for that presumptuous seat of Antichrist.

It is maliciously spoken, (said he) for thou must obey the power, and not the man. (And thus was the pope denied to be the supreme head.) Well, (said he) what sayest thou to the ceremonies of the church?

And I answered, "All things that are not planted by my heavenly Father, shall be plucked up by the roots," said Christ. For they are not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end.

Bishop. They are good and godly, and necessary to be used.

For. St. Paul calleth them weak and beggarly.

Bishop. No, that is a lie.

I hearing that, said, That St. Paul writeth thus in the fourth to the Galatians, "You foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that ye seek to be in bondage to these weak and beggarly ceremonies?" Now which of you do lie, you or St. Paul? And also it is said, that works instituted and enjoined without the commandment of God, pertain not to the worship of God, according to the text, Matt. xv, "In vain do men worship me with men's traditions and commandments;" and St. Paul saith, "Wherefore do ye carry us away from the grace of Christ, to another kind of doctrine?" And Christ openly rebuked the scribes, lawyers, pharisees, doctors, priests, bishops, and hypocrites, for making God's commandments of none effect, to support their own tradition.

Bishop. Thou liest, there is not such a word in all the Scriptures, thou naughty heretic: thou art worse than all other heretics; for Hooper and Bradford allow them to be good, and thou dost not. Away with him.

Here you may perceive, how that the catholic church cannot err, but whatsoever they say must needs be true. And so my lord bishop cannot lie, as it may appear to all men plainly in the text.

The next day I was brought before the said bishop again, where he made a sermon upon the sixth chapter of St. John's gospel, of Christ's words, "I am the bread that came down from heaven," &c. And thereupon had a great bibble-babble to no purpose. So in the end I was called before him, and he said to me, How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar? Dost thou not believe, that after the consecration there is the real substance of the body of Christ? And I answered him, That is the greatest plague that ever came into England.

Why so? (said he.) I said, If I were a bishop and you a poor man as I am, I would be ashamed to ask such a question; for a bishop should be apt to teach, and not to learn.

I am appointed by the law, (said the bishop) to teach; so are not you. And I said, Your law breaketh out very well: for you have burned up the true bishops and preachers, and maintained liars in their stead.

Bishop. Now you may understand that he is a traitor; for he denieth the higher powers.

For. I am no traitor; for St. Paul saith, "All souls must obey the higher powers:" and I resist not the higher powers concerning my body, but I must resist your evil doctrine wherewith you would infect my soul.

Then said a doctor, My lord, you do not well: let him answer shortly to his articles.

Bishop. How sayest thou? Make an answer quickly to these articles.

For. St. Paul saith, Heb. x. "Christ did one sacrifice once for all, and sat him down on the right hand of his Father," triumphing over hell and death, making intercession for sins.

Bishop. I ask thee no such question, but make answer to this article.

For. If it be not God before the consecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginning and without ending.

Then said he, Lo, what a stiff heretic is this! He hath denied altogether. How sayest thou, is it idolatry to worship the blessed sacrament, or not?

For. God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth.

Bishop. I ask thee no such question; answer me directly.

For. I answer, that this is the god Mauzzim, that robbeth God of his honour.

Bishop. It is pity that the ground beareth thee, or that thou hast a tongue to speak.

Then said the scribe, Here are a great many more articles. Then said the Bishop, Away with him, for he hath spoken too much.

When I came to mine examination again, the bishop asked me if I would stand to mine answer that I had made before? And I said, Yea, for I had spoken nothing but the truth.

Then I desired him to stand to the text, and he read the gospel on Corpus Christi day, which said, "I am the bread which came down from heaven:" believest thou not this? And I said, Yea, truly. And he said, Why dost thou deny the sacrament? Because your doctrine is false.

Then said he, How can that be false, which is spoken in the Scripture? And I said, Christ said, "I am the bread," and you say the bread is he: therefore your doctrine is false.

And he said, Dost thou not believe that the bread is he? And I said, No.

Bishop. I will bring thee to it by the Scriptures.

For. Hold that fast, my lord; for that is the best argument that you have yet.

Bishop. Thou shalt be burned like an heretic.

For. Who shall give judgment upon me?

Bishop. I will judge a hundred such as thou art, and never be shriven upon it.

For. Is there not law for the spirituality, as well as for the temporality?

And sir Clement Higham said, Yes: what meanest thou by that?

For. When a man is perjured by the law, he is cast over the

bar, and sitteth no more in judgment: and the bishop is a perjured man, and ought to sit in judgment on no man.

Bishop. How provest thou that?

For. Because you took an oath in King Henry's days, to resist the pope. So both spiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true judgment.

Bishop. Thinkest thou to escape judgment by that? No, for my chancellor shall judge thee. He took no oath, for he was then out of the realm.

Mr. Higham. It is time to weed out such fellows as you be indeed.

Bishop. Good fellow, why believest not thou in the sacrament of the altar?

For. Because I find it not in God's book, nor yet in the doctors. If it were there, I would believe it with all my heart.

Bishop. How knowest thou it is not there?

For. Because it is contrary to the second commandment: and seeing it is not written in God's book, why do you then rob me of my life?

Then the bishop having no more to say, commanded the bailiff to take him away. And thus much touching the examinations of this man. Now whether he died in fire, or was otherwise prevented with death, is uncertain.

In the register of Norwich, I find, that his sentence of condemnation was drawn and registered; but whether it was pronounced, is not expressed, according as the usual manner of the notary is so to declare, in the end of the sentence. Nevertheless, this is most certain, that he never abjured or recanted.

John Careless, of Coventry, weaver, was there imprisoned for the truth; but in the gaol he so carried himself, that the gaoler would sometimes let him go abroad upon his word, he returning at the hour appointed, to prison again: at length, by a writ, he was removed to London, and imprisoned in the King's Bench, whither came one Dr. Martin to examine him, betwixt whom there passed the following conversation:

Martin. What is thy name?

Careless. My name is John Careless.

Martin. It will appear by that I have done with thee, that thou art a true careless man indeed. Where wast thou born?

Careless. At Coventry.

Martin. How camest thou hither?

Careless. By a writ I was sent hither by the Lord Chief Justice.

Martin. I wish thou wouldst play the wise man's part: thou art a handsome man, and it is a pity but thou shouldst save that which God hath bought.

Careless. I thank your mastership, and I put you out of doubt that I am most sure and certain of my salvation by Jesus Christ: so that my soul is sure already, what pains soever my body suffers here for a time.

Martin. Yea marry: for thou art so predestinated to life, that thou canst not perish in whatsoever opinion thou dost die?

Careless. That God hath predestinated me to eternal life in Christ, I am most certain: and even so I am sure, that his Holy Spirit, wherewith I am sealed, will preserve me from all heresies, and evil opinions, that I shall die in none at all.

Martin. Why? Pray thee, Careless, prove thyself a wise man, and do not cast away thyself wilfully.

Careless. The Lord knows I would gladly live, so that I may do the same with a safe conscience.

Martin. Thou art a tall fellow, and mayest do the queen good service in Ireland; wilt thou go thither, and serve her Majesty?

Careless. Wheresoever I am, I am ready to do her Grace the best service I can with body, goods, and life: and if she, or any under her, require me to do any thing contrary to Christ's true religion, I am ready also to do service in Smithfield, as my bedfellow, and other brethren have done: praised be God for it!

Martin. By my troth, thou art as pleasant a fellow as ever I talked with, of all the Protestants, &c. And so after some other discourse, they parted.

During this his imprisonment, he fell into some heaviness and perplexity of mind: whereupon he wrote to Master Philpot, lying then in the Bishop's coal-house; from whom he received a consolatory letter, which, through God's mercy, gave him great satisfaction. He wrote also divers other letters during his imprisonment, which continued about two years; at the end whereof he fell sick, and died: being thereby deprived of that crown of martyrdom, which he so much longed after.

Julius Palmer was born in Coventry, where his father had been Major: he was carefully brought up in learning, and sent to Magdalen College in Oxford, where he profited very much in the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, as well as science in general. At last he applied his mind to the study of divinity, with the greatest diligence. He was of a civil behaviour: of manners courteous, of countenance cheerful, of speech pleasant: quick-spirited, yet humble: apter to be deceived, than to deceive: a great contemner of reproaches and injuries; using to say, that none were to be accounted valiant, but such as could despise injuries. In his studies he was indefatigable: he rose early, and went to bed late; getting so much credit in the college, that he was chosen Fellow and Reader in the same. At first he was addicted to popery, and kept company only with such as wer

enemies to the gospel of Christ. Sermons he would not hear himself, nor by his good will suffer any of his pupils to hear them, believing that they might be better occupied at home. The preachers, and all such as were setters forth of sound doctrine in King Edward the VI.'s time, he despised; for which obstinacy he was oft punished by the officers in the college, sometimes in his purse, sometimes in his commons.

Not long before King Edward's death, certain scandalous verses were scattered abroad against Dr. Haddon, President of that college: whereupon Palmer was suspected, and examined about them. But he not only denied them, but also gave such reproachful language to the officers, that, upon farther consideration, he was expelled the house. After this, to provide himself a subsistence, he betook himself to teach children in the house of Sir Francis Knolles, where he continued till the beginning of Queen Mary's reign; and then when visitors were sent to Oxford, to expel Protestants, and to put Papists in their rooms, Master Palmer repaired to them, and acquainting them with his former expulsion for his zeal to that cause, he was by them again restored to his fellowship.

After a while it pleased God, that he met with *Calvin's Institutions*, and read it over: after which, meeting with an old companion of his in Paul's church, London, they looked upon a rood that was lately set up: whereupon Palmer said, Is this our God, for whom we have so smarted? No, said the other, it is but his image.

His image! said Palmer; I tell thee plainly, John Calvin, whose *Institutions* I have lately read, tells me, by God's word, that it is an idol, and that the pope is Antichrist, and that his clergy is the filthy sink-hole of hell: and now I believe it, for I feel it sensibly. Oh that God had revealed this to me in times past: I would have bequeathed this Roman religion, or irreligion rather, to the devil of hell, whence it came. Believe me, I will rather have these knees pared off, than I will kneel to yonder Jackanapes, (so he called the rood.) God help me, for I am born to trouble and adversity in this world.

Thus God wrought in his heart, that he became very inquisitive how the martyrs were apprehended, what articles they were examined of, how they behaved themselves at their death: insomuch, that he sent one of his pupils to Gloucester, to observe how Bishop Hooper demeaned himself at his burning: and himself being present in Oxford, when Ridley and Latimer suffered martyrdom, as he came back, he said to his friends, Oh raging cruelty! Oh tyranny tragical, and more than barbarous!

From that day forward, he studiously set himself to find out the truth; read Peter Martyr's Commentary upon the 1st of the

Corinthians, and other good books: and so, thro' hearty prayer, and diligent searching of the Scriptures, at length, he believed, and embraced the truth with great joy, and profitted in the same daily. Yea, at length, through God's grace, he grew up to such maturity in the truth, that he spared not to declare the same both in words and actions. Hereupon he began to be first suspected, and then abhorred by the President, Master Cole, and others, who had formerly been his great friends: for which cause, finding that he could not, with a safe conscience, be present at their idolatrous services, he addressed himself to leave his fellowship, and to depart the house: and being asked by a friend, how he would live when he was gone; he answered, The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness of it. Let the Lord work, I will commit myself to him, and the wide world.

Before his departure, a stout papist, who had formerly been his great friend, meeting with him, and, in discourse, finding him zealous in defence of the truth, said unto him, Well, Palmer, now thou art stout and stiff in thine opinion, but if thou wert brought to the stake, I believe thou wouldst tell me another tale. I advise thee beware of the fire, for it is a shrewd matter to burn. Truly, said Palmer, I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and yet, through God's mercy, have escaped it; but I verily believe it will be mine end at last: welcome be it, by the grace of God! Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn, that have their souls linked to their bodies, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters; but if a man be once able, by the help of God's Spirit, to separate the soul from the body, it is no more for him to burn, than for me to eat this piece of bread.

Having left his fellowship, it pleased God, who never faileth those that depend upon him, that he was presently after settled in the Grammar School of Reading, where he was well approved of by those that feared God, not only for his learning, but especially for his earnest zeal and profession of the truth: but Satan, envying his proceedings and prosperous success in the same, would not suffer him long to be quiet there: for he stirred up certain hypocrites, who, under pretence of zeal to the truth, insinuated themselves into his secrets. He, good man, suspecting no deceit, embraced them joyfully, and acquainted them with all his proceedings: for himself having sincerely embraced the truth, and being full of heavenly zeal, he had an incredible desire, by all means possible, to encourage others in the profession of the same. These dissembling hypocrites, watching their opportunity when he was abroad, rifled his study, seized upon his books and writings, and amongst the rest, they found sundry arguments written by him, against the popish proceedings; especially against their-

brutish tyranny, exercised towards the poor saints and servants of God. Having gotten these things into their hands, they threatened to return them to the Privy Counsel, except he would resign the school to one of their choosing, and presently depart out of the country.

Thus was this innocent man, by the malice of these dissemblers, forced to quit Reading, leaving his books in the hands of his adversaries, and a quarter's stipend unpaid, and so he went to Evesham, where his mother dwelt, hoping to obtain a legacy, left to him by his father in her hands. His mother having beforehand understood the occasion of his coming, when upon his knees he craved her blessing, she said, 'Thou shalt have Christ's curse and mine, wherever thou goest. He, amazed at this heavy greeting, paused awhile, and then said, Oh mother, your curse you may give me, which God knows I never deserved; but God's curse you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me. Nay, said she, thou wentest out of God's blessing, when thou wast banished for an heretic out of Oxford, and now for the like knavery art driven out of Reading. Alas, mother, said he, you are misinformed, I resigned my places of mine own accord, and heretic am I none, for I stand not stubbornly against any truth, but defend it to my power. Well, said she, I am sure thou dost not believe as thy father, and I, nor as our forefathers did, but as thou wast taught by the new law, in King Edward's days, which is damnable heresy. Indeed, answered he, I so believe, but it is not heresy, but the truth, and not new, but as ancient as Christ and his apostles. Well, said she, get thee out of my house and sight, and never take me for thy mother more: as for money, I have none for thee, thy father bequeathed no legacy to heretics: faggots I have to burn thee, and more thou gettest not at my hands. Master Palmer for her curses returned blessings and prayers, and so, weeping abundantly, he departed from her: this so mollified her hard heart, that she threw an angel after him, saying, Take that to keep thee a true man.

Master Palmer, finding such entertainment from his mother, knew not now which way to turn himself, but after a while he resolved privately to return to Magdalen College, upon the confidence that he had in a friend or two in that house. When he had been there a while, he obtained letters commendatory for his preferment to a school in Gloucestershire, but as he went by the way thitherward, musing with himself, he resolved to go privily back to Reading, trusting that, by the help of his friends, he might recover his books and quarterage. Hereupon he went closely thither, yet not so closely, but the viperous generation of hypocrites had knowledge of it, and consulting together, suborned a cunning dissembler to go to him, to fish out the cause of his

coming: this was easily effected, and the very night after, as he was in bed, came the officers with bills and staves, requiring him in the queen's name, quietly to go along with them: and thus this young man, betrayed by those Judas's, was led away, as a sheep to the slaughter, and was thrust into a vile, deep, stinking, dungeon, where they left him, hanging by the hands and feet, in a pair of stocks, so high, that scarce any part of his body touched the ground, and there they left him for ten days. Then was he brought before the Major, and these dissembling villains charged him with treason, sedition, and supposed murder, and adultery. Master Palmer answered, that if any such heinous crimes could be proved against him, he would patiently submit to all kind of torments they could inflict: But, saith he, O cruel blood-suckers, ye follow the practice of your progenitors, the viperous brood of Pharisees and papists: but be you well assured, that God Almighty sees all your cruel and crafty packings, and will not suffer the outrageous fury of your venemous tongues, and fiery hearts to escape unpunished.

The things which they alleged against him, were, that he should say, that the queen had not the sword put into her hand to execute tyranny, and to kill and murder the true servants of God: That her sword was blunt towards the papists, but towards true Christians it was too sharp: That he was a sower of sedition, and a procurer of unlawful assemblies: That they had found him alone with his hostess by the fire in her hall. Upon this evidence, the Major sent him to the cage, to be a public spectacle of ignominy to the eyes of the world.

In the afternoon he was brought forth to his answer, at which time he did so mightily and clearly enervate their evidence, and prove his own innocency, that the Major himself was much ashamed that he had given such credit to them; so that he sought means how to convey him privily out of the country. Yet, in the interim, he kept him in prison; whither a godly man coming to him, said, O master Palmer, you have deceived our expectations, for we hear that you suffer not for righteousness' sake, but for your own demerits. To whom he answered, Indeed, brother, these are the old practises of the satanical brood: but assure yourself, and God be praised for it, I have so purged myself, and detected their falsehood, that henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith.

But his adversaries fearing, that if he should escape secretly, it would tend to their shame and danger, they now charge him with heresy, which they had gathered out of his papers, stolen out of his study. Then was he again sent for before the Major, the official, and some others; where he was required to render an account of his faith. And so having gathered out of his own

mouth sufficient matter to intrap him, they drew up articles against him, and sent him to Doctor Jeffery, who then kept his Visitation at Newbury. But, before his going, Master Rider, of Reading, a godly man, hearing how cruelly he had been dealt withal in prison, and almost pined for want of necessaries, sent secretly to him, in the night, a bowed groat, in token of his love, requiring to know what he lacked, and he would provide it for him. Master Palmer answered the messenger, The Lord reward your master for his benevolence towards me, a miserable object in this world, but tell him, that, God be praised, I lack nothing. The morning before he went to Newbury, one Thomas Askin, his fellow prisoner in Christ's cause, sitting at breakfast, and seeing Master Palmer leaning in a window very sad, asked him, why he came not to breakfast? Because, said he, I have not money to pay for it. Come on, man, said Askin, God be praised for it, I have enough to pay for us both.

When they came to Newbury, they were presently committed to the blind-house, where they found John Guin, their faithful brother in the Lord.

Shortly after, Palmer was called before Doctor Jeffery, and other Commissioners: where his papers were shewed to him, and he asked whether they were his writings? Master Palmer, looking upon them, acknowledged that they were.

Jeffery. Sayest thou so? I will make thee recant them, and wring *peccavi* out of thy lying lips before I have done with thee.

Palmer. I know that though of myself I can do nothing, yet if you, and all my enemies, bodily and ghostly, should do your worst, you shall not be able to bring that to pass; neither shall you prevail against God's mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the truth, and speak it so boldly.

Jeffery. I perceive you are full of words.

Palmer. Christ hath promised, not only to give us store of words necessary, but with them such force of matter, as the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail against it.

Jeffery. Christ so promised to his Apostles, but I hope you will not compare yourself with them.

Palmer. With the holy Apostles I may not compare, neither have I any affiance in mine own wit and learning; Yet I am sure, this promise belongs to all such as are appointed to defend God's truth against his enemies in times of persecution; and, I am assured, through his grace, that, at this time, it appertaineth unto me, as I doubt not to make it appear, if you will give me leave to dispute with you before this audience in defence of all that I have written.

Jeffery. Thou art a beardless boy, and darest thou presume to challenge a Doctor?

Palmer. Remember, Sir, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat:* The Spirit breatheth where it pleaseth him; and, "Out of the mouths of infants," &c. and, "Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and learned," &c. God is not tied to time, wit, place, or learning; and though your wit and learning be greater, yet your love to the truth, and zeal to defend the same are not greater than mine. After much other conference about the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, and infant-baptism, the high sheriff, Sir Richard A. Bridges, proffered him great preferment if he would recant his opinion; to which he answered, thanking him courteously for his offer; but said he, I have already in two places renounced my living for Christ's cause, and so, by God's grace, will I be ready to yield up this life also, when God calls me to it.

Presently after, he, with his two brethren, were condemned by Doctor Jeffery, and delivered over to the secular power.

About an hour before they went to execution, in the presence of many, Master Palmer thus comforted his fellows: Brethren, be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not: remember what Christ saith, "Blessed are ye when men revile, and persecute you for righteousness' sake: rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and are not able to hurt the soul. God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted beyond that which you are able." We shall not end our lives in the fire, but only change them for a better life; yea, for coals, we shall receive pearls: for God's Holy Spirit certifieth our spirits, that he hath even now prepared for us a sweet supper in heaven, for his sake which suffered first for us.

As they were singing a psalm, came the sheriff with many men in harness to guard them to the fire. At the stake they all fell down and prayed, and Master Palmer with an audible voice, pronounced the 31st psalm. Then came to him two popish priests, exhorting him yet to recant, and save his soul: to whom he said, Away, away, tempt me no longer: "Away," I say, "from me all ye that work iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears." Then all of them putting off their clothes, went to the stake, and kissed it. Then said Master Palmer, Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end; and, for Christ's sake, beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you. Hereupon an officer threw a faggot at his face, so that the blood gushed out in divers places: but the sheriff was so offended at this, that he brake the fellow's head. When the fire began to take hold of their bodies, they lift up their hands to heaven, and quietly and cheerfully, as if they felt no smart, cryed out, "Lord Jesus, strengthen us: Lord Jesus, assist us: Lord Jesus, receive our

souls!" and so they continued, without struggling, till they had finished their course.

About the same time there was in Ipswich, one *Agnes Wardall*, a woman that feared God, and abominated all the popish trash, and therefore desired rather with hard fare, and evil lodging to be abroad, than, by remaining at home, to be in the tents of the ungodly: her husband, also, fearing God, was forced to flee from his own habitation, and to betake himself to a mariner's life.

This Agnes Wardall on a time came home to see her poor children, which some enemies of the truth having notice of, they presently went to the constable, and told him of it. Hereupon he presently charged the watch, they went and beset the house round about. Then the constable knocked three times at the door; at last a woman spake out at a window, asking who was there: Ah, said the constable, are you so nigh, and would not speak before? What is the reason of it? Marry, I will tell you, said the woman: I am but a stranger here, and I have heard that spirits walk hereabouts, and if a man answer at the first or second call, he is in great danger. At this they laughed, and commanded her in the queen's name to open the door. Agnes was asleep at first, but being awakened by her maid, and told of the danger, she got up, and put on her clothes, and so her maid locked her up in a press, and then went and opened the door. The constable asked her, who was in the house? None, said the maid, but a woman that is a lodger here, and two children: then searched they the whole house, and every corner of it; and one, laying his hand on the press, said, This is a fair press, for ought I know, she may be in it; yet they went their ways without breaking it open, and so searched the yard, and out-houses. In the mean time, the woman was almost smothered in the press, and therefore called to the lodger to open the press, which she could not do of a long while; yet, at last, through God's mercy, she opened it, and Agnes came forth all on a sweat, and as pale as ashes; then went she forth into the garden, and, creeping through the pales, got into the fields, and so shrowded herself in a ditch amongst long nettles; and thus, through the power and goodness of God, was this his servant delivered from the cruelty of her enemies.

The same year, bishop Hopton, and Dunnings, his chancellor, kept their visitation at Ipswich; and in Suffolk there were divers godly persons, who were accused by their wicked and malicious adversaries; amongst which, one *Peter Moon* and his wife, were charged for not coming to church, and for neglecting other popish ceremonies. Moon was first examined, Whether the pope were the supreme head of the Church? Whether the queen were right inheritor to the crown: and whether Christ's body

were really present in the sacrament: and he, being of a timerous disposition, answered so, as his adversaries were satisfied; his wife, also, by his example, fell into the like dissimulation, whereupon they were dismissed: but when they came home, and began to bethink themselves what they had done, they fell into such sorrow and trouble of conscience, that they were ready to despair; and Moon, seeing his sword hanging in a parlour, was tempted to have made away himself, but the Lord prevented it, and after, upon their repentance, was pleased to comfort them.

Also, about the same time, there were three women in the isle of Guernsey, accused for not coming to church; their names were *Catherine Cowches*, the mother, *Guillemine Gilbert*, and *Perotine Massie*, the two daughters; these being examined by the dean and some other of the clergy, were condemned for heretics, and delivered to the secular power. When they were fastened to three stakes, Perotine being great with child, when her body brake by reason of the violence of the fire, a fair man-child fell out of the same, which was taken out of the fire, and laid upon the grass; and afterwards one took the child, and carried it to the bailiff, who adjudged it to be carried back, and cast into the fire, which was accordingly done.

At Greenstead in Sussex, *Thomas Dungate*, *John Foreman*, and Mother *Tree*, were burned for their constant adhering to the truth.

At Leicester, one *Thomas Moore*, being examined about Christ's presence in the sacrament, said that Christ was in heaven, and not in the Pixe, for which he was by the bishop condemned, and burnt: finishing his life in the flames with much joy, and comfort.

In the town of Derby, there was one *Joane Waste*, who was born blind, who, in the days of King Edward VI. frequented daily divine service, and sermons, by means whereof it pleased God to convert her: and she, having learned to knit, got so much money as bought her a New Testament, which she would get some to read unto her, and sometimes she would give a penny or two pence to some to read certain chapters to her; so that in the reign of Queen Mary she had gotten many chapters by heart, and was grown so well acquainted with the Scriptures, that she was able thereby to confute their idolatrous practices. For this at last she was convened before bishop Baine, and Doctor Draicot, his chancellor; before whom she was charged for denying the real presence of Christ in the sacraments, &c. To which she answered, that she believed so much therein, as the word of God taught her. She desired them not to trouble her, being a poor blind woman, but if they would proceed, she professed, that, with God's assistance, she was ready to yield up her life in

the defence of her faith, in what manner they should please to appoint. The bishop pressed her much with the argument of God's omnipotence, mixing also many terrible threatenings of imprisonment, torments, and death; whereupon she said, My Lord, if, before this company, you will take it upon your conscience, that the doctrine which you would have me believe about the sacrament, is true, and that, at the dreadful day of judgment, you will answer for me therein, you shall know my further answer: to this the bishop answered, that he would: but the chancellor, hearing him say so, said, My lord, you know not what you do, you may not answer for a heretic; whereupon the bishop retracted his words: then said the poor woman, If you refuse to do this, I will answer no farther, but you may do with me as you please. Then they pronounced sentence against her, and delivered her to the bailiff of Derby, by whom she was shortly after burned, calling upon God for mercy as long as life lasted.

Presently after, a godly and zealous man, called *Edward Sharp*, was condemned by the bishop of Bristow, where, constantly and manfully persisting in the defence of the truth, he suffered martyrdom.

At Mayfield, in Sussex, *John Hart*, *Thomas Ravensdale*, with two others, were condemned for the truth, and in the fire constantly, and joyfully yielded their lives for the testimony of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The like did a young man, a carpenter at Bristow, presently after.

Also *John Horne*, and a woman died joyfully for the truth, being burned at Wotton-under-hedge, in Gloucestershire.

In the same town there lived one *William Dangerfield*, a very honest and godly man, who, by his wife *Joane*, had nine children, and she now was lying in of the tenth. William Dangerfield, for his greater security, had absented himself from home for a time, but hearing that his wife was brought to bed, he came home to visit her and his children; which being known, the house was presently beset by his popish neighbours, and he being taken, was carried to prison, and afterwards was so cruelly persecuted by the bishop, (Brooks) that his legs were almost eaten off with the irons. His wife also, having lain in but fourteen days, was carried out of her child-bed, together with her infant, and were put into the common goal with thieves and murderers. Then did the bishop send for the man, and told him, that his wife had recanted, who was as well learned as he, and therefore persuaded him, that he should not persist in his own opinion, but that he should recant also; and the better to induce him, he was suffered to go to his wife, and had a form of

recantation given him, and he promised to subscribe the same. But when he had told his wife what he had done, and shewed her the recantation, her heart clave in sunder, and she cried out, Alas, husband, thus long we have continued one, and hath Satan so far prevailed with you, as to cause you to break your vow, which you made with God in your baptism? Hereupon the good man, seeing how they had beguiled him, began exceedingly to bewail the promise that he had made to the bishop, and made his prayer to Almighty God, desiring him that he might not live so long, as to call evil good, and good evil: and, shortly after, he died, after having lain in prison twelve weeks. Joan, his wife, having continued long in prison, till her infant, through cold and famine, (her milk being dried up) died: and she herself also survived not long, but ended her life in prison.

In Northampton, a godly shoemaker was burned for religion, and about the same time in the castle of Chichester, three godly confessors being in bonds for the truth, by reason of the cruel handling of the papists, died in prison, and were buried in the fields.

At Chester, one Hook, a true witness of the Lord's truth, was burned for the same.

About the same time, Dr. Harpsfield cast into Canterbury castle, fifteen godly persons, of which number not one escaped, but were either burnt in the fire, or else famished in prison.

John Cheek being carefully brought up in learning, was sent to Cambridge, where, following his study hard, and having excellent natural endowments, he so profited in learning, that he was first chosen Fellow of St. John's College, then the University Orator, and the Greek reader in Cambridge. Afterwards he had the honour to be the first Regius Professor of the Greek tongue in that university. By which means he grew so famous, that King Henry VIII. committed his son, Prince Edward, being not at that time full seven years old, to his tuition. His care in the education of that young prince was such, that he not only instructed him in good letters, but sowed those seeds of religion in him, which daily fructified, through God's mercy, till he became famous, and an instrument of beginning an admirable reformation in the Church of England. Yea, by Sir John Cheek's means, the same saving truth was sweetly instilled also into the Lady Elizabeth, by those who, through his procurement, had the guidance of her younger years and studies; amongst whom, one was William Grindall, a hopeful young man of St. John's College in Cambridge, who wanting other means, Sir John Cheek took him into his service, in 1544, and soon after preferred him to the Lady Elizabeth, with whom he continued so long as he lived, in favour and good esteem: and when he died, his place

was presently supplied by Mr. Roger Ascham, who had been Mr. Cheek's scholar whilst he was fellow in Cambridge, and was his successor in the Orator's place in that university; a man dear unto him for the similitude of his studies, but more for his zeal for the true religion.

In 1551, King Edward knighted Sir John Cheek, and, in 1553, made him one of his privy council. But the king shortly after dying, Sir John was cast into prison by Queen Mary, for favouring the title of the Lady Jane. Yet not long after, getting his liberty, he, amongst many others, fled into Germany, and lived in good credit in the city of Strasburgh. But, after a while, having obtained King Philip's safe-conduct to pass and repass by means of the Lord Paget, he went to Brussels to see the queen's ambassadors. After which, as he and Sir Peter Carew were bringing the Lord Paget on his way towards Antwerp, they were, by the provost marshall, apprehended, bound arms and legs, and so tied in a cart with ropes, and carried to the sea side, where they were shipped and thrust under hatches till they came into England. Then was Sir John Cheek clapped up in the Tower close prisoner: there was he put to a miserable choice, either to forego his life, or that which was far more precious, his liberty of conscience. No means, neither his great learning, his known integrity, nor the intercession of his friends, and amongst the rest, of Abbot Fecknam, a man that could do much with queen Mary, could prevail for his pardon at any lower rate, than by recanting his religion. This he was very unwilling to accept of, till his hard condition of imprisonment, joined with threats of much worse in case of his perseverance, and the many large promises made to his submission, with what other insinuating means human policy could invent, wrought so upon him, whilst he consulted with flesh and blood, as drew from him a renunciation of that truth which he had so long professed, and still believed. Upon this he was soon restored to his liberty, but never to his comfort. For the sense and sorrow of his own apostasy, and the daily sight of the cruel butcheries exercised upon others for their constant profession of the truth, made such deep impressions upon his broken spirit, as brought him to a speedy, yet, through God's mercy, to a comfortable end of his miserable life. He died in September, in London, at the house of Peter Osburn, Esq. and his body was interred in St. Albans, Wood-street, in 1557.

In the beginning of this year, Cardinal Pool sent Ormaneto, an Italian priest, with some English divines, to visit Cambridge. They put the churches, in which the bodies of Bucer and Fagius lay, under an interdict. They made a visitation of all the colleges and chapels, in which Ormaneto, without respect of

persons, chid some heads of houses, whom he found guilty of misapplying the revenues of their houses. The two dead bodies of Fagius and Bucer were burnt with great solemnity; they were raised and cited to appear, and answer for the heresies they had taught, and if any would answer for them, they were required to come. The dead said nothing for themselves; and the living dared not, for fear of being sent after them; so witnesses were examined, and in conclusion, they were condemned as obstinate heretics, and the bodies, with many heretical books, were all burnt in one fire. After this there was a visitation of all the colleges in Oxford, and there it was intended to act such pageantry on the body of Peter Martyr's wife, as had been done at Cambridge. But she who could speak no English, had not declared her opinions, so that no witnesses could be found to convict her of heresy: yet since it was notoriously known, that she had been a nun, and had broken her vow of chastity, they raised her body, and buried it in a dunghill: but her bones were afterwards mixed with S. Frideswide's, by Queen Elizabeth's order.

The justices of peace were now every where so slack in the prosecution of heretics, that it seemed necessary to find out other tools. Accordingly the courts of inquisition were thought on. These had been set up first in France against the Albigenses, and afterwards in Spain, for discovering the Moors; and were now turned upon the heretics. Their power was uncontrolable; they seized on any they pleased, upon such informations, or presumptions, as lay before them. They managed their processes in secret, and put their prisoners to such sort of torture, as they thought fit, for extorting confessions or discoveries from them. A proclamation was, accordingly, issued, investing the chosen instruments of tyranny with full powers for their bloody offices, and immediately were the flames rekindled with redoubled eagerness, over the unhappy and distracted country.

The next month after, there came out another bloody commission from the king and queen, further to kindle the fire of persecution; by reason whereof all the quarters of the realm were full of persecution, and the prisons were stuffed with the saints of God. And first, to begin with the town of Colchester, where the wind of persecution began fiercely to arise, insomuch that twenty-three men and women were apprehended in one day; of which number one only escaped, the other twenty-two were driven like sheep to London, ready to lay down their lives for the gospel's sake. Yet the bishops being afraid to execute so many together, drew up a very easy submission for them, to which most of them subscribed: yet divers of them were afterwards apprehended again, and executed.

Also about the same time, *Thomas Loseby*, *Henry Ramsay*, *Thomas Thirty*, *Margaret Hide*, and *Agnes Stanley*, being sent out of Essex to bishop Bonner, were examined, and standing steadfast in the truth, were by him condemned, and in Smithfield, all of them in one fire, most joyfully and constantly ended their lives.

In 1557, *Stephen Gratwick* was brought before the bishop of Winchester, and after divers articles objected against him, the bishop asked him, if he would recant? To whom he answered, My lord, my faith is grounded more steadfastly than to change in a moment, nor is it any process of time that can alter me, unless my faith were like the waves of the sea. Whereupon the bishop condemned him. Then said he with a loud voice, Lord, lay not my blood to their charge, if it be thy holy will. As he went back to prison, he began to speak to the people; whereupon they cried out, Cut out his tongue, or stop his mouth. Shortly after he, with *William Moraunt*, and one *King*, were burnt together in St. George's fields in Southwark.

In the diocese of Canterbury, *Joan Bradbridge*, *Walter Applebie*, and his wife, *Edmund Allen*, and his wife, *Joan Mannings*, and a blind maid, were examined before the bishop, and by him condemned, and all of them burnt in one fire, at Maidstone in Kent.

Now as touching their answers and manner of apprehension, and their private conflicts with the adversaries, I find little, save only of Edmund Allin.

This Allin was a miller, of the parish of Frytenden, in Kent, and in a dear year, when many poor people were like to starve, he fed them, and sold his corn one-half cheaper than others did, and fed them also with the food of life, reading to them the Scriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the popish priests thereabout, by the procurement of John Taylor, parson of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, he was soon complained of to the justices, and brought before Sir John Baker, Knight; who, first sending for them, committed both him and his wife to ward; but not long after, they were let out, I know not how, and so went over unto Calais. Where, after that he had continued a certain space, he began to be troubled in conscience, and there meeting with one John Webbe, of the same parish of Frytenden, (who was likewise fled from the tyranny of Sir John Baker and parson Taylor,) said unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatsoever the cause was; for God had something to do for him in England: and thus shortly he returned home again to the parish of Frytenden.

Parson Taylor, being informed by his brother Sexton, that

Edmund Allin, the miller, and his wife, were returned, and were not at mass-time in the church; as he was the same time in the midst of his mass, upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation, he turned him to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all speed to go unto the house and apprehend them, and he would come to them with as much haste as might be possible. Which promise he well performed: for he had not so soon made an end of *Ite missa est*, and the vestments off his back, but, by and by, he was at the house, and there laying hand of the said Allin, caused him again to be brought to Sir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the Scriptures to the people; and so were he and his wife sent to Maidstone prison.

They were no sooner in prison, than Mr. Baker immediately sent unto their house certain of his men, John Dove, Thomas Best, Thomas Linley, Percival Barber, with the aforesaid John Taylor, parson of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, to take an inventory of all the goods that were in the house. Where they found in the bed-straw a casket locked with a padlock, and so cutting the wist thereof, opened it, and found therein a sackcloth bag of money, containing the sum of thirteen or fourteen pounds, partly in gold, and partly in silver. Which money, after they had told, and put into the bag again, like good carvers for themselves, they carried away with them.

Besides also they found there certain books, as psalters, bibles, and other writings. All which books, with the money, were delivered to the aforesaid priest, Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, and after in the reign of this queen, *Anno* 5. *Reg. Elizab.* was, by right of law, recovered from him again, as in records remaineth to be seen.

Thus good Edmund Allin and his wife, being maliciously accused, wrongfully imprisoned, and cruelly spoiled and robbed of all their goods, were brought before Sir John Baker, the justice, to be examined; who taunting and reviling him without pity, asked him if those were the fruits of his gospel, to have conventicles to gather people together, to make conspiracies to sow sedition and rebellion; and thus he began with him to reason:

Baker. Who gave thee authority to preach and interpret? Art thou a priest? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me see thy licence.

Sir John Baker's schoolmaster said, Surely he is an arrant heretic, and worthy to be burned.

Allin. And may it please your honour to give me leave to answer in the cause of my faith: I am persuaded that God hath given me this authority, as he hath given to all other Christians,

Why are we called Christians, if we do not follow Christ, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not so much understanding? Is not Christ our Father? Shall not the son follow the father's steps? Is not Christ our master? And shall the scholar be inhibited to learn and preach his precepts? Is not Christ our redeemer? And shall not we praise his name, and serve him that hath redeemed us from sin and damnation? Did not Christ, being but twelve years of age, dispute with the doctors, and interpret the prophet Isaiah? And yet notwithstanding he was neither of the tribe of Levi, which were priests, but of the royal tribe of Judah, neither had taken any outward priesthood; wherefore if we be Christians, we must do the same.

Collins. What a knave is this, that compareth himself with Christ?

Baker. Let him alone, he will pump out anon an infinite heap of heresies. Hast thou any more to say for thyself?

Allin. Yea, that I have: Adam was licensed of God, and Abraham was commanded to teach his children and posterity; and so David teacheth in divers Psalms; and Solomon also preached to the people, as the book of the Preacher proveth very well, where he teaches there is no immortal felicity in this life, but in the next. And Noah taught them that were disobedient in his days, and therefore is called "a preacher of righteousness," in the 2d Epistle of Peter. Also in the 11th of Numbers, where Moses had chosen the seventy elders to help him to teach and rule the rest, Eldad and Medad preached in the tents; wherefore Joshua being offended, complained to Moses, that Eldad and Medad did preach without licence. To whom Moses answered, and wished that all the people could do the like. What should I belong? most of the priests were not of the tribe of Levi and Aaron.

Collins. These are authorities of the Old Testament, and therefore abrogated. But thou art a fool, and knowest no school points: is not the law divided into the law ceremonial, moral, and judicial?

Allin. I grant that the ceremonies ceased when Christ came, as St. Paul proveth to the Hebrews and to the Colossians, where he saith, "Let no man judge you in any part of the sabbath-day, new moon, or other ceremonies, which are figures of things to come: for Christ is the body."

Collins. And are not the judicials abrogated by Christ?

Allin. They are confirmed both by Christ in the 5th of Matthew, and by Paul in the 1st Epistle to Timothy: The law, (says he,) is not set forth for the virtuous and godly, but for man-slayers, perjured, adulterers, and such like.

Collins. Thou art an heretic: wilt thou call the judicials of Moses again? Wilt thou have adultery punished with death?—disobedient children to their parents to be stoned?—wilt thou have *Legem talionis?* But thou art an ass: why should I speak Latin to thee, thou erroneous rebel? Shall we now smite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? Thou art worthy to have thy teeth and tongue plucked out.

Allin. If we had that law, we should neither have disobedient children, neither adulterers, neither false witness bearers, neither ruffians.

Baker. Mr. Collins, let us return to our first matter. Why didst thou teach the people, whom thou saidst thou didst feed both bodily and spiritually, being no priest.

Allin. Because that we are all kings to rule our affections, priests to preach out the virtues and word of God, as Peter writeth; and lively stones to give light to others. For, as out of flint-stones, cometh forth that which is able to set all the world on fire; so out of Christians, should spring the beams of the gospel, which should inflame all the world. If we must give a reason of our faith to every man, and now to you demanding it, then must we study the Scriptures, and practise them. What availeth it a man to have meat, and will eat none; and apparel, and will wear none; or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a lawyer, and utter none? Shall every artificer be suffered, yea, and commended, to practise his faculty and science, and the Christian forbidden to exercise his? Doth not every lawyer practise his law? Is not every Christian a follower of Christ? Shall ignorance, which is condemned in all sciences, be practised of Christians? Doth not St. Paul forbid any man's spirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibit any man, that hath any of these gifts which he repeateth, 1 Cor. xiv. to practise the same; only he forbiddeth women, but no man. The Jews never forbade any. Read the Acts of the Apostles. The restraint was made by Gregory, the ninth pope of that name, as I heard one, a learned man, preach in King Edward's days.

Collins. This villain, and it like your honour, is mad: by my priesthood, I believe that he will say, that a priest hath no more authority than another man. Doth not a priest bind and loose?

Allin. No; my sin bindeth me, and my repentance looseth me. God forgiveth sin only, and no priest: for every Christian when he sinneth, bindeth himself; and when he repenteth, looseth himself. And if any other be loosed from his sin by my exhortation, I am said to loose him; and if he persevere in sin, notwithstanding my exhortation, I am said to bind him; although it is God that bindeth and looseth, and giveth the increase. Therefore, saith Christ, Matt. xviii. "Wheresoever two or three

are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them; and whosesoever sins they forgive, they are forgiven; and they retain, they are retained." Neither hath the pope any keys, save the keys of error; for the key that openeth the lock to God's mysteries and to salvation, is the key of faith and repentance; and, as I have heard learned men reason, St. Austin and Origen, with others, are of this opinion.

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the stocks all the night. Wherewith certain that were better minded, being offended with such extremity, willed Allin to keep his conscience to himself, and to follow Baruch's counsel in the 6th chapter: "Wherefore when ye see the multitude of people worshipping them behind and before, say ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought only to be worshipped."

Wherewith he was persuaded to go to hear mass the next day, and suddenly, before the sacring, went out, and considered in the church-yard with himself, that such a little cake between the priest's fingers could not be Christ, nor a material body, neither to have soul, life, sinews, bones, flesh, legs, head, arms, nor breast; and lamented that he was seduced by the place of Baruch, which his conscience gave him to be no scripture, or else to have another meaning; and after this he was brought again before Sir John Baker, who asked why he did refuse to worship the blessed sacrament of the altar?

It is an idol, said he.—*C.* It is God's body.—*A.* It is not.—*C.* By the mass it is.—*A.* It is bread.—*C.* How provest thou that?

When Christ (said he) sat at his supper, and gave them bread to eat.—*C.* Bread, knave!

Allin. Yea, bread, which you call Christ's body. Sat he still at the table, or was he both in their mouths, and at the table? If he were in their mouths, and at the table, then had he two bodies, or else had a fantastical body, which is an absurdity to say.

Baker. Christ's body was glorified, and might be in more places than one.

Allin. Then he had more bodies than one, by your own placing of him.

Collins. Thou ignorant ass, the schoolmen say, that a glorified body may be every where.

Allin. If his body was not glorified till it rose again, then was it not glorified at his last supper; and therefore was not at the table, and in their mouths, by your own reason.

Collins. A glorified body occupieth no place.

Allin. That which occupieth no place, is neither God nor any thing else: but Christ's body, say you, occupieth no place;

therefore it is neither God nor any thing else. If it be nothing, then is your religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one Trinity, which is the person of the Father, the person of the Son, the person of the Holy Ghost, and the human nature of Christ. If Christ be nothing, which you must needs confess, if he occupieth no place, then is our study in vain, our faith frustrate, and our hope without reward.

Collins. This rebel will believe nothing but Scripture. How knowest thou that it is the Scripture, but by the church? And so saith St. Austin.

Allin. I cannot tell what St. Austin saith, but I am persuaded that it is Scripture by divers arguments: First, that the law worketh in me my condemnation. The law telleth me, that of myself I am condemned; and this condemnation, Mr. Collins, you must find in yourself, or else you shall never come to repentance. For as this grief and sorrow of conscience, without faith, is desperation; so is a glorious and Romish faith, without the lamentation of a man's sins, presumption.

The second is the gospel, which is the power and Spirit of God. "This Spirit, (saith St. Paul,) certifieth my spirit, that I am the son of God, and that these are the Scriptures."

The third are the wonderful works of God, which cause me to believe that there is a God, though we glorify him not as God, Rom. i. The sun, the moon, the stars, and other his works (as David discourseth in Psal. xix.) declare that there is a God, and that these are the Scriptures, because that they teach nothing else but God, and his power, majesty, and might; and because the Scripture teacheth nothing dissonant from this prescription of nature. And fourthly, because that the word of God gave authority to the church in paradise, saying, That the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head. This seed is the gospel; this is all the Scriptures, and by this we are assured of eternal life; and these words, "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head," gave authority to the church, and not the church to the word.

Baker. I heard say that you speak against priests and bishops.

Allin. I spake for them; for now they have so much living, and especially bishops, archdeacons, and deans, that they neither can nor will teach God's word. If they had a hundred pounds apiece, then would they apply their study; now they cannot for their affairs.

Collins. Who will then set his children to school?

Allin. Where there is now one set to school for that end, there would be forty, because that one bishop's living, divided into thirty or forty parts, would find so many as well learned

men as the bishops be now, who have all this living; neither had Peter nor Paul any such revenue.

Baker. Let us despatch him; he will mar all.

Collins. If every man had a hundred pounds, as he saith, it would make more learned men.

Baker. But our bishops would be angry if that they knew it.

Allin. It were for a commonwealth to have such bishoprics divided for the further increase of learning.

Baker. What sayest thou to the sacrament?

Allin. As I said before.

Baker. Away with him.

And thus was he carried to prison, and afterwards burned. And thus Edmund Allin, and his wife, were, with the five other martyrs above-named, to wit, five women and two men, all together burned at Maidstone, the year and month afore-mentioned, and the 18th day of the same month.

Also in the same diocese, John Fishcock, Nicholas White, and Nicholas Pardue, with four women, were imprisoned for the truth. Amongst these was one Alice Benden, who, for a while, was kept with the other in Canterbury castle, but afterwards was, by the bishop, removed into a dungeon under ground, where none of her friends could come to her; where she was fed with a halfpenny bread, and a farthing beer a day, neither could she get any more for her money; her lodging was upon a little short straw, between a pair of stocks and a stone wall. There she lay nine weeks, never changing her apparel, so that she fell into a pitiful condition. This made her grievously to bewail and lament her state, reasoning with herself why her Lord did in so heavy a wise afflict her, and suffer her to be sequestered from her loving prison-fellows: in such extreme misery, and in these dolorous mournings she did continue, till on a night, repeating that of the Psalmist, "Why art thou so heavy, O my soul? and why art thou so cast down within me? Still trust in God," &c. And "God's right hand can change all this," &c. she received comfort in the midst of her sorrows, and so continued joyful till her release. At last she was sent for to the bishop, who asked her, if she would yet go to church? promising favour if she would do it: to whom she answered, I am fully persuaded, by the great extremity which you have shewed towards me, that you are not of God, your doings being so ungodly, and that you seek my destruction: withal, shewing how lame she was by reason of her ill lodging and diet, so that she was scarcely able to move herself without pain. Hereupon the bishop delivered her out of that filthy hole, and sent her to another prison, till she, together with her other fellows, were brought forth, and condemned to

the fire. At the place of their execution, they poured out their prayers with so much zeal and affection to the Lord, that their very adversaries could not but like it; and so preparing themselves for the fire, in the midst of the cruel flames, they comfortably resigned up their spirits unto God. Bradbridge's wife, who was one of them, had two children, whose names were Patience and Charity; and when she was condemned by the bishop, she said to him, My lord, if you will needs burn me, yet I hope you will then take and keep Patience and Charity. Nay, quoth the bishop, by the faith of my body, I will meddle with neither of them.

In the town of Lewes were ten faithful servants of God put into one fire, of which number *Richard Woodman* was one: he was by occupation an iron-maker, dwelling in the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex. The occasion of his first apprehension was this: There was one Fairbanck, the minister of that parish, who, in the days of King Edward, had often persuaded his people, not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached: but in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, he wheeled about, and taught the contrary. Whereupon Woodman admonished him to teach them the truth, and reproved his inconstancy: for this he was apprehended and carried before the Justices, and by them was committed to the King's Bench, where he continued for a year and a half; and then, by Dr. Story, was removed to the bishop's coal-house: yet after some time, he was released, and so enjoyed his liberty, the bishop only enjoining him that he should be an honest man, and a member of the true catholic church, founded on the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head of it.

Upon his delivery, the papists reported that he had consented to the bishop; but the contrary shortly after appeared: for he went from parish to parish, confirming and strengthening the brethren. Hereupon the commissioners complained of him to Sir John Gage, the queen's chamberlain, telling him that Woodman went about baptizing children, and marrying persons, with many such lies, to make him the more odious: upon this information, divers warrants were sent abroad for his apprehension; but, through God's mercy, he had warning of the danger, and so kept himself out of the way. Shortly after, Sir John Gage sent three of his men to apprehend him: Woodman being at plough with his servants, just in the way, as they were going to his house they arrested him, and told him that he must go with them to their lord. This made his flesh to tremble on the sudden; yet he answered, that he would go with him; only he requested them that they would go with them to his house, till he had broke his fast, and changed his apparel; which they con-

sented to. By the way he said in his heart, Why am I thus afraid? they can charge me with no evil, and if they kill me for well-doing, I shall be happy, &c. This much quieted his heart, though he was lothe to part with wife, and children, and estate: Yet, (saith he,) as soon as I was persuaded in my mind to die, I had regard of nothing in this world, but was as joyful and merry (I praise God) as ever I was in my life. This battle lasted not above a quarter of an hour, but it was sharper to me than death itself for the time it lasted.

After breakfast, he asked them for their warrant, that so he might the better prepare himself for his answer: but they told him, that they had not their warrant there: then said he to them, It is strange that you should come to fetch me away without a warrant, which makes me think you have none, but that you do it only to pick a thank with your master. Indeed I have heard that there were some warrants out for me, but that they were called in again, upon a letter which I wrote to the Commissaries' Court, wherein I informed him that I was falsely accused, with baptizing children, and marrying, which I never did, being no minister, and therefore not appointed thereunto: wherefore satisfy yourselves, for I will not go with you, unless you carry me by force; and if you attempt that, do it at your own peril: and so he withdrew himself from them into his chamber. Upon this they were so affrighted, that they presently went their ways. Woodman conceived that God had hereby opened a door for his escaping, yet went he after them, and said, Friends, if you have a warrant, I desire you, for God's sake, to shew it me, and I will go with you; but if you have none, I desire you to depart in God's peace, and the king's.

These men went straight to fetch the constable, and some others, to carry him away by force; but before they came, he was gone, as God would have it. They searched every corner of the house for him, and in the night after they made another search, but to no purpose: yet afterwards he came home, and his wife told him all things. Then he, presuming that great wait would be laid for him, told his wife that he would hide himself in a wood not far off; and so, taking his Bible, with his pen and ink, he went into it, and lay there six or seven weeks, his wife bringing him meat daily, as he had need. Afterwards a report was spread abroad, that he was seen in Flanders, whereupon they gave over seeking for him any longer. So when all was hushed, he went abroad amongst his Christian friends, and afterwards went over into Flanders and France, but thought every day seven years, till he was at home again, and therefore he returned as soon as possibly he could: but as soon as his return was known, the popish clergy procured warrants, and caused his house to be searched often:

thus he remained above half a year, sometimes abroad, and sometimes at home, doing his business openly, and yet his adversaries had no power to lay hands on him, his hour being not yet come; but, at last, he was betrayed by his own brother, his father conspiring together with him; for he had left a good estate in their hands to pay his debts, and to provide for his wife and children: Hereupon Richard Woodman sent some friends to his father, requesting him to come to an account with him, which he consented to, and the day and hour were appointed; but against that time, his father and brother had discovered his being at home, and so divers were appointed to apprehend him. When they came near the house, a girl cried out to her mother, that some were coming to take her father; whereupon her mother shut the doors; and he, hearing the voice, crept into a private hole. Then did his wife open the door, and they came in, and with a candle, searched every corner of the house, but could not find him. But when they were gone out, a traitor, to whom he had formerly shewed this secret place, asked them whether they had searched over the window in his hall? Then did they return to search there, but could find no entrance into it. But Woodman perceiving that the place was discovered, and that they would break it open, he set his shoulders to some boards, and brake them down, and so leaped forth, and ran his way down a lane that was full of sharp cinders; and being barefoot, the cinders did miserably cut his feet; so that seeking to escape them, he fell into a miry hole, by reason whereof one that pursued him laid hold of him. Then carried they him back to his house, where his father met him, and bade him remember himself: So I do, said he, I praise God. This day was appointed by God for me to be delivered into mine enemies' hands, but woe be to him by whom I am betrayed; it had been good for him if he had never been born, if he speedily repent not. The Scripture is fulfilled on me: "The father shall be against the son, and the brother shall deliver the brother unto death." Then they bound his arms, for which he rejoiced that he was counted worthy to be bound for the name of Christ. So he took his leave of his wife and children, and they presently carried him away to Christopherson, bishop of Chichester.

The bishop told him, that if he would be reformed, he might enjoy his wife and children, &c. To whom he answered, "I love my wife and children in the Lord; and if I had ten thousand pounds in gold, I had rather forego it all than them; but yet, I have them as if I had them not, and must not, for their sakes, displease God."

After other discourse, Dr. Story moved the bishop to send him away presently to the Marshalsea; which he much rejoiced at,

that so he might be amongst his brethren, and old prison-fellows, which the bishop perceiving, said, Methinks he is not afraid of the prison.

Woodman. No, I praise the living God.

Story. This is an heretic indeed, he hath the right terms of all heretics;—The living God! I pray you, be there any dead gods, that you say, the living God?

Woodman. Are you angry with me, because I use the words which are written in the Bible?

Story. Bible, bable, bible, bable: What speakest thou of the Bible? After much other talk, he was sent to prison, and several times after sent for and examined, and at last condemned, and carried to Lewes, in Sussex, where he, with five other men, and four women, were burned together in one fire.

About the same time, one *Ambrose* died in Maidstone prison, who otherwise had been burnt for the truth; and one *Richard Lush* suffered martyrdom under the bishop of Bath and Wells.

There was dwelling in the town of Lynn one *Simon Miller*, a godly, and zealous man, and a man that much detested and abhorred idolatry. He, going to Norwich, and seeing a multitude of people coming out of the church, from their popish service, asked aloud, where one might go to have the Communion?

The people wondered at his boldness, and shortly after he was apprehended, and carried before Dunnings, the chancellor, who examined him, and then had him to the bishop's house, where he was kept prisoner; but, by the connivance of his keeper, he went home to Lynn, where he continued till he had set his household affairs in order, after which he returned back to the bishop's house, and constantly abiding in the profession of the truth, he was at last condemned and burned.

And there was burned, together with him, one *Elizabeth Cooper*, who, having formerly made a recantation in St. Andrew's church, in Norwich, was exceedingly troubled in mind for the same, and could have no peace of conscience, till, going into the same church before all the people, she had retracted and revoked her recantation, for which she was apprehended, and carried to prison, and after condemned: when the fire came first to her, she a little shrunk, crying Oh! whereupon Simon Miller put back his hand to her, bidding her to be strong and of good cheer; for, good sister, said he, we shall have a merry and joyful supper. This so quieted her heart that she stood very still, being glad to finish that work that she had before so happily begun: and so, committing their souls into the hands of God, they ended their lives in the flames.

We heard before of twenty-two persons sent up from Colchester, most of which, upon an easy submission, were sent home

again by bishop Bonner, amongst which were *William Munt*, of Much-Bently, in Essex, and *Alice*, his wife, and *Rose Allen*, her daughter. These godly persons, after their return, abstained from the popish service, and frequented the company of good people, and spent their time in reading, conference, and prayer; which so angered Thomas Tie, priest of the parish, that he procured divers others to join with him in petitioning against them to the Lord Darcie.

He wrote also to bishop Bonner against them, so that they were fain to hide themselves from that storm that hung over their heads for a while; but upon the first Sabbath in Lent, at two o'clock in the morning, one Master Edmund Tyrel, taking the constables and divers others with him, beset Munt's house round about, and then called to him to open the door, which being done, Tyrel and his accomplices went into the chamber where father Munt and his wife lay, willing them presently to rise, for they must go with him to Colchester castle; mother Munt, hearing that, being very sick, desired that her daughter might first fetch her some drink, for that she was very ill; then Tyrel gave her leave, and so Rose Allen went with a candle to fetch some: as she came back, Tyrel met her, and bade her give her father and mother good counsel, and to advise them to be good catholics. She answered, they have better instructers than I, for the Holy Ghost doth teach them, I hope; which will not, I trust, suffer them to err. What, said Tyrel, art thou of that mind still? It is time to look to such heretics as thou art. Sir, said she, after that way which you call heresy, so worship I the Lord my God; I tell you the truth.

Tyrel. Then I perceive that thou wilt burn, gossip, with the rest of the company.

Rose. No, Sir, not for the company's sake, but for my Christ's sake, if I be called to it; and I hope, in his mercies, if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it.

Tyrel, turning to his company, said, This gossip will burn; do you not think it? Then said one, Marry, Sir, prove her, and you shall see what she will do by and by. Then this cruel Tyrel took the candle out of her hand, and held it so long under her wrist, till the very sinews cracked asunder: then said Tyrel to her, What, whore, wilt thou not cry? To which she answered, that she had no cause, she thanked God, to cry, but to rejoice rather; and that he had more cause to weep, if he considered the matter well. At this he thrust her from him, saying, Ah strong whore, thou shameless beast, thou beastly whore, &c. Then said she, Sir, have you done what you will do? Yea, said he, and if thou likest it not, thou mayest mend it. Mend it,

said she; may the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will.*

This Rose Allen being afterwards asked how she could endure the pain of that cruel burning? answered, That at first she felt some pain, but afterwards very little or none at all. Tyrel farther searching the house, found in it one *John Thurston*, and *Margaret* his wife, whom with the rest, he carried away immediately to Colchester Castle. These five persons with five others, were often examined of their faith, which they boldly confessed, and constantly adhered to, for which they were all of them condemned. Six of them were brought forth in the morning, viz. *William Bongeor*, *William Purchas*, *Thomas Benold*, *Agnes Silverside*, *Hellen Ewring*, and *Elizabeth Folkes;* and at the place of martyrdom they kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to Almighty God, and then arose, and prepared themselves for the fire. Elizabeth Folkes putting off her petticoat, would have given it to her mother, who kissed her, and exhorted her to be strong in the Lord; but the executioners would not suffer her; whereupon she threw the petticoat from her, saying, Farewell all the world, Farewell faith, farewell hope: and, taking the stake in her hand, she said, Welcome, love. As the officer was nailing the chain to the stake, he missed his mark, and hit her a great blow with his hammer on the shoulder-bone: at which she lifted up her eyes to heaven, and with a smiling countenance prayed to God, and then proceeded to exhort the people again. When the fire was kindled about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the flames, whereupon the spectators cried, The Lord strengthen you, the Lord comfort you, the Lord pour his mercies upon you, &c. and so they joyfully yielded up their spirits together. In the afternoon were brought forth, *William Munt*, *John Johnson*, *Alice Munt*, and *Rose Allen*, who after their prayers to God, were joyfully tied to the stake, calling upon God, and exhorting the people earnestly to flee from idolatry; and so they suffered martyrdom with joy. John Thurston, aforenamed, died in prison, a constant confessor of Jesus Christ. *George Eagles*, a tailor by occupation, being eloquent, and of good utterance, gave over his calling, and applied himself to the profit of Christ's Church. And when he saw so many of God's saints persecuted and murthered for the truth, he wandered abroad into divers

* The story of *Mucius Scevola*, the Roman who burnt his hand over a furnace, because it had failed to wound *Porsenna*, the enemy of his country, has been handed down to posterity with all the pomp of history; and the artists of succeeding ages, have laboured by their works to perpetuate and ennoble the deed.—Scevola was a hero and a Roman soldier—We here find him excelled by a christian martyr—a simple girl.—We say excelled, because the Roman acted under the influence of passion, disappointment, and stoical pride; under which the mind is less susceptible of the effects arising from corporal pain.

countries, where he could find any of his brethren, whom he earnestly encouraged and comforted, now tarrying in one town, then in another, as occasion served: lodging, sometimes in houses, sometimes in the fields and woods; and for his excessive pains in travelling about he was called *Trudgeover*. When he lay abroad, he spent most of his time in earnest and faithful prayer to God; his diet was exceedingly slender, so that for three years he drank nothing but water.

His abode was most about Colchester: but the devil at last stirred up his instruments to lie in wait for him, and spies were sent abroad with a command to seize upon him wheresoever they found him, and to bring him either alive or dead. Yet he kept himself still in secret places, so that they could not catch him: then did they procure a proclamation in the queen's name, that whosoever could apprehend him should have twenty pounds for his pains. At length he was espied at Colchester; whereupon a great multitude pursued him, and he to escape them, first fled into a grove, and then into a corn-field, where he hid himself: and all his pursuers despairing to find him, were returned, but only one crafty knave, who climbed up into a tree, and sat there watching him. Eagles, hearing no noise, supposing all safe, rose upon his knees, whereby this villain spied him, and, coming down, laid hands on him, and carried him prisoner to Colchester, expecting the promised reward of ten pounds; but never got but a very small sum of money, for the reward of his treachery.

After he had been prisoner a while at Colchester, he was carried to Chelmsford, where he spent the whole night in prayer, and from thence to London; where, after he had been imprisoned a while, he was sent back to Chelmsford, there to be tried at the sessions, being accused of treason, for that he had assembled companies together: and though he defended his cause stoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his religion and faith before the judges, yet the indictment went on, wherein he was charged, that he prayed that God would turn the queen's heart, or else that he would take her away. The first he confessed, but denied the second; yet was he condemned for a traitor.

Much means was used to persuade him to confess that he had offended the queen, and to ask her forgiveness; which he refused to do, and so was drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution. All the way he read upon a psalm-book, and at the place he prayed unto God, stood very constant till he was turned off the ladder.

At his death this was remarkable. Two thieves being to be executed with him, he exhorted them to embrace the truth, and to persevere therein. Whereupon one of them scoffingly said, Why should we doubt of going to heaven, seeing this holy man

shall go before us, as our captain in the way? We shall certainly flee thither straight, so soon as he hath made us the entry. But the other thief reproved him for it, and gave good heed to George Eagles's exhortation, earnestly bewailing his own wickedness, and crying to Christ for mercy: whereas the other, the more he was bidden to leave off his scoffing, the more perverse he was, and continued in his wickedness. At last coming to the place of execution, the penitent thief upon the ladder exhorted the people to take heed to themselves, and to beware, by his example, of transgressing the commandments of God: and so humbly commending his soul into the hands of God, he ended his life quietly, and in a godly manner.

When the mocker came upon the ladder, be likewise would have said something, but his tongue did so fumble and falter in his head, that he was not able to speak one word. He would fain have uttered his mind, but could not: then one bade him say the Lord's prayer, but neither could he do that, but dropped now and then a word. This spectacle much astonished those who took notice of God's just judgments upon him, for his former mocking in so serious a matter.

George Eagles being cut down before he was dead, was hacked and mangled by one William Swallow, bailiff of Chelmsford, his body opened, heart pulled out, and so his body divided into four quarters, which were set up in several places. But shortly after, God's terrible judgment fell upon this Swallow; his hair coming off his head, his eyes were so closed, that he could scarce see, the nails fell off from his fingers and toes, and a leprosy overspread his whole body, and his estate wasted, that he fell into beggary.

Also one Richard Pott, that had vexed and molested George Eagles, both in the inn and as he went to execution; it pleased God, that not long after, he fell down in his house foaming at mouth, and could neither speak a word, nor understand what was said to him; in which case he continued for three or four days, and so died.

About the same time there suffered at Norwich, a godly and constant martyr of Christ, called *Richard Crashfield*, who being examined by Dunnings, the Chancellor, about the sacrament of the altar, and such like questions, made a good confession of his faith, and constantly adhered to the same, notwithstanding all the flatteries and threatenings used to pervert him; for which he was condemned. and delivered to the secular power: and a few days after was, by the sheriffs, had to the stake, where in the flames he constantly and comfortably ended his days.

In the same month, a man called *Frier*, and the sister of George Eagles, were burnt together in Rochester for the truth.

Mrs. *Joyce Lewis* was a gentlewoman born, brought up tenderly and delicately in her youth; first married to one Appleby, and afterwards to Thomas Lewis, of Manetcer, in Warwickshire. In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, she went to the mass, as others did: but hearing of the cruel martyrdom of master Launders at Coventry, she inquired what was the cause of it; and being informed that it was for his opposing the mass, she began to be much troubled in her mind, and resorted to the house of master John Glover, (before mentioned) desiring him to discover to her the faults that were in the mass, and of other things then urged as necessary to salvation.

Master Glover perceiving her troubled spirit, and restless desire to be informed of the truth, most diligently instructed her in the ways of the Lord; proving, by God's word, that both the mass, and all other popish inventions, were odious and abominable unto God; reproving her also for her too great delight in the vanities of this world, which she was too much addicted to. And it pleased God so to bless this his wholesome counsel, that she began to wax weary of the world, throughly sorrowful for her sins, and was much inflamed with a love to God, desiring to serve him according to his word, resolving to abandon whatsoever was displeasing to him. So that when afterwards her impetuous husband forced her to go to church, she turned her back upon the holy water, which should have been sprinkled upon her, and manifested her detestation of the same, for which she was accused to the bishop, and a summoner presently was sent for her.

The summoner giving the citation to her husband, he was so incensed, that he bade him take it back again, or he would make him eat it. The summoner refusing the first, he set a dagger to his heart, and forced him to eat it up, and to drink after it, and let him depart. Presently after, both he and his wife were sent for before the bishop, and Lewis himself incontinently submitted, and begged pardon: and the bishop was willing to accept of his submission, provided that his wife would do the like also. But she stoutly refused, telling the bishop that by her rejecting the holy water she had neither offended God, nor broken any of his laws. This much enraged the bishop; yet because she was a gentlewoman, he was content to give her a month's time to consider of it, taking bond of her husband at the month's end to bring her in again.

When they came home, she betook herself to earnest and fervent prayer to God, and oft resorted to master John Glover, who much encouraged her to stand to the truth; yet withal advised her to take heed of vain glory, and told her what it was

like to cost her, and therefore she should be sure to be well grounded, or else she would not hold out.

The month being expired, master Glover, and some other friends, persuaded her husband that he should endeavour the preservation of his wife, and rather forfeit his bond than cast her into the fire. Her husband answered, that he would lose nothing for her sake; and so delivered her up to the bloody bishop, by whom she was examined, and through God's mercy, was more stout and resolute than she was before death was threatened.

Incontinently she was sent to a stinking prison, which was so noisome, that a maid appointed to attend her, fell into a swoon. During her imprisonment she was oft examined, and being found unmoveable, was at last adjudged for an heretic worthy to be burned.

Being asked by the bishop why she would not be present at the mass, and receive the sacraments, she answered, because she found them not in God's word; otherwise, (said she) I would with all my heart reverence, esteem, and receive them. The bishop replied, If thou wilt believe no more than is written in the Scriptures, thou art in a damnable condition. At this she was much amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, she told him his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, she was committed to the sheriff, then newly chosen, who kept her in prison all his year, and could by no means be forced to burn her, for which he was afterwards in great trouble, and hardly himself escaped death.

During all the time of her imprisonment, she behaved herself so boldly and unblamably, that all that observed it did much bewail that such a woman as she should be put to death. At last a writ coming down for her execution, she sent for her friends, consulting with them, how she might behave herself at the time of her death, so as might bring most glory to God, edification to his church, and so as might most tend to the shame of her adversaries. As for death (said she) I fear it not; for when I behold the amiable countenance of Christ my dear Saviour, the ugly face of death doth not much trouble me. She also reasoned most comfortably with them out of the Scriptures.

The night before she was to suffer, some priests sent to her that they were come to hear her confession, for they should be sorry that she should die without it. She returned answer, that she had made her confession to Christ her Saviour, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. As for the cause for which she was to die, she had no reason to confess that, but rather to praise God, who counted her worthy to suffer death for his word's sake. And as for that absolution, which they were

authorized by the pope to give her, she defied and detested it from the bottom of her heart. The priests having received this answer, Well, said they, to-morrow her stoutness will be tried, and so in great discontent they departed.

All the night she was cheerful and merry, yet with a certain gravity, so that the majesty of God's Spirit did wonderfully appear in her, which expelled the fear of death out of her heart.

She spent her time in reading, prayer, and conferring with her friends that came to comfort her.

About three o'clock in the morning, Satan began to molest her, and to shoot his fiery darts against her, questioning with her, how she knew that Christ died for her sins, and rose again for her justification?

Those about her being made acquainted with it, bade her answer the tempter in these words of Paul, "Who hath loved me, and given himself for me:" suggesting also that God's Spirit having wrought in her heart a love to God, and a desire to obey him in all things, was a manifest proof of God's love to her. By this means, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ, brought out of the Scriptures, Satan was put to flight, and she received much comfort.

At eight o'clock in the morning, the sheriff brought her word that she had but one hour to live in this world; and therefore, (said he) prepare yourself as it stands you in hand. This message so abruptly delivered, made her somewhat abashed: but a friend standing by, said—Mrs. Lewis, you have cause to praise God, who so speedily will take you out of this miserable world, and make you worthy to be a witness to his truth, and to bear record unto Christ that he is the only Saviour.

This so revived her, that she said, Master Sheriff, your message is welcome to me, and I thank my God, who accounts me worthy to lay down my life in his quarrel.

When the sheriff came for her, one of her friends desired him to give him leave to go along with her to the stake, which the sheriff granted, for which he was afterwards much molested by some enemies of the truth. At the stake she prayed earnestly three times, and especially that God would abolish the idolatrous mass; to which almost all the multitude, and amongst them the sheriff himself, cried Amen. Then taking a cup of beer, she said, I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that wish the abolishment of popery. Her friends pledged her, and a great number of people, especially of women, for which afterwards they were enjoined penance.

Being tied with a chain to the stake, she looked with an ex-

ceedingly cheerful and ruddy countenance, and stood so patiently, that the people much lamented for her, and with tears bewailed the tyranny of her popish adversaries. When fire was set to her, she neither strived nor struggled, but with her hands lifted up to heaven, she quickly gave up the ghost. Some cruel papist suborned some to rail upon her, and one was appointed to write down the names of her friends, yet God wonderfully preserved them out of their hands.

There was one *Ralph Allerton*, who, coming into his parish-church, of Bently, in Essex, and seeing the people idle, or ill employed there, he exhorted them to go to prayer, whereunto they consented; and prayer being ended, he read unto them a chapter out of the New Testament: for which being informed against, he was forced to hide himself in woods, and other solitary places. But, at last, being apprehended, he was sent to bishop Bonner, who by his subtle persuasions and flatteries, so prevailed with this poor man, that he drew him to recant his former profession, and so dismissed him.

But this base cowardice of his, brought him into such bondage and terror of soul and conscience, and so cast him down, that if the Lord had not been exceedingly gracious to him, he had perished for ever: but the Lord, looking with the eyes of mercy, after he had chastened him, raised him up again; giving him not only hearty and unfeigned repentance, but also a constant boldness to profess his name and gospel even to the death.

This was quickly discovered by his adversaries; whereupon he was apprehended, and again sent up to Bonner, at which time ensued this conference.

Bonner. Ah sirrah, how chance you are come hither again, I hope thou art accused wrongfully.

Ralph. Yea, my lord, so I am, for I should be sorry to be guilty of such things as I am accused of.

Bonner. By St. Mary, it is well said; but let me hear what thou sayest.

Ralph. I desire to hear who are my accusers, and what my accusation is.

Bonner. Wilt thou so? Before God, if thou hast not dissembled, thou needest not fear to answer for thyself: but tell me, didst thou not dissemble?

Ralph. If you will not produce mine accusers, my conscience constrains me to accuse myself; for I confess that I have grievously offended God by my dissimulation at my last being before you, for which I am heartily sorry, as God knoweth.

Bonner. Wherein didst thou dissemble?

Ralph. In that I set my hand to a writing, that I did believe all that the catholic church teacheth, &c. wherein I shamefully

dissembled, in that I did not disclose my mind concerning the difference between the true and untrue church.

Bonner. Pray thee let me hear more of this geer, for I fear thou wilt smell of an heretic anon. Which is the true church as thou sayest, is it not the church of the heretics?

Ralph. I utterly abhor the church of the heretics, and the church catholic is that only which I embrace, whose doctrine is sincere, pure, and true.

Bonner. By St. Austin, that is well said of thee; for by God Almighty, if thou hadst allowed the church of the heretics, I would have burned thee. By our lady, how say you, sirrah, which is the catholic church?

Ralph. Even that which hath received the joyful sound of God's word.

Bonner. Thou sayest true before God; for that way which is taught in all christendom, must needs be the true catholic church.

Ralph. My lord, it is true the gospel hath been preached and persecuted in all lands; first in Jewry, by the Scribes and Pharisees, then by the Roman emperors, &c. and now also is the Apostle Paul's saying fulfilled, "There shall come grievous wolves amongst you, devouring the flock."

Bonner. Now by the blessed sacrament, thou art the rankest heretic that ever came before me. Now by St. All-hallows, thou shalt be burnt, thou whoreson varlet, thou pricklouse knave, &c. And so after much more communication he was sent to the Little Ease, and afterwards had articles exhibited against him, to which he subscribed thus:—"Except it be proved otherwise by the Holy Scriptures, I do affirm these articles to be true." And so at last he was brought forth to his condemnation, where Bonner asked him what he had to say why sentence should not be pronounced against him? To which he answered, You ought not to condemn me for an heretic, seeing I am a good christian: but go to, do as you have determined, for I see the truth is oppressed, and cannot find entertainment amongst you.

Then did the bishop proceed to condemn him, and delivered him over to the secular power, by whom he was shortly after burned at Islington, together with *James Austoo*, and *Margary*, his wife, and *Richard Roth*; all which persons joyfully yielded up their souls to God in the midst of the flames.

We heard before of ten godly persons that were burnt together at Colchester, at which time there were two other good women, viz. *Margaret Thurston*, and *Agnes Bongeor*, that should have suffered with them, but it pleased God thus to prevent it. Margaret Thurston, a little before they were to suffer, found a great trembling in her flesh; whereupon she went apart to make

her earnest prayer to God for his assistance, and in the mean time came the gaoler, and whilst she stepped aside to fetch her psalter, he took forth the other prisoner and left her behind.

The other, called Agnes Bongier, was left behind, because her name was mistaken in the writ: *Agnes Bowyer*, for *Agnes Bongier*. But when she saw herself separated from her prison-fellows, Oh what pitious moan that good woman made! How bitterly she wept: how naked and desolate did she esteem herself without them! It was pitiful and wonderful to see: and all because she did not give her life in the defence of the truth, which she was fully prepared and resolved to have done; and accordingly had, that morning, sent away her little infant, which had sucked on her during her imprisonment till then. Yea, such an ardent desire had she to be sacrificed with them, that death seemed far more welcome to her than life.

In this her great perplexity, a godly friend finding her, asked her, whether Abraham's obedience in purposing to offer up his son unto God, was not as much accepted, as if he had offered him? To which she thus answered, I know that Abraham's will was as much accepted with God, as if he had done the deed, because he would have done it, if the angel of the Lord had not stayed him; but in this I am unhappy, in that the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity, and therefore Abraham's case and mine are not alike. Why, (said her friend) would you not willingly have gone with your company if the Lord had suffered it? Yea, (quoth she) with all my heart, and because I did it not, it is now my great grief and trouble. Then, said he, my dear sister, I pray thee consider Abraham and thyself well, and thou shalt see that the case differs not at all. But, alas, (quoth she) there was a far greater matter in Abraham's trial, for he should have offered up his only child, but so should not I. I know well, (said he) that Abraham should have offered up his son, and have not you (said the other) done the like by your sucking babe? Consider also, that whereas he was commanded but to offer his son, you are heavy and grieved because you offered not yourself, which is more than Abraham's obedience, and therefore doubt not but it is accepted with God, &c. After this discourse she was somewhat quieted, and wholly employed herself in reading and prayer, wherein she found much comfort.

Presently after came a new writ, for the burning of these two good women. When they came to the place of execution, they fell down upon their knees, and made their humble and hearty prayers unto God; and so rising up, they went joyfully to the stake, and being chained to it, and in the midst of the flames, with great rejoicing and triumph they resigned up their spirits unto God.

There was, dwelling at Laxefield, in the county of Suffolk, one *John Noyes*, a shoemaker, and a godly man, whom some of his popish, spiteful neighbours agreed among themselves to apprehend, and, accordingly, going to his house, they found him going out of doors, and one of them calling to him, asked him whither he went? He answered, to a neighbour's of mine: to whom the other replied, Your master hath deceived you now; you must come, and go with us: Noyes answered, Take heed that your master deceive not you. So they took him, and carried him before the justices, who, after examination, sent him to Eye dungeon, and, after he had lain there a while, to the bishop at Norwich. There he was examined about the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, &c. to which he answered, that he believed Christ's body to be in heaven, and therefore not in the sacrament: for which, sentence was read against him by the bishop. Afterwards, a brother-in-law, coming to comfort him, asked him, Whether, being to die so painful a death, he was not afraid of it, when the bishop came to pass sentence upon him? To which he answered, that, he thanked God, he feared it not at all. After this he was sent to Laxefield to be burned, and against the time of his burning, all the people in the town had put out their fires, only some smoke was spied in one chimney, whereupon the sheriff and his officers went to that house, and broke open the doors, and so got fire.

John Noyes, when he came to the place of execution, kneeled down, and repeated the one and fiftieth psalm, with some other prayers; and being bound to the stake, he said, "Fear not them that can kill the body, but fear him that is able to cast both body and soul into everlasting fire." Seeing his sister weep and make moan for him, he bade her not to weep for him, but for her sins. Then took he up a faggot and kissed it, saying, Blessed be God, that ever I was born to come to this. Then said he to the people, They tell you, that they can make God of a piece of bread, but believe them not. Good people, bear witness, that I believe to be saved by the passion and merit of Jesus Christ alone, and not by mine own good works. When the fire was kindled, he said, "Lord, have mercy upon me; Christ, have mercy upon me; Son of David, have mercy upon me;" and so he yielded up the ghost.

At the burning of two godly persons at Norwich, there was present one *Cicely Ormes*, who told them, that she would pledge them of the same cup that they drank of; for which she was apprehended, and carried before the chancellor, who asked her, What it was that the priest held up over his head? She said, Bread, and if you would make it any better, it is worse. For this he sent her to prison. Afterwards he sent for her again, and

told her, that if she would go to church, and hold her tongue, she should be at liberty to believe as she listed: to whom she answered, I will not consent to your wicked desire therein, do with me what you will, for if I should, God would plague me for it. The chancellor told her, that she was an ignorant and foolish woman, and that he had proffered her more favour than ever he shewed to any, but if she persisted in her wilfulness, he must condemn her. She answered, that she cared not for his threats, and that if he did proceed to it, he should not be so desirous of her sinful flesh, as she, through God's grace, would be content to lay it down in so good a quarrel. Then read he the bloody sentence against her, and so delivered her to the secular power.

About a year before, she had been apprehended, but through weakness had recanted; after which, she was never quiet in conscience till she had utterly renounced all her popish superstitions; and thereupon had gotten a letter drawn up, to certify the chancellor, that she repented of her recantation from the very bottom of her heart, and would never do the like again whilst she lived. But before she could send this letter, she was again apprehended, and dealt withal, as we have heard before.

When she came to the stake, she kneeled down, and prayed earnestly to God; then, rising up, she said, Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons, and one God; this I will never recant. But I recant utterly, from the bottom of my heart, that I have ever been accessory to the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popish priests and shavelings, whom I utterly renounce, and will never have to do with them again, by God's grace. And, good people, I would not have you think, that I expect to be saved, because I offer myself here to death for the Lord's cause, but I believe to be saved by the death and passion of Jesus Christ: and this my death shall be a testimony of my faith to you all here present: good people, as many of you as believe as I do, pray for me. When she came to the stake, she kissed it, and said, "Welcome the cross of Christ: Welcome the sweet cross of Christ." When the fire was kindled about her, she said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit doth rejoice in God my Saviour:" and so casting up her head and eyes towards heaven, and holding up her hands against her breast, she there continued them till the sinews of her arms brake, and then they fell down, and she yielded up her life unto the Lord, as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, and as one feeling no pain.

In the diocese of Chichester, many godly persons were persecuted, condemned, and burned for the truth.

About the same time, one *Thomas Spurdance*, a servant of

Queen Mary's, was brought before the chancellor of Norwich, who asked him, whether he had been with a priest at confession? He answered, No, he had confessed his sins to God, who promiseth that if a sinner confesseth and forsaketh his sins, he shall have mercy, and that saith he, is sufficient for me.

Chancellor. When did you receive the sacrament of the altar?

Spurdance. I will not meddle with it as you use it: the sacrament of the Lord's Supper belongs to Christ's church; but you are none of Christ's members, for you teach laws contrary to Christ's laws.

Chancellor. Dost thou not believe that, after the words of consecration in the sacrament of the altar, there is the same body of Christ as was born of the Virgin Mary?

Spurdance. No, for that body consisted of flesh, blood, and bones; and here is no such thing.

Chancellor. Thou art an heretic, thou deniest the sacrament of the altar.

Spurdance. If you will know how I believe; I believe that if I come worthily, as God hath commanded me, to his holy Supper, I receive him by faith, believing in him. But the bread is not God; for God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither will he be worshipped with the works of men's hands; therefore, you do very ill to make the people fall down and worship the bread.

Chancellor. Thou deniest Christ's presence in the Sacrament?

Spurdance. The servant is not greater than his master: your predecessors killed my master Christ, the prophets, and apostles, and now you kill the servants of Christ; so that all the righteous blood, which hath been shed, shall be required at your hands. After this he was examined by the bishop, and when he could not be removed from his steadfastness, he was condemned, and burnt at Bury.

There were three godly men, viz. *John Hillingdal*, *William Sparrow*, and *Richard Gibson*, brought before bishop Bonner, and by him examined about the sacrament of the altar, and such like things, and they, making a good confession before him, and adhering to the truth, were condemned, and delivered to the secular power, by which they were carried into Smithfield, and after their prayers made to God, they were consumed in the fire.

About the same time were brought before Bonner, one *John Rough*, a minister, and *Margaret Mearing*. This Rough was born in Scotland, and at the age of seventeen, entered into the order of Black Friars at Sterling, where he remained sixteen years, and then the Lord Hamilton, Earl of Arran, taking a liking to him, procured him to be dismissed thence, to be his chaplain; with him he remained one year, during which time it

pleased God to open his eyes, and to give him some knowledge of the truth; and thereupon the Earl of Arran, being governor of Scotland, sent him into Ayre, to preach there: in that place he remained four years, and then was appointed to abide in St. Andrews, where he had a pension of twenty pounds per annum, from our King Henry the eighth. But, at last, Master Rough, considering the danger wherein he lived, and from his heart abhorring the idolatry and superstition of his country, and hearing of the freedom of the Gospel in England under King Edward the sixth, he resolved to tarry no longer in Scotland, and therefore presently after the battle of Muscleborough, he went first to Carlisle, and afterwards to the duke of Somerset, Lord Protector of England, by whom he had a pension of twenty pounds per annum granted him out of the king's treasury, and was sent to preach at Carlisle, Barwick, and Newcastle. At that time he married a wife, and, shortly after, was called by the Archbishop of York to a benefice near Hull, where he continued till the death of King Edward.

In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, seeing the alteration of religion, and the persecution that was likely to ensue, fearing his own weakness, he took his wife, and fled into Frizeland, dwelling at Norden, where he laboured hard for his living, knitting caps, stockings, &c. But when he lacked yarn to employ himself about, he came over into England to make provision, and arrived at London, and, hearing of the congregation of God's faithful people, that met privately together, he joined himself to them, and, after a while, was chosen their pastor, and continued most faithfully to perform his office amongst them, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the Gospel of Christ. But, at length, he, with *Cuthbert Simpson* and others, by the craft and treachery of a false hypocrite and dissembling brother, were apprehended at a house in Islington, where the Church assembled according to custom for prayer and preaching the Word. Then were they carried before the counsel, and, after divers examinations, they sent Master Rough to Newgate, and transmitted his examinations to bishop Bonner.

Bonner, minding to make quick despatch, within three days, sent for Master Rough out of prison, and examined him upon the usual articles, as about the sacrament of the altar, &c. Master Rough, answering to them according to the truth, was shortly after brought forth to his condemnation, at which time Bonner, with many fair persuasions, laboured to withdraw him from the truth, and to draw him to make a recantation; but Master Rough justified his marriage, and said, that his children, begotten in wedlock, were legitimate; that he detested the mass, and other service used by them, and that if he should live as long as Methu-

selah, he would never come to church to partake with them therein. Hereupon the bishop proceeded to his degradation and condemnation, and so delivered him over to the secular power, who carried him back to Newgate.

Whilst he was before the bishop he told him, that he thanked God he had lived thirty years, in which he had never bowed his knee to Baal; and that he had been twice at Rome, and there had seen that which he had often heard before, viz. that the pope was antichrist, that he had seen him carried about upon men's shoulders, and the false-named sacrament before him, and that the people shewed more reverence to the pope, than to that which they accounted their God. Bonner, hearing this, rose up in a rage, and said, Hast thou been at Rome, and seen our holy father the pope, and dost thou blaspheme him on this sort. And with that he flew upon him, and plucked off a piece of his beard.

At the same time, when Master Rough was burnt, there was also burnt with him one Margeret Mearing, against whom the bishop having no particular charge, examined her upon the usual articles; to which she answered in particular, adding, that she would stand to the truth which she had professed, even to death; for, saith she, the very angels in heaven do laugh you to scorn, to see the abominations that you use in the church; then did the bishop condemn her, and so both of them ended their lives joyfully together in the fire.

Not long before Master Rough's apprehension, he went into Smithfield, to see the burning of Austoo before mentioned; and, as he returned back, a friend met him, and asked him where he had been? Where, said he, even where I would not for one of mine eyes but I had been; for I have been to learn the way. Also Margaret Mearing, after the apprehension of Master Rough, hearing that one Sergeant was suspected to have informed against him, she went to his house, and inquired whether one Judas did not dwell there? To whom they answered, that there dwelled none such there. No, said she, dwelleth not Judas here that betrayed Christ? his name is Sergeant, and so went her way. Shortly after, seeing Cluny, the bishop of London's summoner, going to her house, she followed him in, and asked him whom he sought for? Marry for you, said he, and so apprehended her, and carried her away.

Cuthbert Simpson, who was apprehended with Master Rough, was deacon of the same church, a faithful and zealous man, labouring incessantly to preserve the flock from the errors of popery, and to secure them from the danger of persecution; yea, the pains, travel, zeal, patience, and fidelity, of this man were admirable; and it pleased God that a few nights before Master

Rough and he were apprehended, that master Rough dreamed that Cuthbert was taken by two of the guard, and that he had about him the book wherein were contained the names of all that belonged to the congregation. Wherewith being much troubled, he awaked, and told his dream to his wife; and afterwards falling asleep he again had the same dream, and awaking said to his wife, O Kate, I cannot be quiet, I must get up and go to my brother Cuthbert. But whilst he was making himself ready, Cuthbert came in, and brought that book of names, and accounts of the congregation with him. Then master Rough told him his dreams, and charged him that he should no more carry that book about him. Cuthbert answered, dreams are but fancies, and therefore I will not lay aside the book. But master Rough straightly charged him in the name of the Lord to do it: whereupon Cuthbert left it with master Rough's wife, and within two or three days after was carried to the Tower.

Having lain there a few days, the constable of the tower and recorder of London sent for him, and examined him of those which came to the English service; to whom he answered, that he would declare nothing. Then they caused him to be cruelly racked upon an iron rack, and asked him if he would yet tell them; but he still answered them as before: then was he loosed, and carried to his lodging again. The sabbath following they sent for him again, examining him as before; but he still refused to answer. Then the lieutenant swore by God, that he should confess; and so caused his two fore-fingers to be tied together, and an arrow betwixt them, and then drew forth the arrow so violently, that the blood followed; and when that prevailed not, they racked him twice, and he still remaining constant, they sent him to his prison.

Afterwards the lieutenant came to him again, and asked him, whether he would yet confess? He answered, that he had said as much as he would. Then was he sent to Bonner, "At whose hands (said he) I received the pope's curse, for bearing witness to the truth of Christ."

Bonner, before all the people, said thus of him, You see this man, what a personable man he is; and for his patience, if he were not a heretic, I should much commend it: for he hath been thrice racked in one day, and in my house he hath endured some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience once moved.

The night before this blessed martyr Cuthbert Simpson was condemned by Bonner, he, lying in the stocks in the bishop's coal-house, a little before midnight, heard as he thought, one coming and unlocking the first, second, and third doors, and though he neither saw torch nor candle, yet he saw a great light in the prison, and he that came in said to him, Ah, and so va-

nished. This brought exceeding joy and comfort to his soul, as himself related to sundry persons afterwards.

The next day he was brought before the bishop in his consistory, and charged with sundry articles, to which he made a clear and full answer; whereupon he was condemned. There were also condemned with him at the same time, one *Hugh Fox* and *John Devenish*, who also were apprehended with him at Islington. And so these blessed servants of Jesus Christ were burned together in Smithfield, finishing their lives with much constancy and joy.

About the same time there was one *William Nichols* apprehended by the instruments of Satan, at Haverford-west in Wales, who was also condemned, and burnt there.

Presently after, *William Seaman*, *Thomas Carman*, and *Thomas Hudson*, were apprehended in Norfolk: the persecutor of them was Sir John Tyrel, who charged his servants to search for Seaman. Robert Baldwin was neighbour to Seaman, and one in whom he put much confidence; yet did this treacherous person, together with another fellow, to gratify their master, search Seaman's house in the night time, and finding him at home, they carried him presently away to their master. As they went on the way, a strange light fell from the element betwixt them and parted them; after which, Baldwin, though at that time in his best age, never after enjoyed a good day, but pined away till he died.

When he came before Sir John Tyrel, he asked him why he did not go to mass, and receive the sacrament, and worship it? Seaman answered, Because it was no sacrament, but an idol, and therefore he would not worship it. Then did Tyrel send him away to Norwich, to bishop Hopton, who, after examination, condemned him.

Thomas Carman was apprehended, for that he pledged Richard Crashfield at the time of his burning. For this cause, being examined by the bishop, and adhering constantly to the truth, he also was condemned.

Thomas Hudson was by occupation a glover, and, it pleasing God to enlighten him with the truth, he applied himself to learn to read, and profited much in the knowledge of the Scriptures; and considering the danger that he was in, he absented himself from his house, travelling from one place to another, as occasion offered. At last he returned home to visit and comfort his wife and children; but perceiving that his abode there would be dangerous, he devised with his wife to make him a place amongst his faggots to hide himself; in which place he remained all day long, reading and praying continually for the space of about half a year. At last came the vicar of the town to the woman,

inquiring for her husband, and threatening to burn her, if she would not betray him to them. When Hudson understood this, he waxed every day more valiant and zealous than before, continually praying, reading, and singing of Psalms, to the wonder of many, the people openly resorting to him, to hear his exhortations and vehement prayers. At last he walked openly about the town, inveighing against the mass, and other popish trumpery: and afterwards returning home, he fell upon his knees, and spent three days and nights in praying, reading, and singing of Psalms. But the constables being instigated by one of his popish neighbours, went one morning to apprehend him.

When Hudson saw them come in, he said, Now mine hour is come; welcome friends, welcome, you are they that will lead me to live with Christ, for which I thank God, and the Lord enable me thereunto, for his mercies' sake, in Christ Jesus. For it had been long his desire and prayer, that if it were the Lord's will, he might lay down his life for the gospel's sake. Then they took him and carried him to the vicar, who was a commissary, who asked him if he did not believe in the sacrament of the altar? Hudson answered, that it was worm's meat, and that he did believe in Christ crucified. Dost not, (said the other) believe the mass to put away sins? God forbid, (said Hudson) for it is a patched monster and a disguised puppet. This so enraged the vicar that he stamped, fumed, and called him villain, &c. Afterwards he asked Hudson whether he would recant? The Lord forbid, (said Hudson) I had rather die many deaths than do so. Then did he send him to Norwich to the bishop, and all the way as he went he sung Psalms, and was very merry. He lay in prison about a month, spending all his time in reading, and invocating the name of God; and so at last was condemned,

These three godly persons being carried out to execution together, when they came to the stake, made their humble prayers to Almighty God; after which being chained to the stake, Thomas Hudson suddenly slipped out from under the chain, to the wonder of many, divers fearing lest he would have recanted. His two friends at the stake cried out to comfort him all that they could, exhorting him in the bowels of Christ to be of good cheer, &c. But Hudson felt more in his heart than they knew of; for, poor soul, he was full of grief and heaviness of mind, not for fear of death, but for lack of feeling his Christ. And therefore being much troubled, he went aside and fell down upon his knees, praying most vehemently and earnestly to the Lord, who at last, according to his wonted mercies, sent him comfort: and then he arose joyfully, as a man new raised from death to life, and said, Now I thank God, I am strong, and care not what man can do

unto me. And so returning to his fellows at the stake, they all joyfully suffered together, yielding up their spirits with much constancy and comfort to the Lord.

Commissary Berry, who had a great hand in the death of these, and divers other godly, persons, was a very vicious man in his life and conversation, was a great swearer and a whore-master, persecuting the godly and compelling them to idolatry. But though justice had leaden feet, yet it had iron hands, and at last found him out by a terrible judgment. For on a sabbath-day this Berry having made a great feast, after dinner went into his chamber, and there continued with his whore till even-song, and then went to church and administered the sacrament of baptism. But as he came out of the church, he fell down suddenly to the ground with a heavy groan, and never stirred after, nor shewed so much as one sign of repentance. About the same time also, Dunnings the chancellor, a merciless tyrant, died suddenly as the other had done before him.

About the same time *Joan Seaman*, mother to William, being about sixty-six years old, was cruelly persecuted by Sir John Tyrel, so that she was forced to forsake her house, and many times to lie in bushes, groves, and fields. Thus she continued for some time, till her husband, being eighty years old, fell sick, which she hearing of, returned home, not regarding her own safety so much as the faithful performance of her duty to her husband, whom she carefully attended, till it pleased God to take him away by death. Then, by God's providence, she fell sick, and shortly after departed this life in her own house, whereby she was delivered from the rage of her merciless enemies. Yet such was their malice, that they would not suffer her to be buried with christian burial, but her friends were fain to put her into a hole by a moat-side.

Also in the town of Wetherset, there was one Mrs. *Bennet*, a good woman, who was persecuted out of the town for not going to mass, &c. Yet at last she returned privately to her own house, and there sickened and departed this life joyfully; and being denied burial, was laid in a grave by the high-way side. She was very merciful to the poor; and her husband once merrily saying to her, that if she had been sparing they might have been much richer, she answered, Alas! good husband, be content, let us be thankful, God hath given us enough: I cannot hoard up, and see the poor want, and thereby displease God. But, husband, let us be rich in good works, and so shall we please the Lord, and have all good things given us.

Immediately after there were three other godly persons, *William Harris*, *Richard Day*, and *Christian George*, a woman, imprisoned and condemned at Colchester. When they were brought

to the stake, they poured out their fervent prayers to God, and in the midst of the flames triumphed over their enemies, praising God, and dying cheerfully.

In the month of June, 1558, came out a sharp proclamation against good books, either brought from beyond seas, or printed in this realm; that whosoever should be found to have any of those books, or having them, do not forthwith burn the same, without shewing or reading them to any other person, should be reputed and taken for a rebel, and shall be presently executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law.

Shortly after this proclamation, forty godly men and women were assembled together in a back close, near Islington, to pray and read God's holy word. And whilst they were together there came a man, and looking over the hedge, saluted them, saying that they looked like persons that meant no hurt, and so departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, came the constable of Islington, with six or seven armed men in his company. These he left in a private place near at hand, and with only one in his company, he went amongst them, viewing them, and what books they had, commanding them to deliver their books to him; they, understanding that he was the constable, refused not to do it. Then came forth the other armed men, commanding them to stand and not depart. They answered, that they would be obedient, and ready to go whither they would carry them. Then were they led to Sir Roger Chomley, the recorder of London. By the way, some of the women escaped, and more might if they had listed. The recorder, after examination, sent them to Newgate, and if they would have heard mass they might have been delilivered; but they refused, and therefore at last were brought before Bonner, who, after examination finding them constant, condemned them; and thirteen of them were burnt in Smithfield, and six at Brainford.

Amongst these godly persons there was one *Roger Holland*, who had much bickering with Bonner, who, in conclusion, said thus unto him, God hath heard the prayers of his servants, which have been poured forth with many tears for the afflicted saints, whom you have daily persecuted, as you do us now. But this I dare be bold in God to speak, (which by his Spirit I am moved to say) that God will shorten your cruelty, so that for a time you shall not molest his church. And, dear brethren, that you may perceive the truth of this, know that after this day, in this place, there shall not any by him be put to the trial of fire and faggot. Which accordingly came to pass, for they were the last that were burnt in Smithfield for the testimony of the truth.

Bonner hearing this, said, I perceive, Roger, thou art as mad in thy heresy, as ever thou wast; and now in thy anger thou

wouldst become a railing prophet. But though thou and all thy companions would see me hanged, yet I shall live to burn you, yea, and will burn every one of you that come into my hands: and so he departed.

Then Roger exhorted the people to repent, and to think well of them that suffered for the testimony of the Gospel; adding moreover, that God would shorten those cruel and bloody days, for his elect's sake.

Upon the day that they suffered, a proclamation was made that none should speak to, or talk with them, or touch them, upon pain of imprisonment without bail; with divers other cruel threatenings. Yet did the people cry out, desiring God to strengthen them. They also prayed for the people, that God would send them his word. Then Roger embracing the stake, said, Lord, I humbly thank thee, that thou hast called me from the state of death, to the light of thy heavenly word, and now also to the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say, holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Lord, bless these thy people, and save them from idolatry. And so with his fellows praying and praising God, they sweetly ended their lives in the flames.

Amongst the six that suffered at Brainford, was one *William Pikes*, who whilst he was at liberty, about Midsummer time and at noon-day, took his Bible, and going into his garden, sat down to read in it; when suddenly there fell four drops of fresh blood upon his book; he not knowing whence they came. Whereupon he called his wife, and shewed them to her, saying, I well perceive the Lord will have blood: his will be done, and God grant me grace to abide the trial: and so they went to prayer. And not long after he was apprehended and burnt, as you have heard before.

Amongst these persons apprehended at Islington, was one *Thomas Hinshaw*, a young man of about twenty years old, whom Bonner after sundry examinations took with him to Fulham, and there also he laboured to pervert him from the truth; and not prevailing, he kept him in the stocks, and sent Dr. Harpsfield, his archdeacon, to him, who, after much reasoning, fell into a great chafe, asking him if he thought that he went about to damn his soul? Hinshaw answered, that he was persuaded that they went about to uphold their dark and devilish kingdom, and that they did it not out of any love to the truth. This so enraged Harpsfield, that he went and complained to the bishop of him; who thereupon sent for Thomas Hinshaw into his garden, and there in an arbour caused him to put down his breeches, and the bishop having gotten two willow rods, fell a whipping of him till he was out of breath, and till he had wasted one of the rods

upon him, and so returned him to prison. But not long after, it pleased God that this Hinshaw fell sick of a fever, and being more likely to die than live, the bishop, by importunity, was prevailed with to let him go home to his master, (Mr. Pugson, in Paul's Church-yard,) where he remained sick for the space of a year, and in the mean time Queen Mary died, and thereby he escaped burning.

Amongst the aforesaid persons apprehended at Islington, there was also one *John Willes*, who was by Bonner first set in the stocks in his coal-house, and then removed to Fulham, where he was kept in the stocks also, and often examined. The bishop having a stick in his hand, wherewith he often rapped him on the head, and flirted him under the chin and on the ears: and when this prevailed not, he had him into his orchard, and there wasted a rod upon him to the stumps, and then called for another; after which he returned him to prison: and many times examined him, and amongst other talk said to him, Ye call me bloody Bonner: a vengeance on you all. I would fain be rid of you, but I think you have a delight in burning: but if I might have my will, I would sew up your mouths, and put you in sacks, and so drown you.

On a time Bonner came to the stocks, where he lay, saying, How like you your lodging and fare? Willes answered, Well, if it would please God that I might have a little straw to lie upon. Whilst they were talking together, came in Willes's wife great with child, and near her count, entreating the bishop for her husband, and said, that she would not go out of his house, but there be delivered, except her husband might go with her. Then said Bonner to Willes, How sayest thou, thou heretic, if thy wife and her child should miscarry, and perish, dost not thou think that their blood would be required at thy hands? In brief, the bishop could not be rid of the woman, and therefore fearing lest she should cry out in his house, he was at last content upon easy terms to release him. Yet would he have a kinsman of Willes's to pass his word to bring him before him again the next day, or else, (saith he) thou art an heretic as well as he. The man having no greater a charge than that, neglected to bring him. Yet shortly after, Willes of his own accord went to him, and there subscribing a paper which had no great matter in it, was dismissed.

Mr. *Richard Yeomans*, a godly minister, who had been formerly curate under Dr. Taylor, at Hadley, and was left to supply his place when he was removed from it. But after a while he was put out of that place.

He was a very holy old man, of the age of seventy, was well read in the Scriptures; and being put out of Hadley, went up and down from place to place, exhorting all men to stand faith

ully to God's word; and earnestly to give themselves to prayer, and to prepare themselves for the patient bearing of the cross; with boldness to confess the truth before their adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the crown of everlasting happiness. But at last perceiving that his adversaries lay in wait for him, he went into Kent, selling points, pins, and laces, and such trifles, to get something wherewith to maintain himself, his poor wife and children. At last a justice of peace, one Mr. Moyle, took him and laid him in the stocks; but, after a while, having no evident matter against him, released him.

Then returned he secretly to Hadley, and abode with his poor wife, locked up in a chamber for about a twelvemonth together, spending much of his time in reading and prayer, and the rest in carding wool, which his wife did spin; and by such like poor means they maintained themselves.

At length the parson of the parish perceived that this good old man was thus kept private by his wife. And therefore taking some officers with him, in the night-time he broke open the doors, and searching the house, found father Yeomans in bed with his poor wife and children: whereupon in anger he said, I thought I should find a knave and a whore together. And withal would have pulled off the bed-clothes. But father Yeomans held them fast, saying, Neither knave nor whore, but a married man and his wife, according to God's ordinance; and blessed be God for lawful matrimony. I thank God for this favour, and I defy the pope and all his popery. Then had they him away to the cage, and there set him in the stocks. In the same place there was one *John Dale*, who had lain two or three days there. The occasion was this. He had been present at church, when the parson and his curate were at their Romish service; and the poor man being offended at it, in the fervency of his spirit, said, O miserable and blind guides, will you ever be blind leaders of the blind? Will you never amend, and see the truth of God's word? Will neither the threats nor promises of God work upon your hearts? Will the blood of the martyrs nothing mollify your stony spirits? O obdurate, hard-hearted, perverse, and crooked generation! O damnable persons, whom nothing can do good upon! For this the parson caused him to be laid in the stocks.

The next day the parson called upon Sir Henry Doile, Bart. to send them both to prison. Sir Henry earnestly laboured to persuade the parson, they being so old, to let them go with that punishment: but the parson was restless till he had gotten a warrant, whereby he sent them both to Bury gaol. As they went, they were carried pinioned, and bound like thieves; and when they came thither, because they continually reproved popish practices, they were thrown into the lowest dungeon. In that place,

John Dale, by reason of evil keeping, fell sick and died, and his body was buried in the fields. After this, father Yeomans was removed to Norwich prison, where he was still used very cruelly. At last, he was examined of his faith, and he boldly and constantly confessed, that he was of that faith, which was set forth by King Edward VI. of blessed memory; from which he would in no wise vary. And being commanded to submit himself to the pope, he answered, I defy him, and all his detestable abominations: Yea, I will have nothing to do with him, nor with any thing that appertains to him. For this he was degraded, condemned, and burnt at Norwich.

There was living also in Hadley, a young man, named *John Alcock*, by trade a shearman, who, after the martyrdom of Doctor Tailor, used, in the church of Hadley, to read the service in English till the coming of parson Newhall thither; after which, this Alcock being in the church when the parson was going by with the procession, Alcock neither moved his hat, nor shewed any reverence to it; which the parson taking notice of, ran to him, laid hands on him, and called for the constable, commanding him to have him to the stocks: the constable happened to be his master, and told the parson, that he should not go to the stocks, but should be forth coming, and so the parson went on in his procession. The constable told Alcock that he was sorry for him, that if he behaved not himself wisely, the parson would effect his destruction. Alcock answered, Sir, I am sorry that I am a trouble to you; but, as for myself, I am not sorry, but I commit myself into the hands of God, who, I trust, will give me a mouth, and wisdom to answer according to the truth. Yet, saith the constable, take heed of him, for he is a blood-sucker, and will use you the worse for my sake, against whom he hath an old grudge.

I fear not, saith Alcock, he can do no more than God will give him leave, and happy shall I be, if God will call me to die for his truth's sake.

Then went they to the parson, who said to him, Fellow, what sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar? I say, quoth Alcock, as you use the matter, you make a shameful idol of it, and you are false, idolatrous priests, even all of you. I told you, quoth the parson, that he was a stout heretic. And so the next day he carried him to London, where he was imprisoned in Newgate, and after many examinations and troubles, because he would not submit to ask forgiveness of the pope, nor to be reconciled to the Romish church, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where, by reason of his cruel handling and evil keeping, he contracted a sickness, whereof he died: yet then did not their malice end

towards him, for they would not suffer him to be buried with honest and decent burial, but put him into a hole in the fields.

Mr. *Thomas Benbridge*, a gentleman in the diocese of Winchester, who might have lived a pleasant and honourable life in this world, yet chose rather, through the strait gate of persecution, to enter into the kingdom of heaven: for which end he manfully stood for the defence of the gospel of Jesus Christ against popish superstitions; and therefore, being apprehended, was carried before Doctor White, bishop of Winchester, who examined him upon sundry articles, as, about auricular confession, the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, &c. To all which he made a stout answer according to the truth, and was condemned for the same. When he was brought by the sheriff to the place of execution, he put off his apparel, which was very rich, and betook himself to fervent prayer unto God. When he was fastened to the stake, one Doctor Seaton willed him to recant, and he should have his pardon; but he rejected it, like a faithful soldier of Jesus Christ. The Doctor turned to the people, and bade them, not to pray for him any more than they would pray for a dog. Master Benbridge standing at the stake with his hands lift up to heaven, the Doctor again urged him to recant; to whom he said, Away, Babylonian, away. Then was the fire kindled, which burnt off a piece of his beard, yet was he nothing moved with it: then the fire took hold of his legs, and his stockings being of leather, the pain was so grievous, that he cried out, I recant: at which words, some of his friends plucked away the fire, and the sheriff returned him to prison again. But it pleased God so to awaken his conscience, that, recanting his recantation, he was that day sevennight carried to the fire again, and there burned.

Shortly after, four godly persons, viz. *John Cook*, *Robert Miles*, *Alexander Lane*, and *James Ashley*, were examined before the bishop of Norwich. The chief matter alleged against them was for not going to church; and when they had given a good account of their faith, they were condemned, and burned together at Saint Edmunds Bury, not long before the sickness of Queen Mary.

About the same time, *Alexander Gouge* and *Alice Driver* were hunted after by one Mr. Noone, a Justice in Suffolk, so that for their safety, they were fain to hide themselves in a hay-mow: but the justice with his men coming to it, and striking pitchforks into the mow, at last discovered them, and sent them to Melton jail, where, after they had lain a time, they were removed to Bury, and there, at the assizes, they boldly confessed Christ crucified, defying the pope, with all his superstitious trash; and Alice Driver compared Queen Mary in her persecution to Jeze-

bel, for which the judge caused her ears presently to be cut off, which she joyfully suffered, thinking herself happy that she was counted worthy to suffer any thing for the name of Christ. After this they were removed to Ipswich, and there examined before Doctor Spenser, chancellor of Norwich. The chief matter which they insisted upon was about Christ's presence in the sacrament, wherein Alice Driver did so baffle them, that they had nothing to say; whereupon she thus concluded, God be praised, you are not able to resist the Spirit of God in me, a poor woman. I was an honest, poor man's daughter, and never brought up in the university as ye have been; yet, in the defence of God's truth, and in the cause of my Master Christ, by his grace, I will set my foot against the foot of any of you all, in maintenance of the same, and if I had a thousand lives, they should all go in payment thereof. Then did the chancellor condemn her, and delivered her to the secular power. Gouge, also, sticking fast to the truth, was condemned, and so both of them ended their lives sweetly together in the fire at Ipswich. When the chain was fastened about Alice Driver's neck, O, said she, Here is a goodly handkerchief, God be praised for it. As they stood at the stake, some came to take them by the hand; whereupon the sheriff bade his men to lay hands on them; but thereupon there came such a multitude to them, that the sheriff was fain to let them alone.

There was one Bate, a barber, that was a very busy man about burning of them; but, presently after, God's judgment fell upon him, so that, within three or four weeks after, he died in much misery.

The same month that Queen Mary died, there were burned at Bury, three godly persons, whose names were *Philip Humphry*, *John David*, and *Henry David*, his brother.

There lived in Cornwall a honest, poor woman, whose husband was much addicted to the popish superstitions practised in those days, and would force his wife to join with him in the same, which was a great trouble to her spirit; whereupon she prayed earnestly unto God for mercy and direction, and it pleased God, that, one night, as she lay in her bed, she received abundance of joy and comfort in her soul; insomuch, as leaving husband and children, to enjoy the peace of her conscience, she went about spinning for her living, yet, at last, she returned to her husband again. Where, after a while, she was accused by her neighbours, apprehended, and carried to Exeter, to the bishop. The chief matter, for which she was condemned, was, for denying the real presence, and speaking against their idolatry. The bishop bade her remember her husband and children; she answered, I have them, and I have them not; whilst I was at

liberty, I enjoyed them; but now, standing here, as I do, in the cause of Christ and his truth, where I must either forsake Christ or my husband, I am content to stick to Christ only, my heavenly spouse, and to renounce the other. The bishop, after much other talk, gave her a month's liberty to bethink herself; in which time, she, going into one of the churches, saw a Dutchman making new noses to many images, which had been defaced in King Edward's time; to whom she said, What a madman art thou to make new noses for those images, which, within a few days, will lose their heads? For this, being complained of to the bishop, she was made a close prisoner, and had no more liberty. During her imprisonment, she was tried by great sufferings, threatenings, taunts, and scoffs; called Anabaptist, a mad woman, a drunkard, a whore, a runagate; she was tried by liberty to go whither she would, she was tried by flattery, and many fair promises; she was tried by husband, goods, and children; yet nothing would prevail, her heart was fixed; she had cast anchor, and utterly contemned this wicked world, with all the baits and allurements of it. She was wholly without learning, yet so versed in the Scriptures, that she could not only fitly and appositely quote them, but name the book and chapter also. Her adversaries, seeing that by no means they could remove her from her constancy, at last condemned her, and delivered her to the secular power. Then did the gentlemen of the country exhort her yet to call for grace, and to forsake her fond opinions, and so return to her husband and children; for, said they, thou art an ignorant woman, and these things are too high for thee to meddle withal: I am, said she, indeed, and yet with my death I am content to be a witness of Christ's death; and, I pray you, delay me no longer; my heart is fixed, I will never say otherwise than I have, nor turn to their superstitious doings. Then said the bishop, The devil leadeth her; No, my lord, quoth she, it is God's Spirit that leadeth me. When she heard her sentence of death pronounced, she lifted up her voice, saying, I thank thee, my Lord, my God, this day I have found that which I have long sought for. Then was she again promised life, if she would recant: Nay, that I will not, said she; God forbid that, for this natural and temporary life, I should lose life eternal; I will never turn from my heavenly husband to my earthly, from the fellowship of angels to mortal children; and if my husband and children be faithful, then am I theirs; God is my father, God is my mother, God is my sister, my brother, my kinsman, God is my friend, and that most faithful. Then was she led forth to execution, multitudes of people going with her. At the place where she was to suffer, the popish priests again set upon her; but she prayed them to speak no more to her, and then said, "God, be merciful to me, a sinner;

God, be merciful to me a sinner." In the flames she stood with admirable patience, and so finished her course with joy; she had such a cheerful and lively countenance, as though she had been prepared for the day of her marriage, very patient in her words and answers. She had always been sober in meat, drink and apparel; she would never be idle, and was a great comfort to as many as talked with her, liberal to the poor, according to her ability, and in her trouble would take no money when it was proffered her; for, said she, "I am going to a city, where money beareth no mastery;" and whilst I am here, God hath promised to feed me.

In the city of Bristol, there was one *Richard Sharp*, a weaver, who, being apprehended for religion, was carried before Doctor Dalby, the chancellor; who, after examination about the sacrament of the altar, so wrought upon him by persuasions, that he drew from him a promise to make a public recantation, and the time and place were appointed for it: but, after this promise, Sharp felt such a hell in his conscience, that he was not able to follow any business, but decayed in his body, and wholly lost his colour. Whereupon on a Sabbath, going to his parish church, he went to the quire-door, and, with a loud voice, said, Neighbours, bear me record, that yonder idol, pointing to the altar, is the greatest and most abominable that ever was, and I am sorry that ever I denied my Lord God. Hereupon the Constable was commanded to apprehend him; but he let him alone, and Sharp went home to his house; yet, afterwards, was apprehended in the night, and carried to prison; and, continuing constant, was, by the chancellor, condemned, and burnt, which he patiently endured, sealing the truth with his blood.

At the same time there was burned with him another citizen of Bristol, called *Thomas Hale*, whom two of the aldermen fetched out of his house in the night; to whom he said, You have sought my blood these two years, and now much good do it you. He was condemned by Dalby for saying, that the sacrament of the altar was an idol; and patiently yielded up his spirit unto God in the flames.

Also *Thomas Benson* of the same city, weaver, was apprehended, and examined before Dalby, and by him was committed to prison, for saying, that the sacrament was nothing but bread, as they used it, and for denying five of their seven sacraments; and, shortly after, he was condemned and executed, dying in a godly, constant, and patient manner.

The last that suffered martyrdom in Queen Mary's time, were five godly persons at Canterbury; their names were, *John Cornford*, *Christopher Brown*, *John Hurst*, *Alice Snoth*, and *Catherine Knight*. The things for which they were persecuted and con-

demned were, for denying Christ's real presence in the sacrament of the altar: and for saying, that wicked men do not receive Christ's body; that it was idolatry to creep to the cross; that saints should not be prayed to, &c. When sentence of condemnation was read against them, John Cornford, being moved in spirit with a vehement zeal for God, in the name of himself and his fellows, said, In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most mighty God, and by the power of his Holy Spirit, and authority of his holy catholic and apostolic church: we do here give into the hands of Satan, to be destroyed, the bodies of all those blasphemers and heretics, that do maintain any error against his most holy Word, or that do condemn his most holy truth for heresy, to the maintenance of any false church or feigned religion; so that by this thy most just judgment, O most mighty God, against thy adversaries, thy true religion may be known to thy great glory, and our comfort, and to the edification of all our nation: good Lord, so be it, Amen. And this excommunication of his took such effect against the enemies of the truth, that, within six days after, Queen Mary died, and the tyranny of all English papists with her. Yet the archdeacon and his associates condemned, and hastened the execution of these godly persons, knowing that the queen was sick past recovery. When they came to the place of their execution, they made their prayers to Almighty God, and amongst all other things, desired God that their blood might be the last that should be shed; wherein God answered their prayers; and, in the fire, they joyfully resigned up their spirits to God.

An Account of divers worthy Servants of Christ, who escaped burning by the death of Queen Mary and otherwise.

RICHARD WHITE, and *John Hunt*, being apprehended and examined by the mayor of Marlborough, were sent to Salisbury, and kept a long time in Lollard's Tower; and at last were brought before Bishop Capon and other commissioners, and there examined of their faith, when they made a stout and zealous profession of the same, from which they could not be removed, neither by frowns nor flatteries; so that at the sessions they were condemned, and, with other malefactors, delivered over to Sir Anthony Hungerford, the high sheriff, to be executed. But the evening after, Mr. Clifford, son-in-law to Sir Anthony, came to him, exhorting and entreating him earnestly, in no case, to have a hand in the death of those two innocent persons. Sir Anthony, hearing him, went straight to Justice Browne, to ask his advice, what he should do in the matter. Justice Browne

told him, that if he had not a writ from above for their execution, he could not answer it, but if he had, he must then do his office. The sheriff, hearing this, took his horse the next day, and went out of town, leaving these men in prison. The chancellor, Dr. Geffery, hearing of his departure, rode after him, and, overtaking him, told him, that he had delivered over into his hands two condemned men, and wondered that he went away before he had executed them, according to his office; the sheriff answered, that he was no babe, which was to be taught of him what belonged to his office. If you have, said he, a writ to discharge me for the burning of them, I know what I have to do: Why, said the chancellor, did not I give you a writ under my hand for it? Well, said the sheriff, that is not a sufficient discharge for me; if I have not a writ from the superior powers, I will not burn them for any of you all. Dr. Geffery, hearing this, returned home, and presently fell sick upon it.

Not long after came down a writ from above to the under sheriff, for their execution; but he, being a godly man, cast the writ into the fire, saying, I will not be guilty of these men's blood.

Within four days after, the chancellor died; about which time Richard White and John Hunt, being in a low and dark dungeon, were going to prayer, but, on a sudden, knowing no reason for it, they burst both out into a great weeping, so that they could not speak a word; and the next morning they understood that just at the same time the chancellor died. Presently after the bishop died also; so that these two holy men continued in prison till Queen Mary's death, and by that means it pleased God to deliver them.

In the time of Queen Mary's sickness, one Coxe, a promoter, taking the constable and some others with him, went to the house of Mr. *William Living*, a minister in Shoe-lane, and there searching amongst his books, found a book of astronomy, made by Johannes de sacro Bosco, wherein were many figures. Coxe, taking this book, and Mr. Living and his wife, carried them away to Darbishier's house, the bishop of London's chancellor; and, by the way, carrying the book open, he said, I have found him at length; it is no marvel though the queen be sick, when there are such conjurers in corners, but now I trust he shall conjure no more.

Darbishier examined him, and told him that he was a schismatic and a traitor; to whom Mr. Living answered, I would be sorry that were true, but I know I am no traitor, for I have always taught obedience, according to the tenor of God's word; and, when tumults have been raised, I have suppressed them by God's word. But, said the chancellor, you deny the church

of Rome, and therefore, Cluny, take him away, and put him into the coal-house.

Then did Cluny violently hale and draw him, and carrying him to his house, there robbed him of all his money, his psalter and New Testament, &c. After which he carried him to the coal-house, and there put both his arms and legs into the stocks, saying, that except he gave him forty shillings, he would put a collar of iron about his neck also. I am never able to pay so much, said Mr. Living, and so he was left in the stocks.

At evening a kinswoman of his brought him his supper, who, seeing how miserably he was used, told Cluny that she would give him ten groats to let him at liberty. Cluny took her money, and so let him out to eat his supper, but presently after set him in the stocks again. Within a few days he was removed into Lollard's Tower, and there put into the stocks.

His wife also was sent to Lollard's Tower; but the queen's sickness being mortal, upon the request of friends, and giving sureties to be forth-coming, they were released; by which means it pleased God, that they escaped death.

It was known that some of Mr. Living's books were at the house of one John Lithal, in Southwark; whereupon a constable, and some of the queen's servants, went to that house, breaking open his doors and chests, and seizing upon the books: and afterwards watching for Lithal's coming home, they apprehended him, and carried him to Darbishire's house, by whom he was examined, and sent to Lollard's Tower. By the way, Cluny and another dragged him into Paul's church, and there would have had him hear mass, which he refused. Then would they have had him worship the rood, which he also refused: whereupon they carried him to Lollard's Tower, and hung him by the hands and feet in the stocks, where he lay three days and three nights, till he was so lame that he could not move. Then Cluny coming to him, he proffered him some gold and money which he had about him, to release him out of the stocks, which Cluny accepted of, and so let him out. After he had lain there about three weeks, Bonner being sick at Fulham, many of his neighbours came to the chancellor, and made great suit for the release of Mr. Lithall, and the queen's disease still increasing upon her, they obtained their request, and he was released.

Edward Grew, minister at a town called Broke, was by the malice of his adversaries, forced to flee from his habitation; and though very aged, yet to travel up and down for the keeping of a good conscience. At last, notwithstanding his circumspection, he was apprehended, and carried to Colchester castle, where he remained a prisoner till the coming of Queen Elizabeth of happy memory, by which means he was released.

William Brown, minister of Little Stanham, in Suffolk, for preaching a bold sermon against the mass, was persecuted by one Robert Blomefield, constable; who, fetching the under-sheriff to his assistance, in the night-time they brake into the minister's house, and apprehended him, and the next day he should have been carried to the council, but it pleased God suddenly to strike the said Blomefield with sickness, so that he could not go with him. Then did the under-sheriff send him prisoner to Ipswich, and from thence he was removed to Bury gaol, and so at last he was sent to the council, by whom he was committed to the fleet, where he lay many months: but it pleased God to put such answers into his mouth when he was examined by the council, that at last they dismissed him, and he returned to his former charge. But when he still refused to say or be present at mass, he was put out of his place, himself and wife being constrained to flee and hide themselves from the fury of their adversaries: till at last, not long before Queen Mary's death, it pleased God to deliver this good man, by taking him to himself.

But a terrible hand of God followed Blomefield his persecutor, both by sickness, and a consumption of his estate; so that being rich before, he became poor: also his eldest son and wife died of a pining disease. Then he sought to repair his estate by marrying a rich widow; yet all would not do. His body was full of botches and sores, and shortly after he died, being wasted both in body and estate: so that he died much worse than nothing.

There was one *Eliz. Young*, who, to preserve her conscience from pollution, left the land and fled to Embden; yet after a while came back again, and brought with her divers good books, which she dispersed abroad amongst God's people: for which at last she was apprehended, and often examined before the inquisitors of heretical pravity. They asked her why she would not go to mass? She answered, because her conscience would not suffer her, and she had rather that all the world should accuse her then her own conscience. Then they called her traitorly whore, and heretic, and such like vile names, threatening to rack her, and burn her; and so returned her to prison, charging her keeper, that she should one day have bread, and the other day water: which when she heard, she said, "If you take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger."

Afterwards they examined her about the sacrament; to which she answered, That when she received the sacrament in spirit and faith, she received Christ. To which a doctor answered, Ah whore, in spirit and faith, whore? Hark, thou ill-favoured whore, how I believe; and so he told her how he believed about transubstantiation. To which she answered, And I, Sir, have told you how I believe. Whereupon he replied, Ah ill-favoured

whore, nothing but spirit and faith, whore? After divers other examinations, two women suing for her release, she was at last discharged and set free.

There was dwelling in Bedfield, in the county of Suffolk, an aged woman of sixty years old, called *Eliz. Lawson*, who being apprehended for an heretic, because she would not go to church to hear mass, was cast into a dungeon; where having lain a while, she was removed first to Norwich, and then to Bury gaol, and remaining constant in the truth, was at last condemned to be burnt. Then did the high sheriff take her home with him to his house, and essayed by all means both fair and foul to pervert her. But when nothing would prevail, he returned her to prison, and there she continued almost three years, during which time her son and many others were burnt. Whereupon she would often say, Good Lord, what is the cause that I may not yet come to thee with others of thy children? Well, good Lord, thy blessed will be done, and not mine.

At last Queen Mary dying, she was delivered out of prison, and not long after resigned her soul to God.

This is very observable, that before her imprisonment she was much troubled with the falling sickness; but after she was cast into prison, she never had a fit more, but was in good health, and enjoyed much joy and comfort in her soul.

There was dwelling in the town of Seale, in Kent, one *William Watts*, who, being apprehended by his popish enemies, was carried before the bishops and justices at Tunbridge, who laboured very much to withdraw him from the truth. But when by no means they could prevail, they committed him prisoner to the constable, who carried him to an alehouse, where the constable drank so liberally, that at last he fell asleep. Watts's wife seeing this, persuaded her husband to go his ways, for as much as God had made way for his escape: but Watts would by no means be persuaded thereunto. Whilst they were reasoning the case together, a stranger over-hearing them, said to him, Father, go thy ways in God's name, and tarry no longer, the Lord hath opened the way for thee. Upon this Watts went his way, and his wife returned to her house at Seale. But whilst she was telling some friends of her husband's great deliverance, he came in amongst them, which when his wife saw, she was much troubled, and persuaded him by all means to haste away before search should be made after him. He answered, that he would first eat some meat, and pray with his family, which accordingly he did, and then went and hid himself in a holly-bush hard by. But no sooner was he gone out of doors, but in came the constable, and many more with him, searching all the house, breaking open chests, and piercing the feather-beds, so that he made much

spoil in the house. But it pleased the Lord to hide his servant, and to deliver him from the danger. His wife was carried to the stocks, where she lay two days before she was freed.

In London there was one *Dabney*, a painter, a godly man, who, being apprehended by an apparitor, was carried to Bonner. But when they came thither, they were bid to stand by a while, because the bishop was busy in examining of others. And before he had finished with them, a messenger came in haste, desiring the bishop to prepare himself speedily, for that the general procession tarried for him. Then were all other businesses laid aside, the bishop and his family hasting away to accompany the procession, by reason whereof Dabney was left alone. He seeing this, went down into the court, and there walked up and down in a melancholy posture. The porter seeing him thus to walk alone, and thinking him to be some citizen that came about business, asked him if he would go forth? Yes, (said he) with a good will, if you will let me out. With that the porter opened the wicket, and let him depart. After this much search was made for him, but the Lord preserved him from the danger.

Mr. *Alexander Winshurst*, a godly minister, being informed against to Bonner, he sent forth one of his flies to apprehend him; who, after search, meeting with him, took him, and carried him towards the bishop's house. And as they went through Paul's church, Mr. Whinshurst espied Dr. Chadsey walking there, who having been of his ancient acquaintance in Oxford, he entreated him, for old acquaintance' sake, he would prevail so far, that he might be examined before Dr. Martin, rather than any other. The Dr. in scorn answered him with the words of Christ, "When thou wast young thou girdest thyself, and wentest whither thou wouldst; but being aged, other men shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldst not."

Then was he carried to Story and Cooke, who laboured by all means, both fair and foul, to pervert him from the truth; but he carried himself very resolutely before them, not shrinking at all from his former profession.

Hereupon they sent him to Cluny's house in Paternoster-row, by whom he was to be committed to Lollard's Tower. But the Lord pleased so to order it, that when he came thither, Cluny and his family were very busy, so that he was left alone in his hall; only there was another woman whose husband was in trouble, about whom she stayed to speak with Cluny. She seeing Mr. Whinshurst stand there, said to him, Alas, good Sir, if you please you may escape the hands of your cruel enemies, forasmuch as they be all absent that should look to you, whereby God hath opened the way for your deliverance; and therefore lose not the opportunity if you be wise. At these words he looked

about him, and went out of doors, walking but a leisurely pace, so that he might have been easily taken again, if any had looked after him: but it was God's will that he should thus escape the fury of his adversaries.

There was dwelling at Wimondham, in Norfolk, the Lady *Ann Knevet*, being near a hundred years old; who, all the time of Queen Mary, kept herself from their popish church, neither suffered any of their papistical trash to be administered in her house, but had the English service daily performed, which was used in King Edward's days. For this she and her family were many times threatened by messengers, that the bishop would visit her, ere long: to whom she still answered, That if his lordship sent word before-hand, his entertainment should be accordingly. But God, by his merciful providence, so overawed their hearts, that she lived in safety all that troublesome time. Yea, though there were sometimes present at her service great enemies to the truth, and such as had much authority, yet coming in, they would kneel down amongst the rest at prayer, and had no power to trouble her for the same.

This good lady was much given to hospitality, and entertained in her house many of the persecuted members of Jesus Christ; and though they were never so poor, they were looked upon by her as friends to the gospel, and not suffered to depart without meat and money.

Also the Lady *Eliz. Vane* harboured and supported many of the afflicted martyrs and confessors of Christ; for which she was oftentimes in great danger, and yet God mercifully delivered her.

There was, in Sussex, one Mrs. *Roberts*, a godly and virtuous gentlewoman, who, all the time of Queen Mary's reign, was warmly attached to the truth, and never went to their popish service, nor would pollute her conscience with hearing their idolatrous mass. And not far from her there dwelt Sir John Gilford, a justice of peace, who was as fervent on the contrary to promote popery. He, hearing of her, first sent his wife to tempt her, by fair words and gentle persuasions, to go to church, and to obey the queen's laws, as others did. But she constantly adhering to the truth, would by no means be persuaded to defile her conscience with their idolatrous service.

Then did Sir John Gilford send his officers and servants to carry her by force to church. But by the way as they carried her, she, through anguish and grief of spirit fell into a swoon, so that they were forced to carry her home again.

Afterwards Sir John went himself to her house, resolving, whatever came of it, to have her to church. But behold the good providence of God! Just as Sir John Gliford was going

up the stairs to her chamber, he was taken with such violent and terrible pains of the gout, that he could go no further, and so was fain himself to be carried home, protesting and swearing that he would never trouble this gentlewoman any more; and so, through God's mercy, she escaped the danger.

There was also in Nottinghamshire one Mrs. *Lacy*, a very holy woman, against whom, through the malice of her adversaries, a process was sent forth; and she was driven to such straits that she was forced to hide her Bible and some other good books in a dunghill. She had one of her own brothers a justice of peace, but he being a papist, shewed her little favour. Yet, though kindred failed, God did not fail her; for before she was apprehended, it pleased God that Queen Mary died, and so she escaped the danger.

There was in Norfolk one *Crosman's* wife, a good woman, who being taken notice of for not coming to church, the constable of the Hundred came to apprehend her. She had a young sucking child that just at the time was crying very hard: but it pleased God that as the constable came in with his company, the child gave over crying, and the mother having notice of the danger, slipped with the child in her arms into a corner behind the chimney, the child continued quiet all the time that they were searching the house, and when they could not find her they departed: and so the poor woman, through God's merciful providence, escaped the danger.

There was at the town of Stoke, in Suffolk, a great number of godly people, with whom, by reason of their number and unanimity, the bishops were afraid to meddle. They kept constantly to their private meetings, and came not at all to the popish service. Yet at last an order was sent to them that within sixteen days after Easter, they should all receive the popish sacrament, or else stand to the peril that would follow. Hereupon these godly people meeting together, considered what to do, and resolved that none of them would receive it. Only there was one John Fox, who was very urgent with his wife to obey the order, and prevailed with the priest to come and give it her upon the 17th day after Easter. But the day before she went to the meeting, and with tears declared how violently her husband had dealt with her. They bade her be of good cheer, for that they would make their earnest prayers unto the Lord, both for her and her husband. And accordingly they did so, and, through God's mercy, they found good success; for the very next day Fox came of his own accord unto them, and confessed and bewailed his rashness and inconsiderateness; promising, through God's help, to be more strong in the faith, to the great comfort both of them and his wife.

About half a year after, the bishop of Norwich sent his apparitors amongst these good people, straightly charging them to go to church the Sunday following, or else presently to appear before the commissary to render an account of their absence. But they, having notice before-hand of the apparitors coming, kept themselves out of the way to avoid the summons. And so not being at church at the time appointed, nor appearing before the commissary, he first suspended them, and, three weeks after, excommunicated them. And when an officer was appointed to apprehend some of them, they absented themselves out of the town, and so escaped the danger all Queen Mary's time.

No less wonderful was God's mercy to the private congregation of the faithful in London; whom he preserved all Queen Mary's reign, notwithstanding all the malice and searchings of their adversaries, and the strictness of the laws against them. First, when they were to have met in Blackfriar's, at Sir Thomas Carden's house, privy watch was set for the apprehension of them; but through the Lord's vigilant eye over them, the mischief was prevented, and they escaped the danger.

Also when they were met about Aldgate, some spies were set to discover them: but it pleased God, that Thomas Simpson, the deacon, espying them, bade them presently disperse themselves; which if they had not done, they had there been all taken, the constable coming presently after to search for them.

Another time about the great conduit in Cheapside, as they passed through a little alley into a cloth-worker's chamber, where they were to meet together; they were espied by some of their adversaries, and the sheriffs were presently sent for to apprehend them. But they being privily warned of the danger, presently departed, one of the bishop's sumners looking on, but having no power, or else fearing to meddle with them.

At another time they publickly assembled together in a ship at Billingsgate, that belonged to a godly man of Ley; where, though the people took notice of them, yet, through God's mercy, they were freed from danger. Yea twice, or thrice, they assembled together in another ship between Ratcliff and Redriff, where they had prayers, preaching, and the sacrament administered; and though many took notice of it, yet none meddled with them.

At another time being met together in an honest cooper's house in Pudding-lane, while they were there, the bishop's officer came into the house, and, having talked a while with the good man of the house, went away again, having no power to meddle with them. Another eminent danger they escaped in Thames-street near the water; where, being met together in the night, they were discovered, and the house beset that none should

escape. But there being an honest mariner amongst them, he seeing no other way to avoid the danger, slipt out at a back-door, and swam to a boat, and bringing it thither, took all these good people, and making oars of his shoes, conveyed them away from the danger.

Sometimes some were sent to spy out their doings, and to take their names; but when they came thither, God hath wrought so upon them, that themselves have been caught, and have asked them forgiveness for their wicked purposes against them.

We have heard before of the extreme danger that they were in at the taking of Mr. Rough, their minister, and Mr. Simpson, their deacon, if God by a dream had not warned Mr. Rough to charge Mr. Simpson to lay aside that book wherein all their names were contained.

This congregation began presently after Queen Mary entered into her reign, and were sometimes more, sometimes less; sometimes two hundred in number, and towards the latter end of Queen Mary they much increased. They had also divers ministers, first Mr. Scamler, then Mr. Foule, then Mr. Rough, then Mr. Bernher, and, lastly Mr. Bentham, who, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was made bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. This Mr. Bentham escaped wonderfully when the last seven martyrs (mentioned before) were burned in Smithfield. The occasion and manner was this; When these prisoners were brought forth of Newgate, a proclamation was made in the queen's name, straightly commanding that none should pray for them, nor speak to them, nor once say, God help them. Notwithstanding which, this godly company resolved to go and comfort the prisoners: and accordingly as they were guarded with bills and staves, they pressed towards them, and forcing their guard from them, they embraced and kissed them, carrying them in their arms (whereas they might as easily have conveyed them away) to the place where they were to suffer. Then giving way to the officers, these martyrs were tied to the stake, and the fore-mentioned proclamation was again published; notwithstanding which, Mr. Bentham, inflamed with zeal and christian charity, when fire was set to them, turning to the people with a loud voice, said, We know that these are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to them, and pray to God to strengthen them: and so turning to them he prayed to Almighty God to strengthen them; whereupon all the people with one consent, said, *Amen*, which did so astonish the officers, that they knew not whom to accuse, or whom to apprehend.

Not long before Queen Mary's death, the city of Calais, in France, which had been two hundred and eleven years in the possession of the English, was taken by the bloody Duke of

Guise, who put multitudes of persons of all ages and sexes to the sword. At which time there were many godly persons in that town, and the Lord, whose wakeful eyes of providence do continually watch over his, so ordered, that few or none at all of those many that favoured Christ and his gospel, in that terrible massacre miscarried. And amongst others that escaped after a wonderful manner, there was one John Thorpe and his wife, a godly couple; who, lying sick at the same time, were cast out into the fields, in a hopeless and helpless condition. Also a young infant that sucked upon the mother, was taken in the fields, and borne away by the soldiers. Yet behold the admirable providence of God! They were by strangers fetched to a place almost a mile off, and, being recovered, the next day as they travelled towards England, they came into the same inn where they found their young child, and so came all over in safety.

In the second year of Queen Mary, there was one *Edward Bennet*, dwelling at Queenhithe, who was desired to carry a New Testament to a godly man that was prisoner in Newgate. But as he went in, the keeper discovered it, and thereupon carried him before Chomley, the recorder, who, after examination, committed him to the Counter, in Wood-street, where he continued twenty-five weeks. Then Dr. Story coming to examine other prisoners, Bennet looking out at a grate, desired him to be good to him, and to help him out of prison. Yea, said Story, thou hast been with me before, and dost not believe in the sacrament, and therefore I will help thee out. And so he took him, and delivered him to Cluny, to be put into the bishop's coal-house, and there he lay in the stocks for a week.

Then Bonner sent for him, and examined him, and finding him constant in the truth, sent him back again, saying, that shortly he should go to Fulham and be whipt. Afterwards they sent Dr. Cranmer's recantation to him, hoping thereby to draw him to recant; but he answered, that his faith was not founded upon any man's books, but upon his that had redeemed him. Two or three days after, he, with five more, were sent for to come to the bishop's chapel to mass; at the end whereof those five were returned to prison, and afterwards burned. But Bennet being behind, and walking towards the gate, the porter opened it for company to go out, and so Bennet, going out amongst them, escaped.

Afterwards he being amongst those that were apprehended at Islington, Bennet, with seven more, was left behind. Yet he went after the rest to the bishop's house, and knocked at the gate to come in. The porter said that he was none of the company. Yes (saith he) but I am, and knocked again. But the porter not opening the door, one of the congregation that stood by, said,

Edward, thou hast done well, do not tempt God; go thy way. And so he, taking this warning as sent of God, departed, and thereby escaped the danger.

There was in the town of Shakerley, in Lancashire, one *Jeffry Hurst*, who, oy his father, was bound apprentice to a nailor. And when he came out of his time, having a great mind to get knowledge, he learned to read and write, and afterwards got him a Bible, and other good books, whereby he attained to a good measure of knowledge in the Scriptures. Then he married the sister of Mr. George Marsh, of whose martyrdom we have heard before; by whose society he much bettered in knowledge, and was careful to walk answerable thereunto. But in the first year of Queen Mary, he, abstaining from their idolatrous services, was taken notice of, and often reproached for a lollard and heretic; and at last they laid in wait to apprehend him, which he, having notice of, was compelled to leave wife, child, and all, and to flee into Yorkshire; yet divers times he returned by night to visit and comfort his wife, and usually brought with him some good minister or other; at which time about twenty honest persons used to repair to his house, and so they spent the night in prayer, preaching, and sometimes administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and so away before the day brake, lest they should be discovered.

Not far from his house there dwelled one Justice Leland, who, having notice on a time of J. Hurst's coming home, took a priest and some others with him, to search his house for him; but it pleased God that J. Hurst had notice of their coming, and so hid all his books in a great tub, and then crept himself under it, and they covered him with straw; only in his chamber-window he willingly left a part of the bible, and Tindal's New Testament in English, and another book or two. When the justice and his company came into the house, they made a diligent search for him and his books, breaking open chests and boxes, &c. At last they found these books in his chamber-window; then the justice asked the priest what books they were? he told him that one was Tindall's Testament, which was plain heresy, and none worse than it; and for the other books they were not fit to be looked on, for they might do much harm. Then the justice asked his mother, (an aged woman of about sixty) and one of his brothers, where Jeffry was? they answered, they could not tell. Then he swore by God's body he would have him, and if his mother would not tell where he was, he would lay her in Lancaster dungeon. But to be brief, he bound the mother and brother in 100*l.* bond, to bring in Jeffry within fourteen days, and so departed. When the time came, Jeffry and his sister went to the justice, who caused a mass to be sung, and bade Jeffry first to go and see his

Maker, and then he would talk further with him; Jeffry answered, Sir, my Maker is in heaven, and sure I am that, by going to your mass, I shall get no edification, and therefore pray you have me excused. The justice replied, By God, I see that I shall find you an heretic, but I will not lose the mass for all your prating, and so he went into the chapel. When mass was ended, he sent for them, and caused his priest to read a long scroll unto them about the seven sacraments. After which, the justice threatened them, yet, at length, he suffered them to depart, putting in sureties to appear again at three weeks end, and then to go to Lancaster gaol. But it pleased God that, four days before the time appointed, news came down of the queen's death, whereby they escaped.

Not long after this, Justice Leland, sitting in his chair, and talking with his friends, fell down suddenly, and died, never so much as once stirring after.

There was living in Kent one *Thomas Wood*, a baker, who was convened before Dr. Kenall, chancellor, Dr. Chadsey, and some others. At his appearing they asked him, why he came not to church, and whether he had received the blessed sacrament of the altar? He answered that he had not, neither durst receive it as they administered it.

Kenall. Thou heretic, what is the reason that thou darest not receive it?

Wood. There are three causes why I dare not do it; 1. Because ye eat and drink up all alone, whereas Christ saith, *Eat ye, drink ye all of this*, &c. 2. Because ye hold it up to be worshipped, contrary to God's command, *Thou shalt not bow down, nor worship.* 3. Because ye administer it in a strange tongue, contrary to St. Paul's rule.

Kenall. Thou heretic, are not these words plain enough, *This is my body?* wilt thou deny the Scripture?

Wood. I will not deny the Scripture, God forbid: Christ saith, *I am the vine: I am a door: The Rock is Christ:* all which are figurative speeches, wherein one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood.

Kenall. These heretics will not learn. Art thou wiser than the queen and her council, and all the learned men of the realm?

Wood. St. Paul saith, "The wisdom of the wise of this world is foolishness before God:" and, "If a man will be wise, he must become a fool that he may be wise."

Kenall. Dost thou not believe that after the priest hath spoken these words, *This is my body*, that there remains no more bread and wine, but the very flesh and blood of Christ, as was born of the Virgin, and did hang upon the cross?

Wood. I pray you, Master Chancellor, give me leave to ask

you another question; When God commanded Ezekiel to shave off his hair, and to burn a third part in the fire, *And this*, saith he, *is Jerusalem:* I pray you, was it hair that was burnt, or Jerusalem?

Kenall. It did signify Jerusalem.

Wood. Even so those words of Christ, *This is my body*, are to be understood, &c.

Chadsey. I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of bread and wine, but not in quantity and quality.

Kenall. Yes, he is here present in quantity and quality.

Chadsey. He is here present under a form, but not in quantity and quality. Yes, said the one; No, said the other. Whereupon the contention grew so hot between the doctors, that they foamed again; and Dr. Kenall, in a great rage, rose up, and departed the church.

Then said Wood, Behold, good people, they would have us to believe that which they do not believe themselves, nor can agree upon. This caused all the people to give a great shout; and thus, as God delivered Paul by dividing his judges, the Pharisees and Saducees, between themselves, so he delivered this his servant, by dividing these doctors between themselves.

Mr. *Thomas Horton*, a godly minister, in the reign of Queen Mary, fleeing amongst many others beyond sea, made it a great part of his work to travel between Germany and England, to procure means for the relief of the poor exiles, which lived in banishment for the truth's sake. And on a time, as he passed between Mastrick and Cullen, he fell into the hands of some rovers, who led him away with them; but, being in great danger, the Lord was pleased wonderously to deliver him out of the hands of these bloody villains, whose name be praised for the same.

There was one *Thomas Sprat*, sometimes a servant to Mr. Brent, a justice in Kent, who, because his master was a cruel persecutor of the truth, left his service, and went to Calais, from whence he often used to come into England, together with one William Porrege, about their necessary affairs; and about the fourth year of Queen Mary, it fell out that they, landing at Dover, were travelling on foot towards Sandwich; and, as they were upon the way, they met with Mr. Brent, and the two Blachendens, with their servants, being ten or twelve horsemen, and Thomas Sprat, espying Mr. Brent, was much dismayed, saying to his friend, Yonder is Mr. Brent, the Lord deliver us out of his hands; but seeing there is no remedy, let us go forwards, and so shadowing his face with his cloak, they went on: Mr. Brent heeded them not, but one of his servants, looking better upon them, said to his master, Yonder goes Thomas Sprat; at which words they all stopped their horses, and called to Thomas

Sprat to come to them. They call you, said W. Porrege, and therefore there is no remedy, but we must be taken, and thereupon persuaded him to go to them, for that there were no means of escaping, themselves being on foot upon those plain downs, and the other on horseback; yet Sprat would not go: whereupon they called him again, and Mr. Brent said, Ah, sirrah, why come you not when you are called? his companion likewise still moved him to go, seeing there was no way for him to flee away; No, said Sprat, I will not go to them, and withal ran away. They seeing that, set spurs to their horses, and rode after him; but before they overtook him, he got to a hedge, and made shift to scramble through it, yet they were so near him, that they struck at him with their swords: then they rode to the end of the hedge, and so pursued him, but before they came up to him, he was gotten to a steep hill, which they could not ride down; and so, getting to a wood, he escaped, notwithstanding all their diligence. Then did two of them question with Will. Porrege, asking him whence he came, and how he came into Sprat's company? He answered, that they came from Calais, and happened into the same passage-boat, and that they were going to Sandwich; and so, without any more ado, they let him depart; wherein God's goodness did also marvellously appear, for that one of the Blachendens knew this Porrege, but, as God would have it, he was following the chase of Sprat, till the other had dismissed him. And thus the Lord wonderfully delivered these his servants from this danger.

There was also one *John Cornet*, apprentice to a minstrel at Colchester, who, being sent to a wedding in a town called Roughedge, at the request of some, sang a song against the mass, and misproceedings of the queen, for which he was accused by a priest, and first imprisoned by the constable, and afterwards sent to the earl of Oxford, who caused him to be put into irons and chains, and to be so manacled, that the blood sprang out at his fingers' ends. In this case his master forsook him, and his mother, instead of relieving, fell a cursing of him. Yet it pleased God so to order it, that the earl, instead of sending him to Bishop Bonner, as his manner was, who would certainly have burned him, commanded him to be sent back to Roughedge, and there to be whipped till blood followed, and so to be banished the town for ever, which was done accordingly, and thereby he escaped further danger.

There was also one *Thomas Brice*, who being in the house of John Seale, in the town of Horting, the bailiff, with some others, came into the house to search for him, and though they knew his stature, and what apparel he wore, yet the Lord so blinded them, that when he stood before them, and they asked for him,

yet they knew him not, and he, before their faces, quietly took up his bag of books and departed, and they had no power to lay hands on him. And at another time, he, with one Springfield, being in a house in Gravesend, a promoter dogged them thither, and had so beset the house, and all the way to the water side, that it had been impossible for them to escape, but that the Lord stirred up an ostler in the same house, to convey them, by a back and private way, to the water side, a mile off the town, by which means, through God's gracious protection, they were delivered.

God's Judgments upon the Persecutors of his Church and Children.

FROM the introduction of the Gospel into this kingdom under King Lucius, there was never any king or queen of England, in whose reign so much christian blood was shed, as in four years space, during the reign of Queen Mary; under whom there suffered, one archbishop, four bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants; in all two hundred and seventy-seven. Sixty-four more were persecuted for their faith; whereof seven were whipped, and sixteen perished in prison, and were buried in dunghills; many lay in captivity, and condemned, but were delivered and saved by the happy entrance of our glorious Queen Elizabeth: besides those, many who were forced to flee the land, and live in exile. But as Queen Mary was prodigal of the lives of her best subjects, and a persecutor of the Gospel, so God followed her with his plagues, both in her life and death; for whilst she lived, nothing prospered which she took in hand. I shall only instance in some few particulars.

First, The fairest and greatest ship which she had, called the Great Harry, was burnt by lighting from heaven; the christian world, at that time, not affording such another.

Then would she needs marry Philip, king of Spain, thereby subjecting England unto strangers; yet, do what she could, she could never set the English crown upon his head.

Then did she attempt the restitution of Abbey lands, and had all the assistance that the pope could afford her therein, yet she was finally crossed of her desires about them.

Then did God plague her, and her land with a grievous famine, so that many of her poor subjects were fain to live upon acorns.

Then did she lose Calais, which had been in the possession of

the English, during the reign of eleven kings, viz. from King Edward the Third's time; with which loss she was so affected and afflicted, that she told some of her courtiers, that if they opened her body when she was dead, they should find Calais written in her heart.

Again, never had woman worse success in her child-birth than she. For if she was with child and did travail, why was it never seen? If she was not with child, why was the kingdom so abused? some in the pulpit returning thanks for her safe delivery, and taking upon them to tell that it was a son, and a goodly prince, &c. Then, God having thus crossed her in her hopes of children, which above all things she most desired, he also bereft her of that, which, above all earthly things, should have been her comfort and honour, by withdrawing from her the company and affection of her husband, by whose marriage she had promised to herself such a world of felicity and content; so that now she could neither enjoy him whom she had married, nor have liberty to marry another. And when all these hands of God would work nothing upon her, to cause her to repeal her bloody laws, or to abstain from her bloody persecution of the saints of God; the Lord struck her with a lingering and pining sickness, whereof she died; having only reigned five years and five months, a shorter reign than any of the kings of England enjoyed since the conquest, Richard III. only excepted.

The two last years of her reign, as there was in them most violence and bloodshed, so were they most grievous for temporal calamities; for besides the loss of Calais, and the fruitless attempt upon Brest in Brittany, which proved both expensive and dishonourable; the land was also grievously afflicted with horrible tempests, mortal diseases, plagues, and famines. In the former of which years, hot burning agues and other strange diseases took away much people; so that between October the 20th, and the last of December, there died seven aldermen in London, whereof five had been lord mayors of the city. The same year, wheat was sold for four marks the quarter, malt for two pounds four shillings the quarter; peas, at two pounds six shillings and eight pence: whereas, after the next harvest, wheat was sold for five shillings a quarter; malt, at four shillings and eight pence; and, in some places, a bushel of rie was exchanged for a pound of candles, which came to four pence.

In her fifth year, near Nottingham, was a marvellous tempest of thunder, which beat down all the houses and churches in two towns, cast the bells out of the church-yard, and some sheets of lead were carried four hundred feet off into the fields, writhen as if they had been of leather. Trees were torn up by the roots, and carried twelve score yards off. Divers men were slain, &c.

Also the same year in the harvest-time there was a great mortality; so that much corn was lost in the fields for want of workmen to gather it, whereby a great scarcity ensued.—Sir *Richard Baker.*

In the next place let us consider the Lord's dealing with the chief of those who were her instruments of cruelty. And first to begin with *Stephen Gardiner*, bishop of Winchester. We have before heard of his wretched and woeful death, about the middle of Queen Mary's reign, and therefore we will not again speak of it. Only I will add this, that being upon his death-bed put in mind of Peter's denying his master, he answered, I have denied Christ with Peter, but I never repented with Peter.

Also *Morgan*, bishop of St. David's, who sat upon the condemnation of the blessed martyr, bishop Farrar, whose place he unjustly usurped. Presently after he was stricken with such a strange hand of God, that the meat which he did eat would not go down; sometimes vomiting it up at his mouth, sometimes through his nostrils after an horrible manner: and so he continued to his death.

Mr. Leyson also, being high sheriff at his burning, having fetched away Mr. *Farrar's* cattle into his own grounds, many of them would never eat any meat, but lay bellowing and roaring till they died.

Justice *Morgan*, who sat upon the condemnation of the Lady Jane Grey, not long after fell mad, continually crying out, The Lady Jane, the Lady Jane, take away the Lady Jane. And so continued till he died.

Dr. *Dunnings*, the bloody chancellor of Norwich, that had condemned many of the faithful servants of Christ, was in the midst of his rage suddenly stricken by the revenging hand of God as he sat in his chair, and so died.

Berry, commissary of Norfolk, another bloody persecutor, four days after Queen Mary's death, having made a great feast, at which he had one of his courtezans, and then going to church in the afternoon, where he administered the sacrament of baptism, as he returned homewards, with an heavy groan he fell down to the ground, and never stirred afterwards.

Bishop *Thornton*, suffragan of Dover, a cruel persecutor of the harmless saints of God, as he was on a sabbath-day looking upon his men that played at bowls, was suddenly stricken with the dead palsy, and being carried to his bed, was wished to remember the Lord. Yea, (said he) so I do, and my lord cardinal also. And so died after a desperate manner.

Another suffragan that succeeded him in that place, having been before Bonner's instrument in persecuting the saints, going to cardinal Pool, in his chamber at Greenwich, to receive his

blessing, as he went from him, fell down the stairs and brake his neck.

John Cooper, of Watson, in the county of Suffolk, a very honest man, and one that harboured such as were persecuted for the truth, had a couple of bullocks, which one William Fenning, his popish neighbour, desired to buy. Cooper told him that he kept them for his own use, and therefore would not sell them. Hereupon this Fenning went and accused him of treason, for praying that if God would not take away Queen Mary, that then the devil would. This wicked accusation, though it was altogether false, yet Fenning suborned two knights of the post to swear to it. Whereupon John Cooper was hanged, drawn and quartered, all his goods seized on, and his wife and nine children were turned out of doors, being destitute of all means of subsistence.

But shortly after, God's revenging hand pursued one of those false witnesses, called Grimwood; for as he was at harvest work, stacking his corn, his bowels suddenly fell out, and he immediately died miserably.

The parson of Crondall, in Kent, preaching upon Whitsunday, told his people that he had received the pope's pardon from Cardinal Poole, whereby he stood now as clear in conscience as when he was first born, and therefore he cared not now if he should die the same hour. The words were scarcely out of his mouth; when suddenly he fell down dead in the pulpit, and never spake more.

A little before Queen Mary's death, died Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury, a great persecutor of the saints; and about the same time Dr. Jeffery, his chancellor, of whose persecutions we have heard before, as he was in the midst of his buildings, suddenly being struck by the hand of God, expired. Wherein this is further observable, that just at that time he had appointed to call before him almost a hundred godly persons, and to examine them by inquisition: which mischief, was, by this means prevented.

Mr. Woodroffe, sheriff of London, used much to rejoice at the torments of the poor saints of Christ: and so cruel was he, that when Mr. Rogers was carried in a cart from Newgate to Smithfield, by the way his children were brought to see him, and the people made way for their coming to the cart; but Mr. Woodroffe commanded his men to break the carman's head for staying the cart. But shortly after vengeance overtook him, he being stricken with a deadness of one side of his body, so that he was not able to turn himself in his bed: in which manner he languished till he died.

Ralph Lardin, the betrayer of George Eagles, was afterwards

arraigned and hanged. As he stood at the bar, he said publickly, This is justly fallen upon me, for that I betrayed the innocent blood of that good and just man, Gearge Eagles, who was condemnedthrough my means, and I sold his blood for a little money.

The like vengeance of God fell upon *Richard Potto*, and justice *Brown*, both cruel persecutors of the said George Eagles.

Mr. Swingfield, a deputy in Thames-street, hearing that Mrs. *Angel*, a midwife, and a good woman, was at a woman's labour in Crooked Lane, he took three others with him, and beset the house, and apprehended her, and carried her to Bonner's officers, by whom she was cast into Lollard's Tower. This Mrs. Angel was great with child, and by reason of the fright, and a fall which she caught in her apprehension, she fell the next day in labour, and was delivered in that prison, having no woman with her to help her in her extremity. But within ten weeks after, deputy Swingfield, and the other three that came with him to apprehend her, all died.

There was one *Burton*, bailiff of Crowland, in Lincolnshire, who, in the days of King Edward, was a seeming zealous protestant: but as soon as Queen Mary came to the crown, he turned papist, and endeavoured to persuade his neighbours to set up the mass. But they being not forward therein, this Burton on the sabbath went to church, and when the curate was beginning to read the English service, he went to him, and said, Sirrah, will you not say mass? Buckle yourself to it, you knave, or by God's blood I will sheath my dagger in your shoulder. The poor curate being affrighted, herewith betook himself to the mass. But shortly after, as this Burton, with one of his neighbours, rode together upon the fen-bank, a crow took her flight over his head with her usual note, and voiding her excrements, they fell on his nose, and ran down his beard, withal yielding such an horrible stink, that caused him to fall a vomiting in a most violent manner. Whereupon hasting home, he gat him to bed, but could eat nothing, the stink and vomiting still continuing: which made him with oaths and fearful execrations to curse the crow that had poisoned him. And so he continued in extreme pain till his death.

We have heard before of *James Abbes*, martyr, that was burnt at Bury. As he went towards the stake, some poor people met him, craving his alms. And because he had no money to give them, he plucked off his apparel to his shirt, and distributed it amongst them: withal exhorting them to be strong in the Lord, and as faithful followers of Christ, to stand steadfast in the truth of the gospel: which (said he) with God's assistance, I will now in your sight seal with my blood. But whilst he was thus ex-

horting them, there came one of the sheriff's men, who hearing him, cried out aloud to the people, most blasphemously saying, Good people, believe him not: he is an heretic and a mad man, and out of his wits. Believe him not, for it is heresy which he speaketh. And as Abbes continued his godly exhortation, so this wicked wretch belched forth his blasphemous exclamation till they came to the stake, at which the constant martyr was burned. But as soon as the fire was kindled, the fearful stroke of God's justice fell upon this wretch, who immediately before the people fell distracted; wherewith a little before he had charged the blessed servant of Christ. And pulling off his clothes in a furious manner, he said, Thus did James Abbes, the true servant of God, who is saved, but I am damned. And so he ran about the town, still crying out that James Abbes was a good man, and was saved, but he was damned. Hereupon his master caused him to be bound, clothed, and kept in a dark room. But as soon as the company was departed, he tore off his clothes, still raging and crying out, James Abbes was the true servant of God, and is saved, but I am damned. And thus he continued to his death.

One *Clerk*, an open enemy to the Gospel, and to all the true preachers of it, hanged himself in the Tower of London.

One *Troling Smith*, a great papist, fell down in the street suddenly and died.

Dale, a promoter and persecutor, was eaten of lice and died.

Cox, an earnest protestant in King Edward's days, and in Queen Mary's a papist and promoter of persecution; going well to his bed, was found dead in the morning.

Alexander, the keeper of Newgate, a cruel enemy to those that lay there for religion, and one that used to go to Bonner, Story, Cholmley, &c. crying out, Rid my prison, rid my prison, I am too much pestered with these heretics; died a miserable death; his body being so swollen that he was more like to a monster than a man, his entrails also were so rotten, that none could abide the stink of him.

His son *James*, to whom he left a great estate, soon wasted it all, jeeringly saying, Ill gotten, ill spent. And as he went along Newgate-market, he suddenly fell down and died.

John Peter, son-in-law to this Alexander, an horrible blasphemer, who used upon every occasion to say, If it be not so, I pray God I may rot ere I die. He was also very cruel to the poor saints in prison; but God met with him for all, for his body rotted away by piece-meal, whereby he died.

Justice *Leland*, the persecutor of Jeffery Hurst, died suddenly.

Robert Baulding, as he was apprehending William Seaman,

martyr, was stricken with lightning; whereupon he pined away and died.

Robert Blomefield, the persecutor of William Brown, shortly after consumed away and died.

Dr. *Foxford*, chancellor to bishop Stokesly, a cruel persecutor, died suddenly.

Paul, Town-clerk of London, a bitter enemy to the professors of the Gospel, hanged himself.

The very next day after the death of Queen Mary, died cardinal *Poole*, and it was thought that he took an Italian pill which caused it.

At Brightwell, in Berkshire, one *Lever* said, that he saw that ill-favoured knave Latimer, when he was burned at Oxford, and that he had teeth like a horse. But the Lord suffered not this scorn and contempt of his servant to go unpunished; for that very day, and about the same hour that Lever spake these words, his son wickedly hanged himself.

William Swallow, the cruel tormentor of George Eagles, was shortly after so plagued by God with sickness, that the hair of his head, and the nails of his fingers and toes came off, and his eyes were so closed up, that he could scarcely see. His wife also was taken with the falling sickness, which she was never before troubled withal.

Bloody *Bonner*, though he died in his bed, yet lay under the spiritual judgment of impenitence. And as he had been a persecutor of the light, and a child of darkness, so in darkness at midnight his carcass was tumbled into the earth. And as himself had been a murtherer, so he was laid amongst thieves and murtherers, a place by God's judgment fitly appointed him.

I shall add but one story more, and I have done, and that is of Dr. *Williams*, chancellor of Gloucester, a great persecutor of the saints: who, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when commissioners were sent down for the restoring of religion in that city, was invited to dinner by Mr. Jennings, dean of Gloucester, and was requested by him after dinner, to ride forth with him to meet the commissioners which were near at hand. No, (said Williams) I will never see them. The dean therefore going without him, Williams returned home, and presently one posted after the dean, and told him that the chancellor was at the point of death. The dean presently meeting with the commissioners, told them this story, who hasted to Gloucester to visit and comfort the chancellor. But before they could get to him, he had breathed his last, and thereby verified his own word, That he would never see them. "Is not destruction to the wicked, and strange punishments to the workers of iniquity?"

Job xxxi. 3. "It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you: and to you who are troubled rest with us," &c. 1 Thes. i. 6, 7.

Roma diu titubans variis erroribus acta
Corruet, & mundi desinet esse Caput.
Rome tottering long, laden with errors' store,
At last shall fall, and head the world no more. 1650.

And we now add in 1814—"Babylon the great is fallen! is fallen! and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird." Rev. xviii. 2.

It is lamentable to see that after what the Protestants had suffered under the Popish hierarchy, the transfer of power to their hands should be accompanied with the same spirit of intolerance, and that all who differed from the ruling party should be exposed to severe persecution.

In the long and glorious reign of Elizabeth, so advantageous to her country, and to the Protestant world in general, the Puritans, both clergy and laity, were cruelly persecuted by the and bishops and the court. They were arrested, fined, imprisoned, banished. The controversy began about trifles, such as habits and ceremonies; but opposition expanded the field, and fresh subjects presented themselves, till the Ecclesiastical Establishment was itself in danger. Whitgift, Bancroft, and other bishops, thought to stop the increasing evil, by adding to the rigours of persecution. Many thousands were suspended, deprived, imprisoned, &c. notwithstanding which the Puritans multiplied greatly.

James I. carried the prerogatives of the crown to the utmost extent, and soon became a bitter enemy to Puritanism and Puritans. A book of Canons was introduced to the convocation by Bancroft, Bishop of London, afterwards of Canterbury, and these soon became law. Dr. Rudd, Bishop of St. David's, made a speech replete with sentiments of charity and moderation towards the persecuted Puritans, whom he was ashamed to see driven to oblivion and bitter distress, by the merciless spirit of his bigotted brethren. It availed nothing, and the canons were adopted. Excommunication was now added to deprivation, &c. &c. so that both clergy and laity must be turned out of the congregation of the faithful. They must be rendered incapable of suing for their lawful debts; they must be imprisomed for life, by process out of the civil courts, or until they made satisfaction to the church; and when they died they must be denied christian burial; and so far as was in the power of the court, be excluded the kingdom of heaven.

We do not attempt to justify either the spirit or the conduct of the Puritans: their spirit was severe, illiberal, and as intolerant as that of their oppressors; and their conduct was obstinate and vexatious. Neither party understood the nature of religious liberty: for when the Puritans obtained power, as they did before the death of Charles the First, they became as intolerant at least, if not as cruel, as the bishops had been before them.

Patrick Hamilton, burnt at St. Andrews, in Scotland.

Patrick Hamilton, a Scotchman born, of an high and noble stock, and of the king's blood, 23 years of age, called *Abbot of Ferme*, first coming out of his country with three companions, to seek godly learning, went to the university of Marpurge in Germany, which university was then newly erected by Philip, landgrave of Hesse; where conferring with learned men, such as Franciscus Lambertus, and others, he so profited in knowledge of religion, that he was the first in the university, of Marpurge who publickly set up conclusions there to be disputed concerning faith and works; arguing also no less learnedly than fervently upon the same. What these propositions and conclusions were, appear in what is called *Patrick's Places.*

Thus the ingenious Patrick increasing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length began to revolve with himself touching his return into his country, being desirous to impart unto his countrymen some fruit of understanding, which he had received abroad.—Whereupon, persisting in his purpose, he returned home without longer delay.

Observing the miserable ignorance of that people, he preached the truth, and refuted their abuses. Here he was first accused of heresy; and afterwards, faithfully sustaining the quarrel of God, against the high-priest and archbishop of St. Andrews, named James Beton, was cited to appear before him and his college of priests, the 1st day of March, 1527. Being forward in knowledge, and also ardent in spirit, he mightily disputed against them: when he could not by the scriptures be convicted, by force he was oppressed; and so the sentence of condemnation being given against him, the same day after dinner, in all haste, he was led away to the fire, and there burned; the king being yet but a child, which made the bishops more bold.

Sir *John Borthwike*, knight, commonly called Captain Borthwike, being accused of heresy, as the papists call it, and cited, in 1540, and not appearing, but escaping into other countries, was condemned for the same, by the sentence of David Beaton,

archbishop of St. Andrews, and other prelates of Scotland, and all his goods confiscated, and his picture at last burned in the open market-place.—Here follows the sentence pronounced against him, after he had made his escape.

The Sentence of Condemnation against Sir John Borthwike.

The common report is, that Sir John Borthwike is accounted of very many as an heretic, and principal heretic, which holdeth evil opinions of the Catholic faith.

Where we, David, by the title of St. Stephen, in Mount Celio, prelate and cardinal of the holy church of Rome, archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and sworn legate of the apostolic see, sitting after the manner of judges in our tribunal seat, the most holy gospel of God being laid before us, that our judgment might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and look upon equity and justice, having only God and the verity and truth of the Catholic faith before our eyes, his holy name being first called upon: having, as is before said, hereupon holden a council of wise men, as well divines as lawyers; We pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and give sentence, that the said Sir John Borthwike, called Captain Borthwike, being suspected, infamed, and accused of errors and heresies, and wicked doctrines manifoldly condemned, and by lawful proofs against him in every of the premises had, being convict and lawfully cited and called, not appearing, but as a fugitive, runaway, and absent, even as though he were present, to be an heretic; And is, and hath been convict as an heretic; and as a convict heretic and heresiarch to be punished and chastened with due punishment, and afterward to be delivered and left unto the secular power. Moreover, we confiscate and make forfeit, and by these presents declare and agree to be confiscated and made forfeit, all and singular his goods, moveables and unmoveables, howsoever and by whatsoever title they be gotten, and in what place or part soever they be, and all his offices whatsoever he hath hitherto had, reserving notwithstanding the dowry and such part and portion of his goods, as by the law, custom, and right of this realm, unto persons confiscate ought to appertain. Also we decree, that the picture of the said John Borthwike being formed, made, and painted, to his likeness, be carried through this our city to our cathedral church, and afterward to the market-cross of the same city, and there, in token of malediction and curse, and to the terror and example of others, and for a perpetual remembrancer of his obstinacy and condemnation, to be burned. Likewise we declare and decree, that notwithstanding, if the said John Borthwike be hereafter apprehended and taken, he

shall suffer such like punishment due by order of law unto heretics, without any hope of grace or mercy to be obtained in that behalf. Also we plainly admonish and warn, by the tenor of these presents, all and singular faithful Christians, both men and women, of what dignity, state, degree, order, condition, or pre-eminence soever they be, or with whatsoever dignity or honour, ecclesiastical or temporal, they be honoured, that from this day forward they do not receive or harbour the said Sir John Borthwike, commonly called Captain Borthwike, being accused, convict, and declared an heretic and arch-heretic, into their houses, hospitals, castles, cities, towns, villages, or other cottages whatsoever they be, or by any manner of means admit him thereto, either by helping him with meat, drink, or victuals, or any other thing whatsoever it be, they do shew unto him any manner of humanity, help, comfort, or solace, under the pain and penalty of greater and further excommunication, confiscation, and forfeitures; and if it happened that they be found culpable or faulty in the premises, that they shall be accused therefore as the favourers, receivers, defenders, maintainers, and abettors, of heretics, and shall be punished therefore according to the order of law, and with such pain and punishment as shall be due unto men in such behalf.

Not long after the burning of *David Stratton* and Mr. *Gurley*, in the days of David Beaton, bishop, and cardinal of St. Andrew's, and George Treichton, bishop of Dunkelden; a canon of St. Colmes Inche, and vicar of Dolone, called dean *Thomas Forret*, preached every Sunday to his parishioners out of the epistle or gospel, as it fell for the time; which then was a great novelty in Scotland to see any man preach, except a black friar or a grey friar: and therefore the friars envied him, and accused him to the bishop of Dunkelden (in whose diocese he remained) as an heretic, and one that shewed the mysteries of the Scripture to the vulgar people in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people.

The bishop of Dunkelden, moved by the friar's instigation, called the said dean Thomas, and said to him, My joy, dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel, how you shall rule and guide yourself. To whom Thomas said, I thank your lordship heartily. Then the bishop began his counsel after this manner:

My joy, dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, from your parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and therefore, my joy, dean Thomas, I would you took your cow and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do, or else

it is too much to preach every Sunday; for in so doing you make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest be.

Thomas answered, My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have, and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. And where your lordship saith, it is too much to preach every Sunday, indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like.

Nay, nay, dean Thomas (saith my lord) let that be, for we are not ordained to preach.

Then said Thomas, Where your lordship biddeth me preach when I find any good epistle, or good gospel; truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel: but if your lordship will shew me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil.

Then spake my lord stoutly, and said, I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was; (and of these words rose a proverb, which is common in Scotland, *Ye are like the Bishop of Dunkelden, that knew neither new nor old law;)* therefore dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuisse and my pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent it when you may not mend it.

Thomas said, I trust my cause be just in the presence of God, and therefore I pass not much what do follow thereupon. And so my lord and he parted at that time,

Soon after a summons was directed from the cardinal of St. Andrew's, and the said bishop of Dunkelden, upon the said dean Thomas Forret; upon two black friars, called friar *John Kelowe*, and another called *Benarage*, and upon one priest of Striveling, called *Duncan Simpson*, and one gentleman, called *Robert Foster*, in Striveling, with other three or four with them; who, at the day of their appearance after their summoning, were condemned to the death, without any place for recantation; because, as was alleged, they were heresiarchs, or chief heretics and teachers of heresies, and especially because many of them were at the bridal and marriage of a priest, who was vicar of Twybody, beside Striveling; and did eat flesh in Lent at the

said bridal. And so they were all together burnt upon the castle-hill at Edinburgh.

Here followeth the manner of prosecution used by the cardinal of Scotland against certain persons in Perth.

First, there was a certain act of parliament made in the government of the Lord Hamilton, Earl of Arran and governor of Scotland, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland, to read the Scriptures in their mother tongue and lanlanguage, secluding, nevertheless, all reasoning, conference, convocation of people to hear the Scripture read or expounded. Which liberty of private reading being granted by public proclamation, lacked not its fruit, so that in sundry parts of Scotland thereby were opened the eyes of the people to see the truth, and abhor the papistical abominations.

At this time there was a sermon made hy friar Spense, in Perth, affirming prayer made to saints to be so necessary, that without it there could be no hope of salvation. Which blasphemous doctrine a burgess of the said town, called *Robert Lamb*, could not abide, but accused him in open audience of erroneous doctrine, and adjured him in God's name to utter the truth. The which the friar promised to do; but the tumult of the people so increased, that the friar could have no audience: and yet the said Robert, with great danger of his life, escaped the hands of the multitude.

At this time, in the year 1543, the enemies of the truth procured *John Chartuous*, who favoured the truth, and was provost of the city and town of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the governor's authority; and a papist, called Mr. Alexander Marbeck, to be chosen in his room, that they might bring the more easily their ungodly enterprise about.

After deposing the former provost, and electing the other, on St. Paul's day, came to St. Johnston, the governor, the cardinal, the Earl of Argyle, justice Sir John Cambel, of Lunde, knight, and justice Defort, the Lord Borthwike, the Bishops of Dunblane aud Orkney, with certain other of the nobility. And although there were many accused for the crime of heresy, yet these persons only were apprehended: *Robert Lamb*, *William Anderson*, *James Hunter*, *James Ravelson*, *James Founleson*, and *Helen Stirke*, his wife, and were cast that night into the Spay Tower, on the morrow to abide judgment.

When they appeared, Robert Lamb was accused in special for interrupting the friar in the pulpit; which he not only confessed, but also affirmed constantly, that it was the duty of no man, which understood and knew the truth, to hear the same impugned without contradiction; and therefore sundry which were there present in judgment, who hid the knowledge of the

truth, should bear the burden in God's presence for consenting to the same.

Then the said Robert, with William Andersen and James Raveleson, were accused for hanging up the image of St. Francis in a cord, nailing of ram's horns to his head, and a cow's tail to his rump, and for eating of a goose on Allhallow-even.

James Hunter, being a simple man and without learning, and a fletcher by occupation, so that he could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine, yet, because he often used that suspected company, he was accused.

The woman, Helen Stirke, was accused for that in her childbed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgin Mary, being exhorted thereto by her neighbours, but only upon God for Jesus Christ's sake; and because she said in like manner, that if she herself had been in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her humility and base estate, as he did to the Virgin's, in making her the mother of Christ; thereby meaning that there were no merits in the Virgin, which procured her that honour to be made the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women; but God's free mercy exalted her to that estate. Which words were counted most execrable in the face of all the clergy, and of the whole multitude.

James Ravelson aforesaid, building a house, set upon the round of his fourth stair the three crowned diadem of Peter carved of tree, which the cardinal took as done in mockery of his cardinal's hat; and this procured no favour to the said James at their hands.

These persons, upon the morrow after St. Paul's day, were condemned to death, and that by an assize, for violating, as was alleged, the act of parliament, in reasoniug and conferring upon Scriptures, for eating flesh upon days forbidden, for interrupting the holy friar in the pulpit, for dishonouring of images, and blaspheming of the Virgin Mary, as they alleged.

After sentence given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly treated. Which thing the woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound by the serjeants with her husband for Christ's sake.

There was great intercession made by the town in the mean season for the lives of these persons aforenamed, to the governor, who of himself was willing so to have done what he could, that they might be delivered. But the governor was so subject to the appetite of the cruel priests, that he could not do that which he would; yea, they menaced to assist his enemies, and to depose him, except he assisted their cruelty.

There were certain priests in the city, who did eat and drink before in these honest men's houses, to whom the priests were

much bounden. These priests were earnestly desired to entreat for their hosts at the cardinal's hands: but they altogether refused, desiring rather their death than preservation. So cruel are these beasts, from the lowest to the highest.

Then after were they carried by a great band of armed men to the place of execution, which was common to all thieves, and that to make their cause appear more odious to the people.

Robert Lambe at the gallows made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to fear God, and leave the leaven of papistical abominations; and manifestly there prophesied of the ruin and plague which came upon the cardinal thereafter. So every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died firmly in the Lord.

The woman desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not suffered; yet following him to the place of execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake, and parting from him with a kiss, said on this manner, "Husband, rejoice! for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyful unto us both, because we must have joy for ever: therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven.

The woman after that was taken to a place to be drowned; and although she had a child sucking on her breast, yet this did not move the unmerciful hearts of the enemies. So after she had commended her children to the neighbours of the town for God's sake, and the sucking child was given to the nurse, she sealed up the truth by her death.

About the year of our Lord 1543, there was in the university of Cambridge, one Mr. *George Wischart*, commonly called Mr. George, of Bennet's college, who was a man of tall stature, polled-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland; courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled; having on him for his habit or clothing never but a mantle, or frize gown to the shoes, a black Milan fustian doublet, and plain black hosen, coarse new canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at his hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness: for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day;

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he forbore one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw, and coarse new canvass sheets; which when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I being very young, being assured, often heard him, and in one light night discerned him: he loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them, and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun!—For in his religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life; when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to King Henry VIII. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publickly, professing and reading divers authors.

"If I should declare his love to me, and all men, his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

"All this I testify with my whole heart, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, and the hypocrite disclosed.

EMERY TYLNEY.

Opinions maintained by the said George.

Faith alone justifies without works.
By good works faith is manifested.
The celebration of mass is the mystery of iniquity.

To the said Mr. George, being in captivity in the castle of St. Andrew's, the dean was sent by the commandment of the cardinal and his wicked council, and there summoned the said Mr. George, that he should upon the morning appear before the judge, then and there to give account of his seditious and heretical doctrine.

To whom Mr. George answered, What needeth my lord cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine openly before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus straightly bound with irons? May not my lord compel me to answer of his power? or, believeth he that I am unprovided to render account of my doctrine? To manifest yourselves what men ye

are, it is well done that ye keep your old ceremonies and constitutions made by men.

Upon the next morning, the lord cardinal caused his servants to address themselves in their most warlike array, with jack, knapskal, splent, spear, and ax, more seeming for the war, than for the preaching of the true word of God.

And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the abbey church, they sent for Mr. George, who was conveyed into the said church by the captain of the castle, accompanied with an hundred men dressed in manner aforesaid; like a lamb led to sacrifice. As he entered into the abbey church door, there was a poor man lying, vexed with great infirmities, asking of his alms, to whom he flung his purse. And when he came before the lord cardinal, by and by the sub-prior of the abbey, called dean John Winryme, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregation then assembled, taking his matter out of the 13th chapter of Matthew; whose sermon was divided into four principal parts.

The first part was a brief and short declaration of the evangelist.

The second part, of the interpretation of the good seed. And because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, he declared what heresy was, and how it should be known; which he defined in this manner: Heresy is a false opinion defended with pertinacy, clearly repugning the word of God.

The third part of the sermon was, the cause of heresy within that realm, and all other realms. The cause of heresy (quoth he) is the ignorance of them which have the cures of men's souls: to whom it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the word of God, that they may be able to win again the false doctors of heresies, with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; and not only to win again, but also to overcome them, as saith Paul, "A bishop must be faultless, as it becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre, but harborous, one that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to reprove that which they say against him."

The fourth part of his sermon was, how heresies should be known. Heresies (quoth he) be known after this manner: As the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the unperfect by the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled word of God. At the last he added, that heretics should be put down

in this present life. To which proposition the gospel appeared to repugn, which he treated of, "Let them go unto the harvest;" the harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the civil magistrates and law. And when he ended his sermon, incontinently they caused Mr. George to ascend in the pulpit, there to hear his accucation and articles. And right against them stood by one of the fed flock, a monster, John Lauder, laden full of cursings written in paper. Of which he took out a roll, both long and also full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Mr. George so many cruel and abominable words; and he hit him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth then wonld have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding, he stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

When that this man had read through all his lying menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at his mouth like a boar, he spit at Mr. George's face, sayiug, What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runagate, traitor, thief, which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee? Mr. George hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly aud christianly he answered to them all in this manner:

Many horrible sayings, many words abominable to hear, ye have spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but also to think, I ever thought a great abomination. Wherefore, I pray you quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings, and the manner of my doctrine.

First, since the time I came into this realm I taught nothing but the ten commandments of God, the twelve articles of the faith, and the prayer of the Lord, in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundee I taught the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. And I shall shew you faithfully, what fashion and manner I used when I taught, without any human dread.

Suddenly then with a high voice cried the accuser, Thou heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the church. We forethink that thou hast been a preacher so long. Then all the whole congregation of the prelates, with their accomplices, said these words: If we give him licence to preach, he is so crafty, and in the Holy Scripture so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, ond raise them against us.

Mr. George seeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed

from the lord cardinal to the lord governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuser John Lauder aforesaid, with hoggish voice, answered, Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, archbishop of St. Andrew's, bishop of Meropis, commendator of Aberbroshok, legatus natus, legatus a latere? And so reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have laden an ass: Is not he (quoth John Lauder) an equal judge apparently unto thee? Whom other desirest thou to be thy judge?

To whom this humble man answering, said, I refuse not my lord cardinal, but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, with some of your lordships, mine auditors, because I am here my lord governor's prisoner. Whereupon the scornful people that stood by mocked him; and without all delay they would have given sentence upon Mr. George, and that without further process, had not certain men there counselled the cardinal to read again the articles, and to hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation.

And, shortly, to declare, these were the articles following, with his answers as far as they would give him leave to speak; for when he intended to shew the manner of his doctrine, they stopped his mouth with another article:—

1. Thou false heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people, thou despisest the holy church, and in like case contemnest my lord governor's authority. And this we know for surety, that when thou preachedst in Dundee, and wast charged by my lord governor's authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldst not obey, but perseveredst in the same; and therefore the Bishop of Brothen cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devil's hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou shouldest preach no more; that notwithstanding thou didst continue obstinately.

"My lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the gospel for the threats of men. Therefore it is written, 'We shall rather obey God than man.' I have also read in the prophet Malachi, 'I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings;' believing firmly, that the Lord will turn your cursings into blessings."

2. Thou false heretic didst say, "That the priest, standing at the altar saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in July."

"My lords, I said not so; these were my sayings: The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of the ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a secret searcher of men's hearts:

therefore who will truly adore and honour God, he must in spirit and verity honour him." Then the accuser stopped his mouth with another article.

3. Thou false heretic preachedst against the sacraments, saying, "That there were not seven sacraments."

"My lords, if it be your pleasures, I never taught of the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ, and shewed to us by the evangelist, I profess openly. Except it be the word of God, I dare affirm nothing."

4. Thou false heretic hast openly taught, "That auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament." And thou sayest, "That we should only confess us to God, and to no priest."

"My lords, I say, that auricular confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the evangelist, therefore it cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in scripture, as when David saith, 'I thought I would acknowledge mine iniquity against myself unto the Lord, and he forgave the punishment of my sin,' Psa. xxxii. Here confession signifieth the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reproved no manner of confession. And further St. James saith, 'Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray for one another, that you may be healed.'"

When that he had said these words, the bishops and their accomplices cried, and grinned with their teeth, saying, See ye not what colours he hath in his speaking, that he may beguile us and seduce us to his opinion?

5. Thou heretic didst say openly, "That it was necessary to every man to know and understand his baptism, and what it was;" contrary to general councils, and the estate of the holy church.

"My lords, I believe there be none so unwise here, that will make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger: so likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the infant unto God in baptism; for this cause I believe ye have confirmation."

Then said Mr. Bleiter, chaplain, He hath the devil within him, and the spirit of error. Then answered him a child, saying, The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak.

6. Thou heretic, traitor, thief, thou saidst, "That the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes,

and no other thing else: and all that is there done is but a superstitious rite, against the commandment of God."

"As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my lords, I never taught any thing against the scripture; the which I shall, by God's grace, make manifest this day, I being ready therefore to suffer death.

"The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable unto God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable unto him. But what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly shew your lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing upon the water of Rhene. I did inquire of him what was the cause of his pertinacy, that he did not believe that the true Messias was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him to be fulfilled. Moreover, the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre of Judah, and by many other testimonies of the scripture, I vanquished him that Messias was come, the which they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered again unto me, When Messias cometh he shall restore all things, and he shall not abrogate the law which was given to our forefathers, as ye do: for why, we see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you; yet you are not moved with pity towards them: but among us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found. Secondarily, it is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth, but one God only is to be honoured: but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Thirdly, a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, ye adore and worship, and say that is your God.

"I have rehearsed here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true."

Then the bishops shook their heads, and spitted on the earth, and would not hear any thing further concerning this matter.

7. Thou false heretic didst say, "That extreme unction was not a sacrament."

"My lords, forsooth I never taught any thing of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it were a sacrament or no."

8. Thou false heretic saidst, "That holy water is not so good as wash, and such like. Thou condemnedst conjuring, and saidst, "Holy church's cursings avail not."

"My lords, as for holy water, what strength it is of, I taught never in my doctrine; conjurings and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God, I would commend them; but insomuch as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them."

9. Thou false heretic and runagate hast said, "That every layman is a priest," and such like. Thou saidst, "That the pope hath no more power than any other man."

"My lords, I taught nothing but the word of God; I remember that I have read in some places in St. John and St. Peter, of the which the one saith, 'He hath made us kings and priests.' The other saith, 'He hath made us a kiagly priesthood,' Apoc. 1. and 5. 1 Pet. 2. Wherefore I have affirmed, that any man being cunning in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesus Christ, hath this power given him from God, and not by the power or violeuce of men, but by the virtue of the word of God, the which word is called the power of God, as witnesseth St. Paul evidently enough. And again I say, that any unlearned man, not exercised in the word of God, not yet coustant in his faith, whatsoever estate or order he be of, I say he hath no power to bind or loose, seeing he wanteth the instrument by the which he bindeth or looseth, that is to say, the word of God."

After that he said these words, all the bishops laughed and mocked him. When he beheld their laughing, "Laugh ye my lords! Though these sayings appear scornful and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of a great value, because they stand not only upon myself, but also the honour and glory of God."

In the mean time, many godly men beholding the madness and great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of Mr. George, did greatly mourn and lament.

10. Thou false heretic saidst, "That a man hath no free will, but is like to the Stoics;" which say, that it is not in man's will to do any thing, but that all concupiscence and desire cometh by God, whatsoever kind it be of.

"My lords, I said not so, truly; I say, that as many as believe in Christ ffrmly, unto them is given liberty, conformable to the saying of St. John, "If the Son make you free, then shall ye verily be free." Of the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bond-servants of sin; 'He that sinneth is bound to sin.'"

11. Thou false heretic saidst, "It is as lawful to eat flesh upon the Friday as on Sunday.

"May it please your lordships, I have read in the epistles of St. Paul, that who is clean, unto him all things are clean; on the contrary, to the filthy all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifieth by the word the creature of God; but the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God. So that a creature may not sanctify an impure and unfaithful

man: but to the faithful man all things are sanctified by the word of God and prayer."

After these sayings of Mr. George, then said all the bishops with their accomplices, What needeth us any witness against him? hath he not openly here spoken blasphemy?

12. Thou false heretic dost say, "That we should not pray to saints, but to God only."—Say whether thou hast said this, or no; say shortly.

"My lords, (said he) there are two things worthy of note. The one is certain, the other uncertain. It is found plainly and certain in Scripture, that we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, 'Thou shalt only worship and honour thy Lord God, with all thy heart.' But as for praying to and honouriug of saints, there is great doubt among many, whether they hear invocation made unto them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow that way which was taught us by our master, Christ. He is our only Mediator, and maketh intercession for us to God his Father. He is the door by the which we must enter in. He that enteretli not in by this door, but climbeth another way, is a thief and a robber. He is the verity and life. He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire; yea, verily, is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God, I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye shall witness the same, if your lordships will hear me. Except it stand by the word of God, I dare not be so bold to affirm any thing."

13. Thou false heretic hast preached plainly, saying, "That there is no purgatory, and that it is a feigned thing for any mana fter this life to be punished in purgatory."

"My lords, as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without express witness and testimony of the scripture I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet such a term found I never, nor yet any place of scripture applicable thereunto. Therefore I was ashamed ever to teach that thing which I could not find in the scripture." Then said he to Mr. John Lauder, his accuser, "If you have any testimony of the scripture, by the which you may prove any such place, shew it now before this auditory." But he had not a word to say for himself.

14. Thou false heretic hast taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests, saying, "That whosoever was bound to such like vows, they vowed themselves to the estate of damnation." Moreover, "That it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live single."

"Of sooth my lords, I have read in the evangelist, that there are three kinds of chaste men; some are eunuchs from their mother's womb; some are eunuchs by men; and some have made themselves eunuch's for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Verily I say, these men are blessed, by the scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the evangelist have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity; ye have experience, although I should hold my peace, to what inconvenience they have vowed themselves."

When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking better to have ten concubines than one married wife.

15. Thou false heretic and runagate saidst, "Thou wilt not obey our general nor provincial councils."

"My lords, what your general councils are, I know not: I was never exercised in them, but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general councils, or else give me a book wherein they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the word of God, I will not disagree."

Then the ravening wolves turned into a rage, and said, Wherefore let we him speak any further? Read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them. Among these cruel tigers there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John Graifind Scot, standing behind John Lauder's back, hastening him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly answers: for we may not abide them, (quoth he) no more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross when it is named.

16. Thou heretic saidst, "That it is in vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in the churches made with men's hands, nor yet can God be in so little space as betwixt the priest's hands."

"My lords, Solomon saith, If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much less this house that I have builded? And Job consenteth to the same, Seeing that he is higher than the heavens, therefore what canst thou build unto him? he is deeper than hell, then how shalt thou know him? he is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea. So that God cannot be comprehended in one place, because that he is infinite. These sayings notwithstanding, I never said that churches should be destroyed; but of the contrary I affirm ever, that churches should be sustained and upholden, that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And, moreover, wheresoever is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself. So that both these sayings are true together: God cannot be comprehended in any place; and wheresoever two or

taree are gathered together in his name, there is he present in the midst of them." Then said he to his accuser, "If you think any otherwise than I say, shew forth your reasons before this auditory." But he was dumb, and proceeded in his articles.

17. Thou false heretic contemnest fasting, and saidst, "Thou shouldst not fast."

"My lords, I find that fasting is commended in the scripture; therefore I were a slanderer of the gospel, if I contemned fasting. And not so only, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health of the body: but God knoweth who fasteth the true fast."

18. Thou false heretic hast preached openly, saying, "That the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day."

"God full of mercy and goodness forgive them that say such things of me: I know surely by the word of God, that he which hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believeth firmly in him, the soul of that man shall never sleep, but shall live an immortal life. The which life from day to day is renewed in grace; nor yet shall ever perish, or have an end, but ever immortal shall live with Christ. To the which life all that believe in him shall come, and rest in eternal glory. Amen."

When the bishops, with their accomplices, had accused this innocent man in manner and form aforesaid, they immediately condemned him to be burned as an heretic, not having respect to his godly answers and true reasons which he alleged, nor yet to their own consciences, thinking verily that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformable to the saying of St. John, "They shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you shall think that he hath done to God good service."

The Prayer of Mr. George Wisehart.

"O, immortal God, how long shalt thou suffer the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants which do further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to be contrary, that is, to choak and destroy the true doctrine and verity, by the which thou hast shewed thyself unto the world, which was all drowned in blindness and misknowledge of thy name! O Lord, we know surely that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, persecution, affliction, and troubles, in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thou hast shewed to us by thy prophets and apostles. But yet we desire thee heartily, that thou conserve, defend, and help, thy congregation which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world: and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

Then they caused the common people to go away, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man speak; when the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done and said, the cardinal caused his warders to pass again with the meek lamb into the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the castle, there came two grey fiends, friar Scot and his mate, saying, Sir, ye must make your confession unto us. He answered and said, I will make no confession unto you: go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession unto him. Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence. But what he said in this confession I cannot shew.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows, at the west part of the castle, near to the priory, the lord cardinal dreading that Mr. George should have been taken away by his friends, commanded to bend all the ordnance of the castle right against the part, and commanded all his gunners to be ready and stand beside their guns, until such time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound Mr. George's hands behind his back, and led him forth with their soldiers from the castle, to the place of execution. As he came out of the castle gate, there met him certain beggars, asking him alms for God's sake; to whom he answered, I want my hands wherewith I should give you alms; but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessaries both unto your bodies and souls. Then afterwards met him two false fiends, (I should say friars) saying, Mr. George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son. To whom he answered meekly, Cease, tempt me not, my brethren. After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When he came to the fire, he fell down upon his knees, and rose again, and thrice he said these words: "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands!" When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words:

"I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters, that ye be not offended in the word of God, for the affliction and torments which ye see already prepared for me: but I exhort you that you love the word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort.

"Moreover, I pray you shew my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not nor leave off the word of God which I taught unto them, after the grace given

to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which last not; and shew unto them, that my doctrine was no old wife's fables, after the constitutions made by men. And if I had taught men's doctrine, I had gotten great thanks by men; but for the word's sake and true evangelist, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. And so I pray you, if that any persecution come unto you for the word's sake, not to fear them that slay the body, and afterward have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught that the souls of men should sleep until the last day; but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour Christ this night, ere it be six hours: for whom I suffer this."

Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven, to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me; I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly."

And last of all he said to the people, "I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew."

Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments which were then prepared for him.

And last of all, the hangman, that was his tormentor, fell down upon his knees, and said, Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death. To whom he answered, Come hither to me. When he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office." And by and by he was put upon the gibbet, and hanged, and there burned to powder. When the people beheld the great tormenting, they could not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of the slaughter of this innocent lamb.

It was not long after the martyrdom of the blessed man of God, Mr. George Wisehart aforesaid, who was put to death by David Beaton, the bloody archbishop and cardinal of Scotland, as is above specified, in 1546, the first day of March, but the said David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, by the just revenge of God's mighty judgment, was slain within his own castle

of St. Andrew's, by the hands of one Lech, and other gentlemen, who, by the Lord stirred up, brake in suddenly into his castle upon him, and in his bed murdered him the said year, the last day of May, crying out, "Alas, alas, slay me not, I am a priest!" And so like a butcher he lived, and by a butcher he died, and lay seven months or more unburied, and at last like a carrion buried in a dunghill.

After David Beaton, succeeded John Hamelton to the archbishopric of St. Andrews, in 1549; who, that he might in no wise appear inferior to his predecessor, in augmenting the number of holy martyrs, the next year called a certain poor man to judgment, whose name was *Adam Wallace.*

There was set upon a scaffold, hard by the chancellary wall of the black friars' church in Edinburgh, the lord governor. Above him at his back sat Mr. Gawin Hamelton, dean of Glasgow, representing the metropolitan pastor thereof. Upon a seat on his right hand sat the archbishop of St. Andrew's. At his back and side stood the official Louthaine. Next to the bishop of St. Andrew's, the bishop of Dunblane, the bishop of Murray, the abbot of Dunfermeling, the abbot of Glenluce, with other churchmen of lower estimation, as the official of St. Andrews, and other doctors of that city. And at the other end of the seat sat Mr. Uchiltrie. On his left hand sat the earl of Argyle, justice, with his deputy, Sir John Campbel, of Lunday, at his feet. Next him the earl of Huntley. Then the earl of Angus, the bishop of Galloway, the prior of St. Andrew's, the bishop of Orkney, the lord Forbes, dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrew's, and behind the seats stood the whole senate, the clerk of the register, &c.

At the further end of the chancellary wall in the pulpit, was placed Mr. John Lauder, parson of Marbottle, accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood, and a great congregation of people in the body of the church, standing on the ground.

After Sir John Ker, prebendary of St. Giles' church, was accused, convicted, and condemned, for giving a sentence of divorce, whereby he falsely divorced a man and his lawful wife in the name of the dean of Roscalrige, and certain other judges appointed by the holy father the pope. He granted that never any such thing was done, nor yet meant by the aforesaid judges; and agreed to be banished the realms of Scotland and England for his life-time, and to lose his right hand, if he were found therein after, and in the mean time to leave his benefices for ever.

After that, was brought in *Adam Wallace,* a simple poor man in appearance, conveyed by John of Cunnoke, servant to the bishop of St. Andrew's, and set in the midst of the scaffold, who

was commanded to look to the accuser; who asked him what was his name? he answered, Adam Wallace. The accuser said he had another name; which he granted, and said he was commonly called *Feane*. Then asked he where he was born? Within two miles of Fayle, said he, in Kyle. Then said the accuser, I repent that ever such a poor man as you should put these noble lords to so great incumbrance this day by your vain speaking.—And I must speak, returned he, as God giveth me grace; and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body.—Would God, said the accuser, ye had never spoken; but you are brought forth for so horrible crimes of heresy, as never were imagined nor heard of in this country before, and shall be sufficiently proved, that ye cannot deny it: and I forethink that it should be heard, for hurting of weak consciences. Now I will *ye* thee no more, and thou shalt hear the points that thou art accused of.

Adam Wallace, alias Feane, thou art openly delated and accused for preaching, saying, and teaching, of the blasphemies and abominable heresies under written. In the first thou hast said and taught, that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

He turned to the lord governor, and lords aforesaid, saying, I never said nor taught any thing but what I found in this book and writ, (having there a Bible at his belt, in French, Dutch, and English) which is the word of God; and if you will be content that the Lord God and his word be judge to me, and this his holy writ, here it is; and where I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you shall put to me: for I never said any thing concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this writ.

What didst thou say? said the accuser. I said, quoth he, that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the paschal lamb in his latter supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. He took bread, he blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "Take ye, eat, this is my body which shall be broken and given for you. And likewise the cup blessed, and bade them drink all thereof, for that was the cup of the New Testament which should be shed for the forgiving of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembrance."

Then said the bishop of St. Andrew's, and the official of Louthaine, with the dean of Glasgow, and many other prelates, We know this well enough. The earl of Huntley said, Thou answerest not to that which is laid to thee; say either nay or yea thereto. He answered, If ye will admit God and his word

spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, ye will admit that which I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but what the word, which is the trial and touchstone, saith; which ought to be judge to me, and to all the world.

Why, quoth the earl of Huntley, hast thou not a judge good enough? and trowest thou that we know not God and his word? Answer to what is spoken to thee. And then they made the accuser speak the same thing over again.

He answered, I never said more than the writ saith, nor yet more than I said before. For I know well by St. Paul when he saith, "Whosoever eateth this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation." And therefore, when I taught, which was but seldom, and to them only which required and desired me, I said, That if the sacrament of the altar were truly ministered, and used as the Son of the living God did institute it, where that was done there was God himself by his divine power, by the which he is over all.

The bishop of Orkney asked him, Believest thou not that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, is the very body of God, flesh, blood, and bone?

He answered, I wot not what that word consecration meaneth. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, and hath a natural body, with hands, feet, and other members, and in the same body he walked up and down in the world, preached, and taught; he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and that by his godly power he raised that same body again the third day; and the same body ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, which shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. And that this body is a natural body with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he sheweth well himself; for the which everlasting thanks be to him that maketh this matter clear: when the woman brake that ointment on him, answering to some of his disciples which grudged thereat, he said, "The poor shall you always have with you, but me ye shall not have always." Meaning of his natural body. And likewise at his ascension said he to the same disciples that were fleshly, and would ever have had him remaining with them corporally, "It is needful for you that I pass away, for if I pass not away, the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, shall not come to you; (meaning that this natural body behoved to be taken away from them;) but be stout, and be of good cheer, for I am with you unto the world's end."

And that the eating of his very flesh profiteth not, may well be known by his words which he spake in the sixth of John, where after that he had said, "Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye shall not have life in you; they murmuring thereat, he reproved them for their gross and fleshly taking of his words, and said, "What will ye think when ye see the Son of Man ascend to the place that he came from? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing;" to be eaten as they took it; and even so take ye it.

It is an horrible heresy, said the bishop of Orkney. When he began to speak again, and bade the lord governor to judge if he had right by the writ, then the accuser cried, To the second article. Then was he bidden to hear the accuser, who propounded the second article, and said, Thou saidst likewise, and openly didst teach, that the mass is very idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God.

He answered and said, I have read the Bible and word of God in three tongues, and have understood them so far as God gave me grace, and yet never read I that word, mass, in it all; but I found, said he, that the thing that was highest and most in estimation among men, and not in the word of God, was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God.

Then said the accuser, Thou hast said and openly taught, That the God which we worship, is but bread, sown of corn, growing of the earth, baked of men's hands, and nothing else.

He answered, I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Three Persons in One Godhead, which made and fashioned the heavens and earth, and all that is therein; but I know not which god you worship: and if you will shew me whom you worship, I will shew you what he is, as I can by my judgment.

Believest thou not that the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration betwixt the priest's hands, is the very body and blood of the Son of God, and God himself?

What the body of God is, said he, and what kind of body he hath, I have shewed you, so far as I have found in the scripture.

Then said the accuser, Thou hast openly taught divers other great errors and abominable heresies against all the seven sacraments, which for shortness of time I overpass. Whether dost thou grant thy aforesaid articles that thou art accused of, or no?

He answered, That he said nothing but agreeing to the holy word as he understood, and thereby would he abide until he were better instructed by scripture, and the contrary proved. And he said to the lord governor and other lords, If you condemn me for holding by God's word, my innocent blood shall

be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause; before whom ye shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist his wrath, to whom I refer, as it is written, "Vengeance is mine, and I will reward."

Then gave they sentence, and left him to the secular power, in the hands of Sir John Campbel, justice deputy, who delivered him to the provost of Edinburgh, to be burnt on the castle-hill. Sir Hugh Terry, an ignorant minister and imp of Satan and of the bishops, by direction sent to the poor man two grey friars, to instruct him; with whom he would enter into no communing. Soon after were sent in two black friars, an English friar, and another subtle sophister, called Arbirotomy; with which English friar he would have reasoned and declared his faith by the scriptures. Who answered, that he had no commission to enter into disputation with him; and so departed and left him.

Then was sent to him a wise man, the dean of Roscalrige, who gave him christian consolation, among which he exhorted him to believe the reality of the sacrament after the consecration. But he would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the holy scripture; and so passed over that night in singing, and praising God, having learned the Psalter of David without book, for they had before spoiled him of his Bible, which always was with him wherever he went. After Sir Hugh knew that he had books to read and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage and took the same from him, leaving him desolate of all consolation, and gave him divers ungodly and injurious provocations; but God suffered him not to be moved therewith, as plainly appeared.

Then he asked of one of the officers that stood by, Is your fire making ready? who told him, it was. He answered, As it pleaseth God, I am ready, soon or late, as it shall please him. And then he spake to one faithful in that company, and bade him commend him to all the faithful, being sure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time to his coming to the fire, spake no man with him.

At his coming, the provost with great menacing words forbade him to speak to any man, or any to him, as belike he had commandment of his superiors. Coming from the town to the castle-hill, the common people said, God have mercy upon him: and on you too, said he. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven twice or thrice, and said to the people, "Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth's sake; for the disciple is not greater than his master." Then was the provost angry that he spake. Then looked he to heaven again, and said, They will not let me speak. The cord being about his neck,

the fire was lighted, and so departed he joyfully to God, in 1550.

After *Richard Marshall*, doctor of divinity, and prior of the black friars at Newcastle, in England, had declared in his preaching at St. Andrew's, that the Lord's Prayer (commonly called the *Pater Noster*) should be said only to God, and not to saints, neither to any other creature; the doctors of the university of St. Andrew's, together with the grey friars, who had long ago taught the people to pray the Pater Noster to saints, had great indignation that their old doctrine should be opposed, and stirred up a grey friar, called friar Toittis, to preach again to the people, that they should and might pray the Pater Noster to saints. Who finding no part of the scripture to found his purpose upon, yet came to the pulpit the first of November, being the feast of All-hallows, in 1551, and took the text of the gospel for that day, written in the fifth of Matthew, containing these words, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for to them pertaineth the kingdom of heaven."

This feeble foundation being laid, the friar began to reason most impertinently, that the Lord's Prayer might be offered to saints, because every petition thereof appertaineth to them. For if we meet an old man in the street, we will say to him, *Good day, father;* and therefore much more may we call the saints our fathers: and because we grant also that they be in heaven, we may say to each, *Our father which art in heaven.* Our father God, hath made their names holy; therefore ought we, as followers of God, to hold their names holy, and so we may say to any of the saints, *Our father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.* And for the same cause, said the friar, as they are in the kingdom of heaven, so that kingdom is their's by possession; and so praying for the kingdom of heaven, we may say to them, and every one of them, *Thy kingdom come.* And except their will had been the very will of God, they had never come to that kingdom: and therefore seeing their will is God's will, we may say to every one of them, *Thy will be done.*

But when the friar came to the fourth petition, touching our daily bread, he began to be astonished and ashamed, so that he sweat abundantly, because his sophistry began to fail him, not finding such a colour for that part as for the other which went before, and partly because he spake against his own knowledge and conscience; and so he was compelled to confess that it was not in the saints' power to give us our daily bread, but that they should pray to God for us, that we may obtain our daily bread by their intercession: and so glozed he the rest to the end. Not being yet content with this detestable doctrine, he affirmed most blasphemously, that St. Paul's napkin, and St. Peter's shadow,

did miracles; and that the virtue of Elisha's cloak divided the waters; attributing nothing to the power of God, with many other errors horrible to be heard.

Upon this followed a dangerous schism in the church of Scotland: for not only the clergy, but the whole people, were divided among themselves, one defending the truth, and another the papistry, in such sort that there rose a proverb, *To whom say you your Pater Noster?* And although the papists had the upper hand as then, whose words were almost holden for law, (so great was the blindness of that age) yet God so inspired the hearts of the common people, that so many as could get the understanding of the bare words of the Lord's Prayer in English, (which was then said in Latin) utterly detested that opinion, holding that it should in no wise be said to saints. So that the craftsmen and the servants in their booths, when the friar came, exploded him with shame enough, crying, *Friar Pater Noster! Friar Pater Noster!* Who at last being convicted in his own conscience, and ashamed of his former sermon, was compelled to leave the town of St. Andrew's.

In the mean time of this noise, there were two pasquins set on the abbey church; the one in Latin, bearing these words:

Doctores nostri de Collegio
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero.
Quod sancti sunt similes altissimo:
Et se tuentur gravatorio
De mandato Officialis,
Ad instantiam fiscalis,
Gaw *et* Harvey *non varii*
In præmissis connotarii.

Mr. D. Gaw and Mr. T. Harvey were two of the procurators.

The other in English, bearing these words:

Great doctors of theology, of more than fourscore years,
With the old jolly Lupoys and all the bald Grey friars:
Each would be called a Rabbi and eke Magister noster,
And wot not yet to whom they say their pious Pater Noster.

Shortly, the Christians were so much offended, and the papists on the other side so proud and obstinate, that it was necessary, to avoid greater inconveniences, that the clergy should be assembled to conclude the whole matter, that the lay-people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the university agreed, whosoever had been present might have heard much subtle sophistry. For some of the popish doctors affirmed that it should be said to God *formaliter*, in due form; and to saints *materialiter*, by way of respect. Others *ultimate*, ulti-

mately; *et non ultimate*, and others not ultimately. Others said it should be said to God *principaliter*, principally; and to saints *minus principaliter*, less principally. Others that it should be said to God *primarie*, primarily; and to saints *secundarie*, secondarily. Others that it should be said to God *capiendo stricte*, in the strictest sense; and to saints *capiendo large*, in a general sense. Which vain distinctions being heard and considered by the people, they that were simple remained in greater doubtfulness than they were in before: so that an aged man, a servant to the sub-prior of St. Andrew's, called the sub-prior's Thome, being demanded to whom he said his Pater Noster? he answered to God only. Then they asked again, what should be said to the saints? he answered, "Give them Aves and Creeds enow in the devil's name, for that may suffice them well enough, that they may not spoil God of his right." Others, making their vaunts of the doctors, said, That because Christ, who made the Pater Noster, never came into the isle of Britain, and so understood not the English tongue, therefore it was that the doctors concluded it should be said in Latin! Such were thy guides, O Israel, in times of popish darkness.

Among the martyrs of Scotland, the constancy of *Walter Mille*, should not be passed over in silence; out of whose ashes sprang thousands of his opinion in that country, who chose rather to die than to be any longer over-trodden by the tyranny of the aforesaid cruel, ignorant, and beastly bishops, abbots, monks, and friars: and so began the congregation of Scotland to debate the true religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and papists, who sought always to depress the same; for it began soon after the martyrdom of Walter Mille.

In the year 1558, in the time of Mary, duchess of Longaway, queen regent of Scotland, John Hamelton being bishop of St. Andrew's and primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille, who in his youth had been a papist, after he had been in Germany, and had heard the doctrine of the gospel, returned to Scotland, and setting aside all papistry, married a wife: which thing caused him to be suspected of heresy. And after long watching, he was taken by two popish priests, one called Sir George Traquhen, and the other Sir Hugh Turry, servants to the bishop, within the town of Dysart, in Fife, and brought to St. Andrew's, and imprisoned in the castle. Being in prison, the papists earnestly laboured to seduce him, and threatened him with death and torments, that they might cause him to recant and forsake the truth. But seeing that he remained still firm and constant, they laboured to persuade him by fair promises, and offered to him a monk's portion for life, in the abbey of Dunfermeling, so that he would deny the things he had taught, and grant they were

heresy. But he, continuing in the truth, despised their threatenings and fair promises.

Then assembled together the bishops of St. Andrew's, Murray, Brechin, Caithness, and Atheins, the abbots of Dunfermeling, Landors, Balindrinot, and Towpers, with doctors of theology of St. Andrew's, as John Greson, black friar, and dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrew's, William Transton, provost of the old college, with divers others, as sundry friars, black and grey.

These having consulted together, he was taken out of prison, and brought to the metropolitan church, where he was put in a pulpit before the bishops to be accused, the 20th day of April. They seeing him so feeble of person, partly by age and travel, and partly by evil treatment, that without help he could not climb up, they were out of hope to have heard him for weakness of voice. But when he began to speak, he made the church ring and sound again, with so great courage and stoutness, that the christians which were present were no less rejoiced than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed. He being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayer, Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the bishop's priests, commanded him to arise and to answer to his articles; saying on this manner, Sir Walter Mille, arise and answer to the articles, for you hold my lord here over long. To whom Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered, saying, We ought to obey God more than men; I serve one more mighty, even the omnipotent Lord: and where ye call me Sir Walter, call me Walter, and not Sir Walter. I have been over long one of the pope's knights. Now say what thou hast to say.

Oliphant. What think you of priests' marriage?

Mille. I hold it a blessed band; for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men: but you think it not free to you, ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other men's wives and daughters, and will not keep the band that God hath made. Ye vow chastity, and break the same. St. Paul had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, of what state or degree soever he were.

Oliphant. Thou sayest there be not seven sacraments.

Mille. Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and give yourselves to slanderous and ungodly whoredom?

Oliphant. Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry.

Mille. A lord or a king sendeth and calleth many to a dinner,

and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth to ring a bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner; but the lord turning his back unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them: so do ye.

Oliphant. Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood.

Mille. The scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually, and standeth in faith only: and as for the mass, it is wrong; for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's tress-pass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifice.

Oliphant. Thou deniest the office of a bishop.

Mille. I affirm that they, whom ye call bishops, do no bishop's works, nor use the office of bishops, as Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy; but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock, nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured, and called *My lords.*

Oliphant. Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and calledst it a pilgrimage to whoredom.

Mille. I affirm and say, that it is not commanded in the scripture; and that there is no greater whoredom in any place than at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels.

Oliphant. Thou preachedst secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields.

Mille. Yea, man: and I have preached on the sea also, sailing in a ship.

Oliphant. Wilt thou recant thy erroneous opinions? If thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee.

Mille. I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, "What thou doest, do quickly." Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both.

Then Sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as an heretic; which was, to be burnt. Notwithstanding, his boldness and constancy moved so the hearts of many, that the bishop's steward of his regality, provost of the town, called Patrick Learmond, refused to be his temporal judge, to whom it appertained, if the cause had been just. Also, the bishop's chamberlain being therewith charged, would in no wise take upon him so ungodly an office.—Yea, the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the bishop's servants could not get for their money so much as one cord to tie him to the stake, or a tar-barrel to burn him, but were constrained to cut the cords of their master's own pavilion to serve their turn.

Nevertheless, one servant of the bishop's, more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Simmerwail, undertaking the office of a temporal judge in that part, conveyed him to the fire, where, against all natural reason of man, his boldness and hardness did more and more increase, so that the Spirit of God working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the people that his cause was most just, and he was an innocent sufferer.

Now when all things were ready for his death, and he conveyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him pass to the stake; and he said, Nay, but wilt thou put me up with thy hand, and take part of my death, thou shalt see me pass up gladly; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself. Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying, I will draw nigh unto the altar of God; and desired that he might have space to speak to the people; which Oliphant and others of the burners denied, saying, that he had spoken overmuch; for the bishops were altogether offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the burners and the bishops their masters to the devil, saying, that they believed they should lament that day; and desired the said Walter to speak what he pleased.

And so after he made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals, said on this wise, "Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day, is not for any crime laid to my charge (albeit I be a miserable sinner before God) but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the New and Old Testament unto us; for which as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured, after the death of their bodies, of eternal felicity; so this day I praise God that he hath called me of his mercy among the rest of his servants to seal up his truth with my life: which as I have received it of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you will escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of Antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation."

All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude: for they perceiving his patience, stoutness and boldness, constancy and hardness, were not only moved, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last martyr that died in Scotland for religion. After his prayer, he was hoisted up upon the stake, and being in the fire, he said, *Lord, have mercy upon me!—Pray, people, while there is time.* And so he departed in the faith.

EPITAPHIUM.

Non nostra impietas aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armarunt hostes in mea fata trucess:
Sola fides Christi sacris signata libellis,
Quæ vitæ causa est, est mihi causa necis.

After this, by the just judgment of God, in the same place where Walter Mille was burnt, the images of the great church of the abbey, which excelled both in number and costliness, were burnt in the time of the Reformation.

And thus much concerning such matters as happened, and such martyrs as suffered, in the realm of Scotland, for the faith of Jesus Christ, and testimony of his truth.

An Account of the Rise of the Protestant Religion in Ireland.

The gloom of Popery had hung over the kingdom of Ireland, from its first establishment till the reign of Henry VIII. when it began to disperse, and give that light which had never before been known. The ignorance in which the people were kept, with the absurd and superstitious notions they entertained, were sufficiently evident to many; and the distinguished artifices of their priests, who kept them in an absolute state of darkness, was so conspicuous, that several persons of the first characters, who had hitherto been strenuous Romanists, would willingly have endeavoured to shake off Papacy, and embrace the Protestant religion: but the natural ferocity of the people, and their strong attachment to the ridiculous principles they had been taught, made the attempt dangerous. It was, however, at length undertaken, though attended with the most horrid and inhuman consequences.

The introduction of the Protestant religion in Ireland, was principally owing to one Geerge Browne, an Englishman, consecrated (in London) archbishop of Dublin, on the 19th of March, 1535, in the 26th year of Henry VIII. He had been an Augustine friar, and provincial of his order, and is said to have acquired this dignity merely from his merit.

After having enjoyed it about five years, he, at the time that Henry VIII. was demolishing the religious houses in England, caused all the relics and images to be removed out of the cathedral and other churches in Dublin, and the rest of the churches in his diocese; in the place of which he caused to be put up the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments.

A short time after this, he received a letter from Thomas Cromwell, lord privy seal, informing him that Henry VIII. had thrown off the papal supremacy in England, and was determined to do the like in Ireland; and that he thereupon had appointed him (Archbishop B.) one of the commissioners for seeing the same put in execution. The archbishop wrote in December, 1535, to the lord privy seal, in answer, that he had employed his utmost endeavours, at the hazard of his life, to cause the Irish nobility and gentry to acknowledge King Henry as their supreme head, in matters both spiritual and temporal, but had met with the most violent opposition, especially from George, archbishop of Armagh: that this prelate had, in a speech to his clergy, laid a curse on all those who should own his highness's (for such were the kings of England styled in those days) supremacy; adding, that their isle, called in the chronicles *Insula Sacra*, or the Holy Island, belonged to none but the bishop of Rome, and that the king's progenitors had received it from them. He observed likewise, that the archbishop and the clergy of Armagh, had each dispatched a courier to Rome, and that it would be necessary for a parliament to be called in Ireland, to pass an act of supremacy, the people not regarding the king's commission. He concluded with observing, that the popes had kept the people in the most profound ignorance, and that the clergy were exceeding illiterate. That the common people were more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs had been in the defence of truth at the beginning of the gospel; and that it was to be feared Shan O'Neal, a lord of great interest in the northern part of that island, would oppose the king's commission.

The following year a parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin, by order of Leonard Grey, at that time viceroy, or lord lieutenant. At this assembly archbishop Browne made a speech, in which he set forth, that the bishops of Rome used anciently to acknowledge emperors, kings, and princes, to be supreme in their own dominions; and, therefore, that he himself would vote King Henry VIII. as supreme, in all matters, both ecclesiastical and temporal. He concluded with saying, that whoever should refuse to vote for this act, was not a true subject to the king. This speech greatly startled the other bishops and lords; but at length, after strong debates, the king's supremacy was allowed.

Two years after this, the archbishop wrote a second letter to lord Cromwell, complaining of the clergy, and hinting at the machinations of the pope of Rome then carrying on against the Protestants. This letter is dated Dublin, April, 1538; and in it, among other particulars, the archbishop says as follows: "A bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as many of the clergy do in this country. These, though not scholars, yet are crafty

to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highness's (the king's) orders. The country folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, the blacksmith's son. As a friend, I desire your lordship to look to your noble person. Rome hath great kindness for the duke of Norfolk, and great favours for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness."

A short time after this, the pope sent over to Ireland, directed to the archbishop of Armagh and his clergy, a bull of excommunication against all who had, or should, own the king's supremacy within the Irish nation; and adding a curse to all of them, and theirs, who should not, within forty days, acknowledge to their confessors, after the publishing of it to them, that they had done amiss in so doing.

Archbishop Browne gave notice of this in a letter, dated Dublin, May, 1538. Part of the form of the confession, or vow, sent over to these Irish Papists ran as follows: "I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friends or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold, for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil power, above the authority of the mother-church; or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her, the mother of churches' opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto: so God, the blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy Evangelists, help, &c." The councils of Lateran and Constance expressly declare, that no favour should be shewn to heretics, nor faith kept with them. That they ought to be excommunicated and condemned, and their estates confiscated, and that princes are obliged, by a solemn oath, to root them out of their respective dominions.

How abominable a church must that be, which thus dares to trample upon kings! How stupid the people who pay a regard to the injunctions of such a church!

In the archbishop's last-mentioned letter, dated May, 1538, he says, "His highness's viceroy of this nation is of little or no power with the old natives. This nation is poor in wealth, and not sufficiently strong to oppose them. Now both English and Irish begin to oppose your lordship's orders, and to lay aside their national quarrels, which I fear will, if any thing will, cause a foreigner to invade this nation."

Not long after this, archbishop Browne seized one Thade O'Brian, a Franciscan friar, who had got a paper sent from Rome, dated May, 1538, and directed to O'Neal. In this letter were the following words: "His holiness Paul, now pope, and the

council of the fathers, have lately found in Rome a prophecy of one St. Lacerianus, an Irish bishop of Cashell, in which he saith, That the mother-church of Rome falleth, when in Ireland the Catholic faith is overcome. Therefore for the glory of the mother-church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy, and his holiness's enemies."—This friar, Thade O'Brian, after farther examination and search made, was pilloried, and kept close prisoner till the king's orders arrived in what manner he should be farther disposed of.—But news coming over from England that he was to be hung, he laid violent hands on himself in the castle of Dublin. His body was afterwards carried to Gallows-green, where, after being hung up for some time, it was there interred.

After the accession of Edward VI. to the throne of England, an order was directed to Sir Anthony Leger, the lord deputy of Ireland, commanding that the liturgy in English be forthwith set up in Ireland, there to be observed within the several bishoprics, cathedrals, and parish-churches; and it was first read in Christ-church, Dublin, on Easter-day, 1551, before the said Sir Anthony, archbishop Browne, and others. Part of this order was as follows:—"Whereas our gracious father, King Henry VIII. taking into consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects sustained under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome; how several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects; dispensing with the sins of our nation, by their indulgencies and pardons, for gain; purposely to cherish all evil vices, as robberies, rebellions, thefts, whoredoms, blasphemies, idolatry, &c. Our gracious father hereupon dissolved all priories, monasteries, abbeys, and other pretended religious houses; as being but nurseries for vice or luxury, more than for sacred learning," &c.

On the day after the common prayer was first used in Christ-church, Dublin, the following wicked scheme was projected by the Papists:

In the church was left a marble image of Christ, holding a reed in his hand, with a crown of thorns on his head. Whilst the English service (the common prayer) was reading before the lord-lieutenant, the archbishop of Dublin, the privy-council, the lord-mayor, and a great congregation, blood seemed to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, and to trickle down the face of the image.—On this, some of the contrivers of the imposture cried aloud, "See how our Saviour's image sweats blood! But it must necessarily do this, since heresy, (the common prayer) is come into the church." Immediately many of the common people prostrated themselves with beads in their hands, before the image, and prayed to it. Great numbers

flocked to see this sight, when such confusion arose, that the congregation broke up, and the lord-lieutenant and council hastened out of the choir for fear of danger.

As soon as they were gone, the archbishop, suspecting the cheat, caused the image to be searched and washed, to see whether it would bleed afresh. This was no sooner done, but a sponge was found within the hollow of the head of the image, which one Leigh, a monk of that church, had soaked in blood, and watching his opportunity, early on Sunday morning had fixed the sponge, so swollen with blood, within the crown of the image's head, that by an imperceptible pressure the blood fell drop by drop on the face. Immediately the sponge was brought down, and shewn to those worshippers, who being greatly ashamed at the discovery, cursed father Leigh, and the contrivers of the cheat. These afterwards did public penance in the church, and stood on a table before the pulpit, with their crimes written on their breasts; the archbishop preaching that day before the lord-lieutenant and council, on the following seasonable text, "God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe in a lie."

Information of this imposture being sent to England, orders were immediately dispatched to Dublin, that all images should be removed from the churches.

When the order came over from England for publishing proclamations for reading the English liturgy, Sir Anthony St. Leger summoned an assembly of the archbishops, bishops, and other clergy of Ireland, and informed them of the king's pleasure. Immediately George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh, stood up, and strongly opposed the order, saying, that every illiterate fellow will be able to read the mass. To this Sir Anthony answered, There are already too many illiterate priests, who know not the meaning of the Latin, nor can even pronounce it. George Dowdall then bid Sir Anthony beware of the clergy's curse; to which the other replied, that he feared it not. Then George Dowdall left the assembly, with several of his suffragan bishops (him of Meath excepted;) whereupon archbishop Browne, taking the order from Sir Anthony, declared his submission to it, being in all things just and lawful. Several of the more moderate bishops and clergy joined with archbishop Browne; soon after which Sir Anthony St. Leger was recalled to England, and Sir James Crofts placed in his stead. George Dowdall still refusing to obey the order aforesaid, he was deprived of the title of primate of all Ireland, and the same was conferred on George Browne, then archbishop of Dublin; after which George Dowdall was banished.

On the death of King Edward VI. a council being summoned

in Dublin, a division arose among the assembly, some declaring for lady Jane Grey, and others for lady Mary, who at last was voted queen, on her promising to confirm every thing enacted in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

She kept her promise with them during three or four months after her coronation; but then, having accomplished her design, she, pursuant to the practice of the Papists, broke her faith with the Protestants: after which every thing was undone that had been settled by the reformers, who were at that time persecuted with fire and faggot in England.

Many of the principal people were removed, and others placed in their stead. George Browne was deprived of his archiepiscopal see, which, after continuing vacant two years, was filled by Hugh Corrin, or Corwine, an Englishman, who was also made chancellor of Ireland.

A short time before archbishop Browne was deprived of his archiepiscopal dignity, he preached a sermon at Christ church, from the following text, "Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law." In the course of his sermon he inveighed against the church of Rome, and particularly against the Jesuits, of whom he said, "These shall spread over the whole world, and shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein, unto them, and yet they not perceive it. But, in the end, God, to justify his law, shall cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them; so that in the end they shall become odious to all nations, and be worse than the Jews." These words were, in a great measure, prophetical, that order having since been suppressed in most parts of the world.

Towards the close of Queen Mary's reign, a very extraordinary accident happened, which prevented the Protestants in Ireland from being persecuted; the particulars of which are as follow:—

Queen Mary, resolving to persecute them, appointed Dr. Cole, (a bloody agent of Bonner) one of the commissioners for this purpose. Being arrived at Chester with his commission, the mayor of that city, who was a Papist, immediately waited on him at his inn, when the doctor, taking out of his cloak bag a leathern box) said, Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland. The good woman of the house, who was present, being a Protestant, and having a brother in Dublin, was greatly troubled at what she heard. But watching her opportunity, whilst the mayor was taking his leave, and the doctor was complimenting him down stairs, she opened the box, took out

the commission, and instead thereof put in a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards, and the knave of clubs at the top.

The doctor, not suspecting any thing, put up the box, and arrived with it at Dublin in the month of September, 1558. He immediately waited on lord Fitzwalters, at that time viceroy, to whom he presented the box, which being opened, nothing was found but the paper and cards.

This greatly surprised the whole company; but, after a little reflection, the lord-deputy said, We must procure another commission: and in the mean time let us shuffle the cards.

Dr. Cole was immediately ordered to return to England for this purpose; but while he was waiting for a wind, news arrived that Queen Mary was dead. This was very happy for the Protestants, who, by so singular an incidence, escaped a cruel persecution.

This relation is confirmed by historians of the greatest credit, who add, that Queen Elizabeth settled a pension of £40. per annum on the above mentioned Elizabeth Edmonds, who was the means of saving the lives of her Protestant subjects.

At the time Queen Elizabeth ascended the English throne, Ireland was principally inhabited by the native Irish, and by the descendants of English families who had been transplanted thither ever since the reign of Henry II. Among these were many great men, who, though they outwardly recognized the English sovereign's authority, yet imagined they had a right to do themselves justice whenever any supposed injury was done to them.

Hence these lords frequently made war with each other, regardless of the viceroys, who had not force sufficient to check them, but were obliged to send for troops from England, whenever a rebellion broke out in Ireland; and as this was expensive, forces were never sent over but in the greatest extremity. Thus, as few of the lord-lieutenants were able to force obedience, they thence willingly connived at the destructive irregularities committed by the Irish lords, for fear of hurting the royal authority; and contenting themselves with filling their purses, omitted the measures they ought to have taken for curbing the insolence of the natives.

This pusillanimous conduct of the viceroys made the lords of the country so arrogant, that they acknowledged the royal authority no farther than was just sufficient to protect them from the power of their enemies. Add to this, the natural aversion the Irish had to the English government; which aversion was greatly increased on the change made by Queen Elizabeth in matters of religion.

From the natural illiteracy of the Irish, and the superstitious

notions instilled into them by the Roman Catholic priests, they had a stronger attachment to the pope; a circumstance which disposed them to listen to the Romish emissaries, who were perpetually exciting them to rebellion against the government.

This being made known to Queen Elizabeth, she kept as watchful an eye as possible over the transactions of that island, well knowing the great credit which the pope, her mortal enemy, had there.

But notwithstanding all her precaution, in 1567, a rebellion broke out in the northern part of Ireland, headed by that inveterate enemy to the Protestants, Shan O'Neal; but it was happily quelled, and terminated with the death of that distinguished rebel, who was killed by his own people.

Two years after this, fresh commotions broke out in the same part of the kingdom, which were excited by Edmund and Peter Boteler, brothers to the earl of Ormond. But that nobleman being sent over from England to repel them, he used such persuasive arguments, and conducted himself with such propriety, that he prevailed on them to lay down their arms; and the intentions of their employers were happily frustrated. This rebellion was fomented by the King of Spain, who, in conjunction with the pope, also endeavoured to spirit up another in 1577; but that proved luckily abortive.

In 1594, the famous Hugh O'Neal, earl of Tyrone, having been promised assistance from the King of Spain, raised a more considerable rebellion than had hitherto been attempted in that kingdom. This obliged Queen Elizabeth to send over a strong reinforcement: but notwithstanding that assistance, so powerful were the insurgents, that the rebellion continued for some years.

In 1599, the earl of Essex was sent over at the head of an army, consisting of 20,000 foot and 1300 horse: but even these were not able to suppress the rebellion, so vigorously was it fomented by the earl of Tyrone: nor was it quelled till after the arrival of the lord Montjoy in that island in 1602, when Tyrone came and submitted to him.

About the beginning of the year 1607, the lord Montjoy brought Tyrone to London, and presented him to King James I. by whom he was very graciously received. He soon after returned to Ireland, and attempted to raise another rebellion in that kingdom; but not succeeding, to avoid danger he fled from the island.

No very material transaction occurred from this period till the dreadful year 1641, when, from the infernal machinations of the Papists, cruelties of the most horrid nature were inflicted on the Protestants in that kingdom; the melancholy particulars of which will be the subject of the ensuing chapter.

Of the Irish Massacre in 1641.

THOUGH the various attempts made by the Irish against the English usually go under the denomination of *rebellion*, yet they more properly deserve the epithet *persecution*, as all their destructive efforts were particularly levelled at the Protestants only, whom they were determined, if possible, totally to extirpate from the kingdom. They had indeed hitherto miscarried; but they at length hit upon a project that succeeded to their wishes, and produced a catastrophe that will remain in characters of blood to the latest posterity.

That the Romish clergy of Ireland were the principal fomentors of the rebellion in that kingdom, already mentioned, is particularly evident from their treacherous and disloyal behaviour under Queen Elizabeth and King James I. they continually urging to the people the lawfulness of killing all Protestants, who supported the right of the crown of England to Ireland; and assuring them, that all Papists who should die fighting against the Protestants, would go immediately to heaven.

These Irish ecclesiastics, under Charles I. were greatly increased by titular Romish archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars-general, abbots, priests, and friars; for which reason, in 1629, the public exercises of the Popish rites and ceremonies was forbid.

But, notwithstanding this, soon after the Romish clergy erected a new Popish university in the city of Dublin. They also proceeded to build monasteries and nunneries in various parts of the kingdom; in which places these very Romish clergy, and the chiefs of the Irish, held frequent meetings; and from thence used to pass to and fro to France, Spain, Flanders, Lorrain, and Rome, where the detestable plot of 1641, was hatching by the family of the O'Neals, and their followers.

A short time before the horrid conspiracy broke out, which we are now going to relate, the Papists of Ireland had presented a remonstrance to the lords justices of that kingdom, demanding the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary; to which both houses of parliament in England solemnly answered, that they would never grant any toleration to the Popish religion in that kingdom.

This farther irritated the Papists to put in execution the diabolical plot concerted for the destruction of the Protestants; and it failed not of the success wished for by its malicious and rancorous projectors.

The design of this horrid conspiracy was, that a general insurrection should take place at the same time throughout the

kingdom; and that all the Protestants, without exception, should be murdered. The day fixed for this horrid massacre was the 23d of October, 1641, the feast of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits; and the chief conspirators, in the principal parts of the kingdom, made the necessary preparations for the intended conflict.

In order that this detested scheme might the more infallibly succeed, the most subtil artifices were practised by the Papists; and their behaviour, in their visits to the Protestants at this time, was with more seeming kindness than they had hitherto shewn: which was done the more completely to effect the inhuman and treacherous designs then meditated against them.

The execution of this savage conspiracy was delayed till the approach of winter, that the sending troops from England might be attended with greater difficulty. Cardinal Richlieu, the French minister, had promised the conspirators a considerable supply of men and money; and many Irish officers had given the strongest assurances, that they would heartily concur with their Catholic brethren, as soon as the insurrection appeared.

The day preceding that appointed for carrying this horrid design into execution was now arrived, when, happily for the metropolis of the kingdom, the conspiracy was discovered by one Owen O'Connelly, an Irishman, for which most signal service the English parliament voted him £500. and a pension of £200. during his life.

So very seasonably was this plot discovered, even but a few hours before the city and castle of Dublin were to have been surprised, that the lords-justices had but just time to put themselves and the city in a proper posture of defence. The lord M'Guire, who was the principal leader here, with his accomplices, were seized the same evening in the city; and in their lodgings were found swords, hatchets, pole-axes, hammers, and such other instruments of death as had been prepared for the destruction and extirpation of Protestants in that part of the kingdom.

Thus was the metropolis happily preserved: but the bloody part of the intended tragedy was past prevention. The conspirators were in arms all over the kingdom, early in the morning of the day appointed, and every Protestant who fell in their way was immediately murdered. No age, no sex, no condition, was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, and the infirm, underwent the same fate, and were blended in one common ruin. In vain did flight save them from the first assault; destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted vic-

tims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends; all connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace, and as they thought, full security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long maintained a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices. Nay, even death was the slightest punishment inflicted by these monsters in human form: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could invent, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause whatever. Depraved nature, with perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmost licence, cannot reach to a greater pitch of ferocity than appeared in these merciless barbarians. Even the weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, here emulated their robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the exhortation of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcases of the defenceless children of the English.

Nor was the avarice of the Irish sufficient to produce the least restraint on their cruelty: such was their frenzy, that the cattle they had seized, and by rapine had made their own, were, because they bore the name of English, wantonly slaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned loose into the woods, there to perish by slow and lingering torments.

The commodious habitations of the planters were laid in ashes, or levelled with the ground; and where the wretched owners had shut themselves up in the houses, and were preparing for defence, they perished in the flames, together with their wives and children.

Such is the general description of this unparalleled massacre; but it now remains, from the nature of our work, that we proceed to particulars.

The bigotted and merciless Papists had no sooner begun to imbrue their hands in blood, than they repeated the horrid tragedy day after day; and the Protestants in all parts of the kingdom fell victims to their fury by deaths of the most unheard-of nature.

The ignorant Irish were more strongly instigated to execute the infernal business by the Jesuits, priests, and friars, who, when the day for the execution of the plot was agreed on, recommended in their prayers diligence in the great design, which they said would greatly tend to the prosperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the Catholic cause. They every

where declared to the common people, that the Protestantswere heretics, and ought not to be suffered to live any longer among them: adding, that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman than to kill a dog; and that the relieving or protecting them was a crime of the most unpardonable nature.

The Papists having besieged the town and castle of Longford, and the inhabitants of the latter, who were Protestants, surrendering on condition of being allowed quarter, the besiegers, the instant the towns-people appeared, attacked them in the most unmerciful manner, their priest, as a signal for the rest to fall on, first ripping open the belly of the English Protestant minister; after which his followers murdered all the rest, some of whom they hung, others were stabbed or shot, and great numbers knocked on the head with axes provided for the purpose.

The garrison of Sligo was treated in like manner by O'Conner Slygah; who, upon the Protestants quitting their holds, promised them quarter, and to convey them safe over the Carlow mountains, to Roscommon. But he first imprisoned them in a most loathsome goal, allowing them only grains for their food. Afterwards, when some Papists were merry over their cups, who were come to congratulate their wicked brethren for their victory over these unhappy creatures, those Protestants who survived were brought forth by the white friars, and were either killed, or precipitated over the bridge into a swift water, where they were soon destroyed. It is added, that this wicked company of white friars went some time after in solemn procession, with holy water in their hands, to sprinkle the river, on pretence of cleansing and purifying it from the stains and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the heretics, as they called the unfortunate Protestants who were inhumanly slaughtered at this very time.

At Kilmore, Dr. Bedell, bishop of that see, had charitably settled and supported a great number of distressed Protestants, who had fled from their habitations to escape the diabolical cruelties committed by the Papists. But they did not long enjoy the consolation of living together; the good prelate was forcibly dragged from his episcopal residence, which was immediately occupied by Dr. Swinney, the Popish titular bishop of Kilmore, who said mass in the church the Sunday following, and then seized on all the goods and effects belonging to the persecuted bishop.

Soon after this, the Papists forced Dr. Bedell, his two sons, and the rest of his family, with some of the chiefs of the Protestants, whom he had protected, into a ruinous castle, called Lochwater, situated near the sea. Here he remained with his companions some weeks, all of them daily expecting to be put to death. The greatest part of them were stripped naked, by

which means, as the season was cold (it being in the month of December) and the building in which they were confined open at the top, they suffered the most severe hardships.

They continued in this situation till the 7th of January, when they were all released. The bishop was courteously received into the house of Dennis O'Sheridan, one of his clergy, whom he had made a convert to the church of England; but he did not long survive this kindness. During his residence here, he spent the whole of his time in religious exercises, the better to fit and prepare himself and his sorrowful companions for their great change, as nothing but death was perpetually before their eyes.

He was at this time in the 71st year of his age, and being afflicted with a violent ague, caught in his late cold and desolate habitation on the lake, it soon threw him into a fever of the most dangerous nature. Finding his dissolution at hand, he received it with joy, like one of the primitive martyrs just hastening to his crown of glory. After having addressed his little flock, and exhorted them to patience in the most pathetic manner, as they saw their own last day approaching; after having solemnly blessed his people, his family, and his children, he finished the course of his ministry and life together, on the 7th of Feb. 1642.

His friends and relations applied to the intruding bishop for leave to bury him, which was with difficulty obtained; he at first telling them, that the church-yard was holy ground, and should be no longer defiled with heretics: however, leave was at last granted, and though the church funeral service was not used at the solemnity, for fear of the Papists, yet some of the better sort, who had the highest veneration for him when living, attended his remains to the grave. At his interment, they discharged a volley of shot, crying out, *Requiescat in pace, ultimus Anglorum;* that is, *May the last of the English rest in peace.* Adding, that as he was one of the best, so he should be the last English bishop found amongst them.

His learning was very extensive, and he would have given the world a greater proof of it, had he printed all he wrote. Scarce any of his writings were saved, the Papists having destroyed most of his papers, and his library.

He had gathered a vast heap of critical expositions of scripture; all which, with a great trunk full of his manuscripts, fell into the hands of the Irish. Happily his great Hebrew MS. was preserved, and is now in the library of Emanuel college, Oxford.

In the barony of Terawley, the Papists, at the instigation of their friars, compelled above forty English Protestants, some of whom were women and children, to the hard fate either of falling

by the sword, or of drowning themselves in the sea. These choosing the latter, were accordingly forced by the naked weapons of their inexorable persecutors into the deep, where, with their children in their arms, they first waded up to their chins, and afterwards sunk down and perished together.

In the castle of Lisgool, upwards of 150 men, women, and children, were all burnt together; and at the castle of Moneah, not less than 100 were all put to the sword. Great numbers were also murdered at the castle of Tullah, which was delivered up to M'Guire, on condition of having fair quarter; but no sooner had that base villain got possession of the place, than he ordered his followers to murder the people; which was immediately done with the greatest cruelty.

Many others were put to deaths of the most horrid nature, and such as could have been invented only by demons, instead of men.

Some of them were laid with the centre of their backs on the axle-tree of a carriage, with their legs resting on the ground on one side, and their arms and head on the other. In this position, one of the savages scourged the wretched object on the thighs, legs, &c. while another set on furious dogs, who tore to pieces the arms and upper parts of the body; and in this dreadful manner were they deprived of their lives.

Great numbers were fastened to horse's tails, and the beasts being set on full gallop by their riders, the wretched victims were dragged along till they expired.

Others were hung on lofty gibbets, and a fire being kindled under them, they finished their lives partly by hanging and partly by suffocation.

Nor did the more tender sex escape the least particle of cruelty that could be projected by their merciless and furious persecutors. Many women of all ages were put to deaths of the most cruel nature: some in particular were fastened with their backs to strong posts, and being stripped to the waists, the inhuman monsters cut off their right breasts with shears, which of course put them to the most excruciating torments; and in this position they were left, till from loss of blood they expired.

Such was the savage ferocity of these barbarians, that even unborn infants were dragged from the womb to become victims to their rage. Many unhappy mothers, who were near the time of their delivery, were hung naked on the branches of trees, and their bodies being cut open, the innocent offspring were taken from them, and thrown to dogs and swine; and to increase the horrid scene, they would oblige the husband to be a spectator, before he suffered himself.

At the town of Lissenkeath they hanged above one hundred

Scottish Protestants, shewing them no more mercy than they did to the English.

M'Guire, going to the castle of that town, desired to speak with the governor; when being admitted, he immediately burnt the records of the county, which were kept there. He then demanded £1000. of the governor, which having received, he compelled him to hear mass, and to swear that he would continue so to do. And to complete his horrid barbarities, he ordered the wife and children of the governor to be hung up before his face; besides massacreing at least one hundred of the inhabitants.

Upwards of one thousand men, women, and children, were driven in different companies to Portendown bridge, which was broken in the middle, and there compelled to throw themselves into the water, and such as attempted to reach the shore were knocked on the head.

In the same part of the country, at least four thousand persons were drowned in different places. The inhuman Papists, after first stripping them, drove them like beasts to the spot fixed on for their destruction; and if any through fatigue or natural infirmities were slack in their pace, they pricked them with their swords and pikes: and, to strike a farther terror on the multitude, they murdered some by the way. Many of these poor wretches, when thrown into the water, endeavoured to save themselves by swimming to the shore; but their merciless persecutors prevented their endeavours taking effect, by shooting them in the water.

In one place one hundred and forty English, after being driven for many miles stark naked, and in the most severe weather, were all murdered on the same spot, some being hanged, others burnt, some shot, and many of them buried alive; and so cruel were their tormentors, that they would not suffer them to pray before they robbed them of their miserable lives. Other companies they took under pretence of safe-conduct, who, from that consideration, proceeded cheerfully on their journey; but when the treacherous Papists had got them to a convenient spot, they butchered them all in the most cruel manner.

One hundred and fifteen men, women, and children, were conducted, by order of Sir Phelim O'Neal, to Portendown bridge, where they were all forced into the river, and drowned. One woman, named Campbell, finding no probability of escaping, suddenly clasped one of the chief of the Papists in her arms, and held him so fast, that they were both drowned together.

In Killoman they massacred forty-eight families, among whom twenty-two were burnt together in one house; the rest were either hanged, shot, or drowned.

In Kilmore, the inhabitants, which consisted of about two

hundred families, all fell victims to their rage. Some of them they set in the stocks till they confessed where their money was, after which they put them to death. The whole county was one common scene of butchery, and many thousands perished in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and all other the most cruel deaths that rage and malice could invent.

These bloody villains shewed so much favour to some, as to dispatch them immediately, but would by no means suffer them to pray. Others they imprisoned in filthy dungeons, putting heavy irons on their legs, and keeping them there till they were starved to death.

At Cashel they put all the Protestants into a loathsome dungeon, where they kept them together for several weeks in the greatest misery. At length they were released, when some of them were barbarously mangled, and left on the highways to perish at leisure; others were hanged, and some were buried in the ground upright, with their heads above the earth, the Papists, to increase their misery, treating them with derision during their sufferings.

In the county of Antrim they murdered nine hundred and fifty-four Protestants in one morning; and afterwards about twelve hundred more in that county.

At a town callee Lisnegary, they forced twenty-four Protestants into a house, and then setting fire to it, burned them together, counterfeiting their outcries in derision to others.

Among other acts of cruelty, they took two children belonging to an English woman, and dashed out their brains before her face: after which they threw the mother into a river, and she was drowned. They served many other children in the like manner, to the great affliction of their parents, and the disgrace of human nature.

In Kilkenny, all the Protestants, without exception, were put to death, and some of them in so cruel a manner, as perhaps was never before thought of.

They beat an English woman with such savage barbarity, that she had scarcely a whole bone left; after which they threw her into a ditch; but not satisfied with this, they took her child, a girl about six years of age, and ripping up its belly, threw it to its mother, there to languish till it perished.

They forced one man to go to mass, after which they ripped open his belly, and in that manner left him. They sawed another asunder, cut the throat of his wife, and having dashed out the brains of their child, an infant, threw it to the swine, who greedily devoured it. After committing these and many other horrid cruelties, they took the heads of seven Protestants, and among them that of a pious minister, all which they fixed up at

the market cross. They put a gag into the minister's mouth, then slit his cheeks to his ears, and laying a leaf of a Bible before it, bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough. They did several other things by way of derision, and expressed the greatest satisfaction at having thus murdered and exposed the unhappy Protestants.

It is impossible to conceive the pleasure these monsters took in exercising their cruelty; and to increase the misery of those who fell into their hands, when they butchered them, they would say, Your soul to the devil.

One of these miscreants would come into a house, with his hands imbrued in blood, and boast that it was English blood, and that his sword had pricked the white skins of the Protestants, even to the hilt.

When any one of them had killed a Protestant, others would come and receive a gratification in cutting and mangling the body, after which they left it exposed to be devoured by dogs; and when they had slain a number of them, they would boast that the devil was beholden to them for sending so many souls to hell.

But it is no wonder they should thus treat the innocent Christians, when they hesitated not to commit blasphemy against God and his most holy word. In one place they burnt two Protestant Bibles, and then said they had burnt hell-fire. In the church at Powerscourt, they burnt the pulpit, pews, chests, and Bibles belonging to it. They took other Bibles, and after wetting them with dirty water, dashed them in the faces of the Protestants, saying, We know you love a good lesson; here is an excellent one for you: come to-morrow, and you shall have as good a sermon as this.

Some of the Protestants they dragged by the hair of their heads into the church, where they stripped and whipped them in the most cruel manner; telling them, at the same time, That if they came to-morrow, they should hear the like sermon.

In Munster they put to death several ministers, in the most shocking manner. One in particular they stripped stark naked, and driving him before them, pricked him with swords and darts till he fell down and expired.

In some places they plucked out the eyes, and cut off the hands, of the Protestants, and in that manner turned them into the fields, there to wander out their miserable existence.

They obliged many young men to force their aged parents to a river, where they were drowned; wives to assist in hanging their husbands, and mothers to cut the throats of their children.

In one place they compelled a young man to kill his father, and then immediately hanged him. In another they forced a

woman to kill her husband, then obliged the son to kill her, and afterwards shot him through the head.

At a place called Glasgow, a Popish priest, with some others, prevailed on forty Protestants to be reconciled to the church of Rome. They had no sooner done this, than they told them they were in a good faith, and that they would prevent their falling from it, and turning heretics, by sending them out of the world: which they did by immediately cutting their throats.

In the county of Tipperary upwards of thirty Protestants, men, women, and children, fell into the hands of the Papists, who, after stripping them naked, murdered them with stones, pole-axes, swords, and other weapons.

In the county of Mayo about sixty Protestants, fifteen of whom were ministers, were, upon covenant, to be safely conducted to Galway, by one Edmund Burk and his soldiers: but that inhuman monster by the way drew his sword, as an intimation of his design to the rest, who immediately followed his example, and murdered the whole, some of whom they stabbed, others were run through the body with pikes, and several were drowned.

In Queen's County great numbers of Protestants were put to the most shocking deaths; fifty or sixty were placed together in one house, which being set on fire, they all perished in the flames.

Many were stripped naked, and being fastened to horses by ropes placed round their middles, were dragged through bogs till they expired.

Some were hung by the feet to tenter-hooks driven into poles, and in that wretched posture left till they perished.

Others were fastened to the trunk of a tree, with a branch at top; over this branch hung one arm, which principally supported the weight of the body, and one of the legs was turned up, and fastened to the trunk, while the other hung straight; and in this dreadful and uneasy posture did they remain, as long as life would permit, pleasing spectacles to their blood-thirsty persecutors.

At Clownes seventeen men were buried alive; and an Englishman, his wife, five children, and a servant maid, were all hung together, and afterwards thrown into a ditch.

They hung many by the arms to branches of trees, with a weight to their feet, and others by the middle, in which postures they left them till they expired.

Several were hung on windmills, and before they were half dead the barbarians cut them in pieces with their swords. Others, both men, women, and children, they cut and hacked in various parts of their bodies, and left them wallowing in their blood to perish where they fell. One poor woman they hung on a gibbet,

with her child, an infant about a twelvemonth old; the latter was fastened by the neck with the hair of its mother's head, and in that manner finished its short but miserable existence.

In the county of Tyrone no less than three hundred Protestants were drowned in one day, and many others were hanged, burned, and otherways put to death.

Dr. Maxwell, rector of Tyrone, lived at this time near Armagh, and suffered greatly from these merciless savages. This person, in his examination taken upon oath before the king's commissioners, declared, that the Irish Papists owned to him, that they at several times had destroyed in one place twelve thousand Protettants, whom they inhumanly slaughtered at Glynwood, in their flight from the county of Armagh.

As the river Bann was not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Irish forced thither at different times a great number of unarmed, defenceless Protestants, and with pikes and swords violently thrust above one thousand into the river, where they miserably perished.

Nor did the cathedral of Armagh escape the fury of these barbarians, it being maliciously set on fire by their leaders, and burnt to the ground. And to extirpate, if possible, the very race of those unhappy Protestants, who lived in or near Armagh, the Irish first burnt all their houses, and then gathered together many hundreds of those innocent people, young and old, on pretence of allowing them a guard and safe-conduct to Colerain; when they treacherously fell on them by the way, and inhumanly murdered them.

The like horrid barbarities with those we have particularized, were practised on the wretched Protestants in almost all parts of the kingdom; and, when an estimate was afterwards made of the number who were sacrificed to gratify the diabolical souls of the Papists, it amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand!

But it now remains that we proceed to the particulars that followed.

These desperate wretches, flushed and grown insolent with success, (though by methods attended with such excessive barbarities, as perhaps are not to be equalled) soon got possession of the castle of Newry, where the king's stores and ammunition were lodged, and, with as little difficulty, made themselves masters of Dundalk. They afterwards took the town of Ardee, where they murdered all the Protestants, and then proceeded to Drogheda. The garrison of Drogheda was in no condition to sustain a siege, notwithstanding which, as often as the Irish renewed their attacks, they were vigorously repulsed, by a very unequal number of the king's forces, and a few faithful Protestant citizens, under Sir Henry Tichborne, the governor, assisted

by the lord viscount Moore. The siege of Drogheda began on the 30th of November, 1641, and held till the 4th of March, 1642, when Sir Phelim O'Neal, and the Irish miscreants under him, were forced to retire.

In the mean time, ten thousand troops were sent from Scotland to the relief of the remaining Protestants in Ireland, which being properly divided in the most capital parts of the kingdom, happily eclipsed the power of the Irish savages, and the Protestants, for a time, lived in tranquillity.

In the reign of King James II. they were again interrupted: for in a parliament held at Dublin in the year 1689, great numbers of the Protestant nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ireland, were attainted of high treason. The government of the kingdom was, at that time, invested in the earl of Tyrconnel, a bigoted Papist, and an inveterate enemy to the Protestants. By his orders they were again persecuted in various parts of the kingdom. The revenues of the city of Dublin were seized, and most of the churches converted into prisons. And had it not been for the resolution and uncommon bravery of the garrisons in the city of Londonderry and the town of Inniskillin, there had not one place remained for refuge to the distressed Protestants in the whole kingdom; but all must have been given up to King James, and to the furious party that governed him.

The remarkable siege of Londonderry was opened on the 18th of April, 1689, by 20,000 Papists, the flower of the Irish army. The city was not properly circumstanced to sustain a siege, the defenders consisting of a body of raw, undisciplined Protestants, who had fled thither for shelter, and half a regiment of lord Montjoy's disciplined soldiers, with the principal part of the inhabitants, making in all only 7361 fighting men.

The besieged hoped, at first, that their stores of corn and other necessaries would be sufficient; but by the continuance of the siege, their wants daily increased, and these at last became so heavy, that, for a considerable time before the siege was raised, a pint of coarse barley, a small quantity of greens, a few spoonsfull of starch, with a very moderate proportion of horse flesh, were reckoned a week's provision for a soldier. And they were at length reduced to such extremities, that they ate dogs, cats, and mice.

Their miseries increasing with the siege, many through mere hunger and want pined and languished away, or fell dead in the streets. And it is remarkable, that when their long expected succours arrived from England, they were upon the point of being reduced to this alternative, either to preserve their existence by eating each other, or attempting to fight their way through the Irish; which must inevitably have produced their destruction.

These succours were most happily brought by the ship Mountjoy, of Derry, and the Phœnix, of Colerain, at which time they had only nine lean horses left, with a pint of meal to each man. By hunger, and the fatigues of war, their 7361 fighting men were reduced to 4300, one fourth part of whom were rendered unserviceable.

As the calamities of the besieged were very great, so likewise were the terrors and sufferings of their Protestant friends and relations; all of whom, even women and children, were forcibly driven from the country thirty miles round, and inhumanly reduced to the sad necessity of continuing some days and nights, without food or covering, before the walls of the town; and were thus exposed to the continual fire both of the Irish army from without, and the shot of their friends from within.

But the succours from England happily arriving, put an end to their affliction; and the siege was raised on the 31st of July, having been continued upwards of three months.

The day before the siege of Londonderry was raised, the Iniskilliners engaged a body of six thousand Irish Roman Catholics at Newton-Butler, or Crown-Castle, of whom near five thousand were slain. This, with the defeat at Londonderry, dispirited the Papists, and they gave up all farther attempts to persecute the Protestants.

The year following, viz. 1690, the Irish took up arms in favour of the abdicated prince, King James II. but they were totally defeated by his successor, King William III. That monarch, before he left the country, reduced them to subjection; in which they continued till very lately, when other rebellious attempts (but more of a *political* than a *religious* nature) were happily frustrated, and the Irish again subdued.

By a report made in Ireland in the year 1731, it appeared that a great number of ecclesiastics had, in defiance to the laws, flocked into that kingdom; several convents had been opened by Jesuits, monks, and friars, and many new and pompous mass houses had been erected in some of the most conspicuous parts of their great cities, where there had not been any before; and that such swarms of vagrant, immoral, Romish priests, had appeared, that the very Papists themselves considered them as a burden.

But notwithstanding all this, the Protestant interest at present stands upon a much firmer basis than it did a century ago. The Irish, who formerly led an unsettled and roving life, in the woods, bogs, and mountains, and lived on the depredation of their neighbours; they who in the morning seized the prey, and at night divided the spoil; have for many years past become quiet and civilized. They taste the sweets of English society,

and the advantages of civil government. They trade in our cities, and are employed in our manufactures. They are received also into English families, and are treated with great humanity by the Protestants.

The heads of their clans, and the chiefs of the great Irish families, who cruelly oppressed and tyrannized over their vassals, are now dwindled in a great measure to nothing; and most of the ancient Popish nobility and gentry of Ireland have renounced the Romish religion.

POPERY, CALMLY CONSIDERED.

SECTION I.

Of the Church, and the Rule of Faith.

1. The Papists judge it necessary to salvation, to be subject to the Pope, as the one visible Head of the Church.

But we read in Scripture that Christ is the *Head* of the Church, "from whom the whole body is fitly joined together," Col. ii. 19. The Scripture does not mention any visible head of the Church: much less does it mention the Pope as such: and least of all does it say, that it is necessary to salvation, to be subject to him.

2. The Papists say, The Pope is Christ's vicar, St. Peter's successor, and has the supreme power on earth over the whole Church.

We answer, Christ gave no such power to St. Peter himself. He gave no apostle pre-eminence over the rest. Yea, St. Paul was so far from acknowledging St. Peter's supremacy, that he withstood him to the face, Gal. ii. 11, and asserted himself, "not to be behind the chief of the apostles."

Neither is it asserted that St. Peter was the Bishop of Rome: no, nor that he ever was there.

But they say, "Is not Rome the mother, and therefore the mistress of all churches?"

We answer, No. The word of the Lord went forth from Jerusalem. There the Church began. She, therefore, not the Church of Rome, is the mother of all churches.

The Church of Rome, therefore, has no right to require any person to believe what she teaches on her sole authority.

3. St. Paul says, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of

God, and is ptofitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works."

The Scripture therefore being delivered by men divinely inspired, is a rule sufficient of itself: so it neither needs, nor is capable of, any farther addition.

Yet the Papists add tradition to Scripture, and require it to be received with equal veneration. By traditions they mean, "Such points of faith and practice as have been delivered down in the Church from hand to hand without writing." And for many of these they have no more Scripture to shew, than the Pharisees had for their traditions.

3. The Church of Rome not only adds tradition to Scripture, but several entire books; namely Tobit and Judith, the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, the two Books of Maccabees, and a new part of Esther and of Daniel: "Which whole books, (says the Church of Rome,) whoever rejects, let him be accursed."

We answer, We cannot but reject them. We dare not receive them as part of the Holy Scriptures. For none of these books were received as such by the Jewish Church, "to whom were committed the Oracles of God," Rom. iii. 2. Neither by the ancient Christian Church, as appears from the sixtieth canon of the council of Laodicea, wherein is a catalogue of the books of Scripture, without any mention of these.

5. As the Church of Rome, on the one hand, adds to the Scripture, so, on the other, she forbids the people to read them. Yea, they are forbid to read so much as a summary or historical compendium of them in their own tongue.

Nothing can be more inexcusable than this. Even under the law, the people had the Scriptures in a tongue vulgarly known. And they were not only permitted, but required to read them; yea, to be constantly conversant therein. Deut. vi. 6, &c. Agreeably to this, our Lord commands to "Search the Scriptures:" and St. Paul directs, that his "Epistle should be read in all the churches," 1 Thess. v. 27. Certainly this epistle was written in a tongue which all of them understood.

But they say, "If people in general were to read the Bible, it would do them more harm than good." Is it any honour to the Bible to speak thus? But supposing some did abuse it, is this any sufficient reason for forbidding others to use it? Surely no. Even in the days of the apostles, there were some *unstable and ignorant men*, who *wrested* both St. Paul's *Epistles, and the other Scriptures to their own destruction.* But did any of the apostles, on this account, forbid other Christians to read them? You know they did not: they only cautioned them, "Not to be led away by the error of the wicked." And certainly the way to

prevent this is, not to keep the Scriptures from them: (for "they were written for our learning:") but to exhort all to the diligent perusal of them, lest they should "err, not knowing the Scriptures."

6. "But seeing the Scripture may be misunderstood, how are we to judge of the sense of it? How can we know the sense of any scripture, but from the sense of the Church?"

We answer, 1. The Church of Rome is no more the *Church in general*, than the Church of England is. It is only one particular branch of the Catholic, or Universal Church of Christ, which is the whole body of believers in Christ, scattered over the whole earth. 2. We therefore see no reason, to refer any matter in dispute to the Church of Rome, more than any other Church; especially as we neither know the Bishop nor the Church of Rome, is any more infallible than ourselves. 3. In all cases, the Church is to be judged by the Scripture, not the Scripture by the Church. And Scripture is the best expounder of Scripture. The best way therefore to understand it is, carefully to compare Scripture with Scripture, and thereby learn the true meaning of it.

SECTION II.

Of Repentance and Obedience.

1. THE Church of Rome teaches, "That the deepest repentance or contrition, avails nothing without confession to a Priest: but that with this, attrition, or the fear of hell, is sufficient to reconcile us to God."

This is very dangerously wrong, and flatly contrary to Scripture. For Scripture says, "A broken and contrite heart, thou, O God, wilt not despise," Ps. li. 17. And the same texts which make contrition sufficient without confession, shew that attrition even with it is insufficient. Now as the former doctrine of the insufficiency of contrition without confession, makes that necessary which God has not made necessary, so the latter, of the sufficiency of attrition with confession, makes that unnecessary which God has made necessary.

2. The Church of Rome teaches, "That good works truly *merit* eternal life."

This is flatly contrary to what our Saviour teaches: "When ye have done all those things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do," Luke xvii. 10. A command to do it, grace to obey that command, *and a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory,*

must for ever cut of all pretence of *merit* from all human obedience.

3. That a man may truly and properly merit Hell, we grant, although he never can merit Heaven. But if he does merit Hell, yet, according to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, he need never go there. For "the Church has power to grant him an *Indulgence*, which remits both the fault and the punishment."

Some of these indulgences extend only to so many days; some to so many weeks. But others extend to a man's whole life: and this is called a *Plenary Indulgence*.

These indulgences are to be obtained, by going pilgrimages; by reciting certain prayers: or (which is abundantly the most common way) by paying the stated price of it.

Now can any thing under Heaven be imagined more horrid, more execrable than this? Is not this a manifest prostitution of religion to the basest purposes? Can any possible way be contrived, to make Sin more cheap and easy? Even the Popish council of Trent acknowledged this abuse, and condemned it in strong terms. But they did not in any degree remove the abuse which they acknowledged. Nay, two of the Popes under whom the council sat, Pope Paul the Third and Julius the Third, proceeded in the same course with their predecessors, or rather exceeded them. For they granted to such *of the fraternity of the Holy Altar*, as visited the Church of St. Hilary of Chartres, during the six weeks of Lent, seven hundred and seventy-five thousand, seven hundred years of pardon.

4. This miserable doctrine of indulgences is founded upon another bad doctrine, that of *works of supererogation*. For the Church of Rome teaches, That there is "an overplus of merit in the saints; and that this is a treasure committed to the Church's custody, to be disposed as she seems meet."

But this doctrine is utterly irreconcileable with the following scriptures. "The sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us," Rom. viii. 18. And "Every one of us shall give an account of himself to God," 2 Cor. iv. 17. For if there be no comparison betwixt the reward and the sufferings, then no one has merit to transfer to another. And if every one must give an account of himself to God, then no one can be saved by the merit of another. But suppose there were a superabundance of merits in the saints, yet we have no need of them, seeing there is such an infinite value in what Christ hath done and suffered for us: Seeing He alone hath "by one offering, perfected for ever them that are sanctified," Heb. x. 14.

5. But where do the souls of those go after death, who die in

a state of grace, but yet are not sufficiently purged from sin, to enter the kingdom of heaven.

The Church of Rome says, "They go to *purgatory*, a purging fire near hell, where they continue till they are purged from all their sins, and so made meet for heaven."

Nay, that those who die in a state of grace, go into a place of torment, in order to be purged in the other world, is utterly contrary to Scripture. Our Lord said to the penitent thief upon the cross, "To day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." Now if a purgation in another world were necessary for any, he that did not repent and believe till the last hour of his life, might well be supposed to need it; and consequently ought to have been sent to purgatory, not to paradise.

6. Very nearly a-kin to that of purgatory is the doctrine of Limbus Patrum. For the Church of Rome teaches, that "before the Death and Resurrection of Christ, the souls of good men departed, were detained in a certain place, called *Limbus Patrum*, which is the uppermost part of hell. The lowermost, they say, is the place of the damned: next above this, is purgatory: next to that *Limbus Infantum*, or the place where the souls of infants are."

It might suffice to say, there is not one word of all this in Scripture. But there is much against it. We read that Elijah was taken up into heaven, 2 Kings ii. 11. And he and Moses appeared in glory, Matt. xvii. 2. And Abraham is represented as in Paradise, Luke xvi. 22, the blessed abode of good men in the other world. Therefore none of these were in the *Limbus Patrum*. Consequently, if the Bible is true, there is no such place.

SECTION III.

Of Divine Worship.

1. The service of the Roman Church consists of prayers to God, angels, and saints, of lessons and of confessions of faith.

All their service is every where performed in the Latin tongue, which is no where vulgarly understood. Yea, it is required, and a curse is denounced against all those who say it ought to be performed in the vulgar tongue.

This irrational and unscriptural practice, destroys the great end of public worship. The end of this is, the honour of God in the edification of the Church. The means to this end is, to have the service so performed as may inform the mind and in-

crease devotion. But this cannot be done by that service which is performed in an unknown tongue.

What St. Paul judged of this, is clear from his own words. "If I know not the meaning of the voice (of him that speaks in a public assembly) he that speaketh shall be a barbarian to me," 1 Cor. xiv. 11. Again, "If thou shalt bless by the Spirit (by the gift of an unknown tongue) how shall the unlearned say, Amen?" ver. 16. How can the people be profited by the lessons, answer at the responses, be devout in their prayers, confess their faith in the creeds, when they do not understand what is read, prayed, and confessed? It is manifest then, that the having any part of divine worship in an unknown tongue, is as flatly contrary to the Word of God, as it is to reason.

2. From the manner of worship in the Church of Rome, proceed we to the objects of it. Now the Romanists worship, besides angels, the Virgin Mary, and other saints. They teach, that angels, in particular, are to be "worshipped, invoked, and prayed to." And they have Litanies and other prayers composed for that purpose.

In flat opposition to all this, the words of our Saviour are, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." To evade this, they say, "The worship we give to angels is not the same kind with that which we give to God." Vain words! What kind of worship is peculiar to God, if prayer is not? Surely God alone can receive all our prayers, and give what we pray for. We honour the angels, as they are God's ministers; but we dare not worship or pray to them. It is what they themselves refuse and abhor. So, when "St. John fell down at the feet of the angel to worship him, he said, See thou do it not. I am thy fellow-servant: worship God!" Rev. xix. 10.

3. The Romanists also worship saints. They pray to them as their intercessors. They confess their sins to them; they offer incense and make vows to them. Yea, they venerate their very images and relics.

Now all this is directly contrary to Scripture. And first, the worshipping them as intercessors. For as "there is but one God to us, though there are gods many, and lords many:" so, according to Scripture, there is but one Intercessor or Mediator to us, 1 Cor. viii. 5. And suppose the angels or saints intercede for us in heaven, yet may we no more worship them, than because *there are gods many on earth*, we may worship them as we do the true God.

The Romanists allow, "there is only one Mediator of Redemption;" but say, "there are many mediators of intercession." We answer, The Scripture knows no difference between a Me-

diator of Intercession and of Redemption. He alone *who died and rose again* for us, *makes intercession for us at the right hand of God.* And he alone has a right to our prayers, nor dare we address them to any other.

4. The worship which the Romanists give to the Virgin Mary, is beyond what they give either to angels or other saints. In one of their public offices, they say, "Command thy son by the right of a mother." They pray to her, to "loose the bands of the guilty, to bring light to the blind, to make them mild and chaste, and to cause their hearts to burn in love to Christ."

Such worship as this cannot be given to any creature, without gross, palpable idolatry. We honour the blessed Virgin, as the mother of the Holy Jesus, and as a person of eminent piety. But we dare not give worship to her; for it belongs to God alone.

Meantime we cannot but wonder at the application which the Church of Rome continually makes to her, of whose acts on earth the Scripture so sparingly speaks. And it says nothing of (what they so pompously celebrate) her assumption into heaven, or of her exaltation to a throne above angels or archangels. It says nothing of her being "the Mother of Grace and Mercy, the Queen of the gate of heaven," or of her "Power to destroy all heresies," and being "all things to all."

5. The Romanists pay a regard to the relics of the saints also: which is a kind of worship. By relics they mean the bodies of the saints, or any remains of them, or particular things belonging or relating to them when they were alive; as an arm or thigh, bones or ashes; or the place where, or the things by which they suffered. They venerate these, in order to obtain the help of the saints. And they believe "by these, many benefits are conferred on mankind: that by these relics of the saints, the sick have been cured, the dead raised, and devils cast out."

We read of good king Hezekiah, that "he brake in pieces the brazen serpent which Moses had made," 2 Kings xviii. 4. And the reason was, because the children of Israel burnt incense to it. By looking up to this, the people bitten by the fiery serpents had been healed. And it was preserved from generation to generation, as a memorial of that divine operation. Yet when it was abused to idolatry, he ordered it to be broke in pieces. And were these true relics of the saints, and did they truly work these miracles, yet that would be no sufficient cause for the worship that is given them. Rather this worship would be a good reason, according to Hezekiah's practice, for giving them a decent interment.

6. Let us next consider, what reverence the Church of Rome

requires to be given to images and pictures. She requires, "to kiss them; to uncover the head; to fall down before them, and use all such postures of worship as they would do to the persons represented if present." And accordingly "the priest is to direct the people to them, that they may be worshipped." They say, indeed, that "in falling down before the image, they worship the saint or angel whom it represents." We answer, 1. We are absolutely forbidden in Scripture, to worship saints or angels themselves. Secondly, We are expressly forbidden "to fall down and worship any image or likeness, of any thing in heaven or earth," whomsoever it may represent. This, therefore, is flat idolatry, directly contrary to the commandment of God.

7. Such likewise, without all possibility of evasion, is the worship they pay to the cross. They pray, that God may make the wood of the cross, to "be the stability of faith, an increase of good works, the redemption of souls."

They use all expressions of outward adoration, as kissing and falling down before it. They pray directly to it, to "increase grace in the ungodly, and blot out the sins of the guilty." Yea, they give *Latria* to it. And this themselves say "is the sovereign worship that is due only to God."

But, indeed, they have no authority from Scripture, for their distinction between *Latria* and *Dulia*; the former of which they say, is due to God alone, the latter that which is due to saints. But here they have forgotten their own distinction. For although they own *Latria* is due only to God, yet they do in fact give it to the cross. This then, by their own account, is flat idolatry.

8. And so it is to represent the blessed Trinity by pictures and images, and to worship them. Yet these are made in every Romish country, and recommended to the people to be worshipped: although there is nothing more expressly forbidden in Scripture, than to make any image or representation of God. God himself never appeared in any bodily shape. The representation of "the ancient of days," mentioned in Daniel, was a mere prophetical figure, and did no more literally belong to God, than the eyes or ears that are ascribed to him in Scripture.

SECTION IV.

Of the Sacraments.

1. THE Church of Rome says, "A Sacrament is a sensible thing instituted by God himself, as a sign and a means of grace."

"The Sacraments are seven, Baptism, Confirmation, the Lord's Supper, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Marriage."

"The parts of a Sacrament are, the matter, and the form, or words of consecration. So in Baptism, the matter is water; the form, 'I baptize thee,' &c."

On this we remark, Peter Lombard lived about 1140 years after Christ. And he was the first that ever determined the Sacraments to be seven. St. Austin (a greater than he) positively affirms, "that there are but two of Divine institution."

Again, To say that a Sacrament consists of matter and form, and yet either has no form, as confirmation and extreme unction, (neither of which is ever pretended to have any form of words, instituted by God himself) or has neither matter nor form, as penance or marriage, is to make them Sacraments and no Sacraments. For they do not answer that definition of a Sacrament which themselves have given.

2. However, they teach, that "all these seven confer grace *ex opere operato*, by the work itself, on all such as do not put an obstruction." Nay, it is not enough, that we do not put an obstruction. In order to our receiving grace, there is also required previous instruction, true repentance, and a degree of faith. And even then, the grace does not spring merely *ex opere operato:* it does not proceed from the mere elements, or the words spoken; but from the blessing of God, in consequence of his promise to such as are qualified for it.

Equally erroneous is that doctrine of the Church of Rome, that "in order to the validity of any Sacrament, it is absolutely necessary the person who administers it, should do it with an holy intention." For it follows, that wherever there is not this intention, the Sacrament is null and void. And so there is no certainty, whether the priest, so called, be a real priest: for who knows the intention of him that ordained him? And if he be not, all his ministrations are of course null and void. But if he be, can I be sure that *his* intention was holy, in administering the Baptism or the Lord's Supper? And if it was not, they are no Sacraments at all, and all our attendance on them is lost labour.

3. So much for the Sacraments in general, let us now proceed to particulars.

"*Baptism*, (say the Romanists) may, in case of necessity, be administered by women, yea, by Jews, infidels, or heretics." No: our Lord gave this commission only to the apostles, and their successors in the ministry.

The ceremonies which the Romanists use in baptism are these: Before *baptism*. 1. *Chrism*, that is oil mixed with water is to

be consecrated. 2. *Exorcism*, that is, the priest is to blow in the face of the child, saying, "Go out of him, Satan!" 3. He *crosses* the forehead, eyes, breast, and several other parts of the body. 4. He puts *exorcised salt* into his mouth, saying, "Take the Salt of Wisdom." 5. He puts spittle in the palm of his left hand, puts the fore finger of his right hand into it, and anoints the child's nose and ears therewith, who is then brought to the water.

After baptism, first, he anoints the top of the child's head with chrism, as a token of salvation. Secondly, he puts on him a white garment, in token of his innocence, and thirdly, he puts a lighted candle into his hand, in token of the light of faith.

Now what can any man of understanding say, in defence of these idle ceremonies, utterly unknown in the Primitive Church, as well as unsupported by Scripture? Do they add dignity to the ordinance of God? Do they not rather make it contemptible?

4. The matter of confirmation is the chrism, which is an ointment consecrated by the bishop. The form is, the words he uses in crossing the forehead with the chrism, namely, "I sign thee with the sign of a cross, and confirm thee with the chrism of salvation, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Then the person confirmed, setting his right foot on the right foot of his godfather, is to have his head bound with a clean headband; which, after some days, is to be taken off and reserved till the next Ash-Wednesday, to be then burnt to holy ashes.

The Roman Catechism says, "Sacraments cannot be instituted by any beside God." But it must be allowed, Christ did not institute Confirmation, therefore it is no Sacrament at all.

5. We come now to one of the grand doctrines of the Church of Rome, that which regards the Lord's Supper. This therefore we would wish to consider with the deepest attention. They say, "In the Lord's Supper, whole Christ is really, truly, and substantially contained; God-man, body and blood, bones and nerves, under the appearance of bread and wine."

They attempt to prove it thus. "Our Lord himself says, *This is my body.* Therefore, upon consecration, there is a conversion of the whole substance of the bread, into the whole substance of Christ's body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood: and this we term *Transubstantiation.*

"Yet we must not suppose, that Christ is broken, when the Host (or consecrated bread) is broken; because there is whole and entire Christ, under the species of every particle of bread, and under the species of every drop of wine."

We answer, No such change of the bread into the body of

Christ, can be inferred from his words, "This is my body." For it is not said, "This is changed into my body;" but, "This is my body:" which if it were to be taken literally, would rather prove the substance of the bread to be his body. But that they are not to be taken literally is manifest, from the words of St. Paul, who calls it bread, not only before, but likewise after the consecration, 1 Cor. x. 17; chap. xi. ver. 26, 27, 28. Here we see, that what was called his body, was bread at the same time. And accordingly these elements are called by the fathers, the images, the symbols, the figure of Christ's body and blood.

Scripture and antiquity then are flatly against transubstantiation. And so are our very senses. Now our Lord himself appealed to the senses of his disciples, Luke xxiv. 39, "Handle and see me; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." Take away the testimony of our senses, and there is no discerning a body from a spirit. But if we believe transubstantiation we take away the testimony of all our senses.

And we give up our reason too. For if every particle of the host, is as much the whole body of Christ, as the whole host is before it is divided, then a whole may be divided, not into parts, but into wholes. For, divide and subdivide it over ond over; and it is whole still! It is whole before the division; whole in the division; whole after the division! Such nonsense, absurdity, and self-contradiction all over is the doctrine of transubstantiation!

6. An evil practice attendlng this evil doctrine is, The *depriving the laity of the cup* in the Lord's Supper. It is acknowledged by all, that our Lord instituted and delivered this Sacrament *in both kinds;* giving the wine as well as the bread, to all that partook of it. And that it continued to be so delivered in the Church of Rome for above a thousand years. And yet, notwithstanding this, the Church of Rome now forbids the people to *drink of the cup!* A more insolent and bare-faced corruption cannot easily be conceived.

Another evil practice in the Church of Rome, utterly unheard of in the ancient Church, is that when there is none to receive the Lord's Supper, the priest *communicates alone.* (Indeed it is not properly to *communicate,* when only one receives it.) This likewise is an absolute innovation in the Church of God.

But the greatest abuse of all in the Lord's Supper is, the *worshipping the consecrated bread.* And this the Church of Rome not only practises, but positively enjoins. These are her words: "The same sovereign worship which is due to God, is due to the host. Adore it: pray to it. And whosoever holds it unlawful so to do, let him be accursed."

The Romanists themselves grant, that if Christ is not corpo-

rally present in the Lord's Supper, this is idolatry. And that he is not corporally present any where but in heaven, we learn from Acts i. 11, ch. iii. 21, "Thither he went, and there he will continue, till the time of the restitution of all things."

7. Consider we now what the Romanists hold, concerning the Sacrament of Penance.

"The matter of the Sacrament of Penance is, contrition, confession, and satisfaction; the form, I absolve thee."

We object to this: You say, "The matter of a Sacrament is something sensible," perceivable by our senses. But if so, Penance is not a Sacrament. For surely, Contrition is not something perceivable by the outward senses!

Again: they say, "Confession is a particular discovery of all mortal sins to a priest, with all their circumstances, as far as they can be called to mind, without which there can be no forgiveness or salvation."

We answer, Although it is often of use, to confess our sins to a Spiritual Guide, yet to make confessing to a priest necessary to forgiveness and salvation, is "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." And to make it necessary in all cases, is to lay a dangerous snare both for the confessor and the confessed.

They go on, "The sentence pronounced by the priest in absolution, is pronounced by the judge himself. All the sins of the sinner are thereby pardoned, and an entrance opened into heaven."

We cannot allow it. We believe the absolution pronounced by the priest, is only declarative and conditional. For judicially to pardon sin and absolve the sinner, is a power God has reserved to himself.

Once more: You say, "Satisfaction is a compensation made to God by alms, &c. for all offences committed against him."

We answer, 1. It cannot be, that we should satisfy God, by any of our works. For, 2. Nothing can make satisfaction to him, but the obedience and death of his Son.

8. We proceed to what they call, "The Sacrament of *Extreme Unction*. "The matter (they say) of extreme unction is, oil consecrated by the bishop, and applied to the eyes, ears, mouth, hands, feet, and reins of a person supposed to be near death. The form is, "By this holy anointing, God pardon thee for whatever thou hast offended by the eyes, ears, mouth, or touch."

We reply, When the Apostles were sent forth, "they anointed with oil many that are sick, and healed them," Mark vi. 13, using this as a sign of the miraculous cures to be wrought. And St. James accordingly directs, "Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the Church, let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer

of faith shall save the sick," ch. v. ver. 14, 15. But what has this to do with the extreme unction of the Church of Rome? In the first Church this anointing was a mere rite: in the Church of Rome it is made a Sacrament. It was used in the first Church for the body: it is used in the Church of Rome for the soul. It was used then for the recovery of the sick: now, for those only that are thought past recovery. It is easy, therefore, to see, that the Romish extreme unction has no foundation in Scripture.

9. We are now to consider, what the Church of Rome delivers concerning *Ordination.* "This, (says she) is properly a Sacrament. He that denies it, let him be accursed."

"The orders received in the Church of Rome, are seven: the Priest, the Deacon, the Sub-deacon, the Acolythus to carry the candle, the Exorcist to cast out devils, the Reader, and the Door-keeper."

On this we observe, it is not worth disputing, whether Ordination should be called a Sacrament or not. Let the word then pass; but we object to the thing: there is no divine authority for any order under a deacon. Much less is there any scriptural authority, for the forms of conjuration prescribed to the exorcists, or for the rites prescribed in exorcising not only men, women, and children, but likewise houses, cattle, milk, butter, or fruits, said to be infested with the devil.

10. The next of their Sacraments so called, is Marriage: concerning which, they pronounce, "Marriage is truly and properly a Sacrament. He that denies it so to be, let him be accursed."

We answer, In one sense it may be so. For St. Austin says, "Signs, when applied to religious things, are called Sacraments." In this large sense he calls the sign of the cross a sacrament: And others give the name to washing the feet. But it is not a sacrament according to the Romish definition of the word: for it no more "confers grace," than washing the feet, or signing with the cross.

A more dangerous error in the Church of Rome is, the *forbidding the Clergy to marry.* "Those that are married may not be admitted into orders: those that are admitted may not marry: and those that being admitted, do marry, are to be separated."

The apostle on the contrary, says, "Marriage is honourable in all," Heb. xiii. 4, and accuses those who *forbid to marry,* of "teaching doctrines of devils." How lawful it was for the clergy to marry, his directions concerning it shew, 1 Tim. iv. 1—3. And how convenient, yea necessary in many cases it is, clearly appears from the innumerable mischiefs, which have, in all ages, followed the prohibition of it in the Church of Rome: which so many wise and good men, even of her own communion, have lamented.

I have now fairly stated, and calmly considered most of the particular doctrines of the Church of Rome. Permit me to add a few considerations of a more general nature.

That many members of that Church have been holy men, and that many are so now, I firmly believe. But I do not know, if any of them that are dead, were more holy than many Protestants, who are now with God: yea, than some of our own country, who were very lately removed to Abraham's bosom. To instance only in one, (whom I mention the rather, because an account of his life is extant) I do not believe, that many of them of the same age, were more holy than Thomas Walsh. And I doubt, if among them living now, are more holy than several Protestants now alive.

But be this as it may. However, by the tender mercies of God, many members of the Church of Rome, have been, and are now, holy men, notwithstanding their principles, yet I fear many of their principles have a natural tendency to undermine holiness; greatly to hinder, if not utterly to destroy, the essential branches of it; to destroy the love of God, and the love of our neighbour, with all justice, and mercy, and truth.

I wish it were possible to lay all prejudice aside, and to consider this calmly and impartially. I begin with the love of God, the fountain of all that holiness, without which we cannot see the Lord. And what is it that has a more natural tendency to destroy this than idolatry? Consequently, every doctrine which leads to idolatry, naturally tends to destroy it. But so does a very considerable part of the avowed doctrine of the Church of Rome. Her doctrine, touching the worship of angels, of saints, the Virgin Mary in particular, touching the worship of images, of relics, of the cross, and above all, the host, or consecrated wafer, lead all who receive them to practise idolatry, flat, palpable idolatry, the paying that worship to the creature, which is due to God alone.—Therefore, they have a natural tendency to hinder, if not utterly destroy the love of God.

Secondly, the doctrine of the Church of Rome has a natural tendency, to hinder, if not destroy, the love of our neighbour. By the love of our neighbour, I mean universal benevolence, tender good-will to all men. For in this respect, every child of man, every son of Adam is our neighbour; as we may easily learn from our Lord's history of the Good Samaritan. Now the Church of Rome, by asserting, that all who are not of her own church, that is, the bulk of mankind, are in a state of utter rejection from God, despised and hated by him that made them; and by her bitter, (I might say, accursed) anathemas, devoting to absolute, everlasting destruction, all who willingly or unwillingly differ from her in any jot or tittle; teaches all her members

to look upon them with the same eyes as she supposes God to do: to regard them as mere fire-brands of hell, *vessels of wrath fitted for destruction.* And what love can you entertain for such? No other than you can believe God to have for them. Therefore, every anathema denounced by the Church of Rome, against all who differ from her, has a natural tendency, not only to hinder, but utterly destroy the *love of our neighbour.*

Thirdly, the same doctrine which devotes to utter destruction so vast a majority of mankind, must greatly indispose us for shewing them the *justice* which is due to all men. For how hard is it to be just to them we hate? To render them their due, either in thought, word, or action? Indeed, we violate justice by this very thing, by not loving them as ourselves. For we do not render unto all their due; seeing love is due to all mankind. If we owe *no man any thing beside*, do we not owe this, *to love one another?* And where love is totally wanting, what other justice can be expected? Will not a whole train of injurious tempers and passions, of wrong words and actions naturally follow? So plain, so undeniably plain it is, that this doctrine of the Church of Rome (to instance at present in no more) that "all but those of their own Church are accursed," has a natural tendency to hinder, yea utterly to destroy *justice.*

Fourthly, its natural tendency to destroy *mercy*, is equally glaring and undeniable. We need not use any reasoning to prove this. Only cast your eyes upon matter of fact? What terrible proofs of it do we see, in the execrable Crusades against the Albigenses? In those horrible wars in the Holy Land, where so many rivers of blood were poured out! In the many millions that have been butchered in Europe, since the beginning of the Reformation: not only in the open field, but in prisons, on the scaffold, on the gibbet, at the stake! For how many thousands of lives, barbarously taken away, has Philip the Second to give an account to God? For how many thousands, that infamous, perfidious butcher, Charles the Ninth of France? To say nothing of our own bloody Queen Mary, not much inferior to them. See in Europe, in America, in the uttermost parts of Asia, the dungeons, the racks, the various tortures of the Inquisition! so unhappily stiled, *the House of Mercy!* Yea, such mercy as is in the fiends of hell! Such mercy as the natives of Ireland in the last century, shewed to myriads of their Protestant countrymen! Such is the mercy which the doctrine of the Church of Rome very naturally inspires!

Lastly, the doctrine of the Church of Rome has a natural tendency, to destroy *Truth* from off the earth. What can more directly tend to this, what can more incite her own members to all lying and falsehood, than that precious doctrine of the Church

of Rome, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics?" Can I believe one word that a man says, who espouses this principle? I know it has been frequently affirmed, that the Church of Rome has renounced this doctrine. But I ask, When or where? By what public and authentic act, notified to all the world? This principle has been publickly and openly avowed by a whole council, the ever-renowned council of Constance: (an assembly never to be paralleled, either among Turks or Pagans, for regard to justice, mercy, and truth!) But when and where, was it as publickly disavowed? Till this is done in the face of the sun, this doctrine must stand before all mankind, as an avowed principle of the Church of Rome.

And will this operate only toward heretics? Toward the supposed enemies of the church? Nay, where men have once learned not to keep faith with heretics, they will not long keep it towards Catholics. When they have once overleaped the bounds of truth, and habituated themselves to lying and dissimulation, toward one kind of men, will they not easily learn, to behave in the same manner toward all men? So that instead of *putting away all lying*, they will put away all truth! And instead of having *no guile found in their mouth*, there will be found nothing else therein!

Thus naturally do the principles of the Romanists tend to banish truth from among themselves. And have they not an equal tendency to cause lying and dissimulation among those that are not of their communion; by that Romish principle, that force is to be used in matters of religion? That if men are not of our sentiments, of our church, we should thus *compel them to come in?* Must not this, in the very nature of things, induce all those over whom they have any power, to dissemble, if not deny those opinions, which vary ever so little from what that church has determined? And if an habit of lying and dissimulation is once formed, it will not confine itself to matters of religion. It will assuredly spread into common life, and tincture the whole conversation.

Again, Some of the most eminent Roman Casuists, (whose books are duly licensed by the heads of the Church) lay it down as an undoubted maxim, That although malicious lies are sins, yet "*officious* lies, that is, lies told in order to do good, are not only innocent, but meritorious." Now what a flood-gate does this open for falsehood of every kind! Therefore, this doctrine likewise has a natural tendency to banish truth from the earth.

One doctrine more of the Romish Church, must not here be past over, I mean, that of *Absolution* by a priest, as it has a clear, direct tendency to destroy both justice, mercy, and truth, yea, to drive all virtue out of the world. For if a man (and not always a very good man) has power to forgive sins: If he

can, at pleasure, forgive any violation, either of truth, or mercy, or justice: what an irresistible temptation must this be to men of weak or corrupt minds! Will they be scrupulous with regard to any pleasing sin, when they can be absolved upon easy terms? And if after this, any scruple remain, is not a remedy for this provided? Are there not *Papal Indulgences* to be had? Yea, *Plenary Indulgences?* I have seen one of these which was purchased at Rome, not many years ago. This single doctrine of papal indulgences strikes at the root of all religion. And were the Church of Rome ever so faultless in all other respects, yet till this power of forgiving sins, whether by *Priestly Absolution*, or *Papal Indulgences*, is openly and absolutely disclaimed: and till these practices are totally abolished, there can be no security in that church for any morality, any religion, any justice, or mercy, or truth.

The following Letters were written by the above Reverend Author, and first addressed to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, &c. &c. (occasioned by an Act passed in favour of Popery,) dated City Road, Jan 21, 1780:—

Sir,

Some time ago, a Pamphlet was sent me, entitled, "An Appeal from the Protestant Association to the People of Great-Britain." A day or two since a kind of Answer to this was put into my hand, which pronounces "its stile contemptible, its reasoning futile, and its object malicious." On the contrary, I think the stile of it is clear, easy, and natural; the reasoning, in general, strong and conclusive; the object or design, kind and benevolent. And in pursuance of the same kind and benevolent design, namely, to preserve our happy constitution, I shall endeavour to confirm the substance of that tract, by a few plain arguments.

With persecution I have nothing to do. I persecute no man for his religious principles. Let there be as "boundless a freedom in religion," as any man can conceive. But this does not touch the point: I will set religion, true or false, utterly out of the question. Suppose the Bible, if you please, to be a fable, and the Koran to be the word of God. I consider not whether the Romish religion be true or false; I build nothing on one or other supposition. Therefore away with all your common-place declamation about intolerance and persecution for religion! Suppose every word of Pope Pius's Creed to be true; suppose the council of Trent to have been infallible; yet, I insist upon it, that no government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

I prove this by a plain argument, (let him answer it that can)

That no Roman Catholic does or can give security for his allegiance or peaceable behaviour. I prove it thus: It is a Roman Catholic maxim, established not by private men, but by a public council, that "*No* faith is to be kept with heretics." This has been openly avowed by the council of Constance; but it was never openly disclaimed. Whether private persons avow or disavow it, it is a fixed maxim of the church of Rome. But as long as it is so, it is plain that the members of that church can give no reasonable security, to any government, of their allegiance or peaceable behaviour. Therefore, they ought not to be tolerated by any government, Protestant, Mahometan, or Pagan.

You may say, "Nay, but they will take an *oath* of allegiance." True, five hundred oaths; but the maxim, "No faith is to be kept with heretics," sweeps them all away as a spider's web. So that still, no governors, that are not Roman Catholics, can have any security of their allegiance.

Again, Those who acknowledge the *spiritual power* of the pope can give no security of their allegiance to any government: but all Roman Catholics acknowledge this; therefore, they can give no security for their allegiance.

The power of granting *pardons* for all sins, past, present, and to come, is, and has been for many centuries, one branch of his *spiritual power*.

But those who acknowledge him to have this spiritual power, can give no security for their allegiance; since they believe the pope can pardon rebellions, high-treason, and all other sins whatsoever.

The power of *dispensing* with any promise, oath, or vow, is another branch of the *spiritual power* of the pope. And all who acknowledge his spiritual power, must acknowledge this. But whoever acknowledges the *dispensing power* of the pope, can give no security for his allegiance to any government.

Oaths and promises are none: they are light as air; a dispensation makes them all null and void.

Nay, not only the pope, but even a priest has *power to pardon sins!* This is an essential doctrine of the church of Rome. But they that acknowledge this, cannot possibly give any security for their allegiance to any government. Oaths are no security at all; for the priest can pardon both perjury and high treason.—Setting then religion aside, it is plain, that upon principles of reason, no government ought to tolerate men, who cannot give any security to that government for their allegiance and peaceable behaviour. But this no Romanist can do, not only while he holds, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics," but so long as he acknowledges either priestly absolution, or the *spiritual power* of the pope.

"But the late Act (you say) does not either *tolerate* or *encourage* Roman Catholics." I appeal to matter of fact. Do not the Romanists themselves understand it as a toleration? You know they do. And does it not already (let alone what it *may* do by and by) *encourage* them to preach openly, to build chapels, (at Bath and elsewhere) to raise seminaries, and to make numerous converts day by day to their intolerent, persecuting principles? I can point out, if need be, several of the persons; and they are increasing daily.

But "nothing dangerous to English liberty is to be apprehended from them." I am not certain of that. Some time since a Romish priest came to one I knew, and after talking with her largely, broke out, "You are no heretic! You have the experience of a real Christian!" And would you, she asked, burn me alive? He said, "God forbid!—unless it were for the good of the church!"

Now what security could she have had for her life, if it had depended on that man? The *good of the church* would have burst all the ties of truth, justice, and mercy; especially when seconded by the absolution of a priest, or (if need were) a Papal pardon.

[The two following Letters are addressed to the editors of the *Freeman's Journal*, in answer to some *Remarks*, published in that paper, by father O'Leary, a Capuchin friar, in Dublin.]

GENTLEMEN,

1. Mr. O'Leary does well to entitle his paper, *Remarks;* as that word may mean any thing or nothing: but it is no more an answer to my letter, than to the *Bull unigenitus.* He likewise does wisely in prefacing his remarks with so handsome a compliment: this may naturally incline you to think well of his judgment, which is no small point gained.

2. His manner of writing is easy and pleasant; but might it not as well be more serious? The subject we are treating of is not a light one: it moves me to tears rather than to laughter. I plead for the safety of my country; yea, for the children that are yet unborn. "But cannot your country be safe, unless the Roman Catholics are persecuted for their religion?"—Hold! religion is out of the question: but I would not have them persecuted at all. I would only have them hindered from doing hurt: I would not put it in their power, (and I do not wish that others should) to cut the throats of their quiet neighbours. "But they will give security for their peaceable behaviour." They cannot while they continue Roman Catholics; they cannot while they are members of that church which receives the decrees of the

Council of Constance, which maintains the *spiritual power* of the *Bishop of Rome*, or the doctrine of *priestly absolution.*

3. This I observed in my late letter; whoever therefore would *remark* upon it to any purpose, must prove these three things: 1. That the decree of the council of Constance, *publickly* made, has been *publickly* disclaimed. 2. That the pope has not power *to pardon sins*, or to dispense with oaths, vows, and promises; and, 3. That no priest has power to pardon sins. But has Mr. O'L. proved these three points? Has he proved any one of them? He has indeed said something upon the first; he denies such a decree was ever made.

4. I am persuaded Mr. O' L. is the first man that ever made the important discovery. But before he is quite sure, let him look again into father L'Abbe's *Concilia Maxima*, printed at Paris in the year 1772. The last volume contains a particular account of the council of Constance: one of whose decrees, page 169, is, "That heretics ought to be put to death, *Non obstantibus salvis conductibus Imparatoris, Regum*, &c." notwithstanding the public faith engaged to them in the most solemn manner. Who then can affirm that no such doctrine or violation of faith with heretics is authorised by this council? Without putting on spectacles, (which, blessed be God, I do not wear) I can read a little still; and while I can, I must fix this horrid doctrine on the council of Constance.

5. But supposing the council of Constance had never advanced this doctrine, or the church of Rome had publickly disclaimed it, my conclusion stands good, till it is proved, 1. That no priest had a power of pardoning sins: and, 2. That the pope has neither a power of pardoning sins, or dispensing with oaths, vows, promises, &c.

Mr. O'L— has proved neither of these: and what else has he proved? It is hard to say. But if he proves nothing, he (either directly or indirectly) asserts many things. In particular, he asserts, 1. "Mr. Wesley has arraigned in the jargon of the schools." Hey-day! what has this to do here? There is no more of the jargon of the schools in my letter, than there is of Arabic. "The Catholics all over the world are liars, perjurers, &c." Nay, I have not arraigned one of them: this is a capital mistake. I arraign the doctrines, not the men. Either defend *them*, or renounce them.

"I do renounce them," says Mr. O'L—. Perhaps you do. But the church of Rome has never renounced them. "He asperses our communion in a cruel manner." I do not asperse it at all, in saying these are the doctrines of the church of Rome. Who can prove the contrary?

2. "Mr. Wesley is become an apologist of those who burned

the chapel in Edinburgh." Is not this said purely *ad movendam invidiam?* to inflame the minds of the people? For it has no shadow of truth. I never yet wrote nor spoke one word in their defence. "He urged the rabble to light that fire." No more than he urged them to dethrone the king.

3. "Does Mr. Wesley intend to sound Alecto's horn, or the war-shell of the Mexicans?" All this is cruel aspersion indeed: designed merely to inflame. What I intend, is neither more nor less than this, To contribute my mite to preserve our constitution both in church and state.

4. "They were the Scotch and English regicides, who gave rise to the Irish Massacre."—The Irish massacre!!! Was there ever any such thing? Was not the whole account *a mere Protestant lie?* O no! it was a melancholy truth, wrote in the blood of many thousands. But the regicides no more gave rise to that massacre than the Hottentots. The whole matter was planned several years, and executed before the king's death was thought of. "But Mr. Wesley is sowing the seeds of another massacre! Such another as the massacre of Paris?"

5. "Was he the trumpeter of persecution, when he was persecuted himself?" Just as much as now. Cruel aspersion still! designed and calculated only to inflame. "Did he there abet persecution on the score of conscience?" No, nor now. Conscience is out of the question. "His letter contains all the horrors invented by blind misguided zeal, set forth in the most bitter language." Is this gentleman in his senses? I hope not: else I know not what excuse to make for him. Not one *bitter* word is in my letter. I have learned to put away *all bitterness, with all malice.* But still this is wide of the mark; which of *those three points does it prove?*

6. "In his *second* letter he promises to put out the fire which he has already kindled in England." Second letter! What is that? I know nothing of it. "The fire which he has kindled in England." When? where? I have kindled no fire in England any more than in Jamaica. I have done, and will do, all that is in my power to put out that which others have kindled.

7. "He strikes out a creed of his own for Roman Catholics. This fictitious creed he forces upon them." My words are these: "Suppose every word of Pope Pius's creed to be true." I say not a word more of the matter. Now, I appeal to every *reasonable* man, Is this striking out a creed of my own for Roman Catholics? Is this forcing a fictitious creed on them, "like the Frenchman and the blunderer in the comedy?" What have I to do with one or the other? Is not this *dull* jest quite out of season? And is the creed composed by the council of Trent, and the bull of Pope Pius IV. a *fictitious one?* Before Mr. O'L.

asserts this again, let him look into the *Concilia Maxima* once more, and read there, *Bulla Pii Quarti super forma Juramenti professionis fidei.*" This forma professionis fidei, I call Pope Pius's creed. If his "*stomach revolts from it,*" who can help it?

8. Whether the account given by Philip Melancthon of the words spoken, (not in Hebrew, but in Latin) be true or false, it does not at all effect the account of Miss Duchesne, which I gave in her own words. And I cannot but observe, that after all the witticisms which he has bestowed upon it, Mr. O'L— does not deny that the PRIEST MIGHT HAVE BURNT HER, "HAD IT BEEN FOR THE GOOD OF THE CHURCH."

9. "*Remark* a missionary inflaming the rabble, and propagating black slander."—*Remark a* SAN BENITO CAP, *painted with devils! but let him put it on, whom it fits.* It does not fit *me:* I inflame no rabble: I propagate no slander at all. But Mr. O'L— does. He propagates a heap of slander in these his Remarks. I say too, "Let the appeal be made to the *public and their impartial reason.*" I have nothing to do with the "*jargon or rubbish of schools,*" lugged in like the jargon of schools before. But I would be glad if Mr. O'L— would tell us what these two *pretty* phrases mean.

The whole matter is this: I have, without the least bitterness, advanced three reasons, why I conceive it is not safe to tolerate the Roman Catholics. But still I would not have them persecuted: I wish them to enjoy the same liberty, civil and religious, which they enjoyed in England before the late act was repealed. Meantime, I would not have a sword put into their hands; I would not give them liberty to hurt others, &c.

Manchester, March 23, 1780. J. WESLEY.

GENTLEMEN,

SOME time ago, in a letter published at London, I observed, "Roman Catholics cannot give those whom they account heretics, any sufficient security for their peaceable behaviour."

1. Because it has been publickly avowed in one of their general councils, and never publickly disclaimed, That faith is not to be kept with heretics.

2. Because they hold the doctrine of priestly absolution: and,

3. The doctrine of papal pardons and dispensations.

Mr. O'Leary has published *Remarks* on this letter; nine parts in ten of which are quite wide of the mark. Not that they are wide of *his* mark; which is to introduce a plausible panegyric upon the Roman Catholics, mixt with keen invectives against the Protestants, whether true or false it matters not.—All this is admirably well calculated to inspire the reader with aversion to

these heretics, and to bring them back to the holy, harmless, much injured, church of Rome! And I should not wonder, if these six papers should make six thousand converts to her.

Close arguing he does not attempt, but he vapours, and skips to and fro, and rambles to all points of the compass, in a very lively and entertaining manner.

Whatever has the face of an argument in his first letter, I answered before. Those of the 14th, 16th, 18th, and 21st instant, I pass over at present: I have now only to do with what he advances in your Journal of March 12th.

———My argument was,—The council of Constance has openly avowed violation of faith with heretics. But it has never been openly disclaimed. Therefore, those who receive this council cannot be trusted by those whom they account heretics. This is my immediate conclusion. And if the premises be admitted, it will infallibly follow.

On this, Mr. O'L— says, "A council so often quoted, challenges peculiar attention. We shall examine it with all possible precision and impartiality. At a time when the broachers of a new doctrine [as new as the Bible] were kindling the fire of sedition, and shaking the foundations of thrones and kingdoms, [big words, but entirely void of truth,] was held the council of Constance. To this was cited John Huss, famous for propagating errors, tending to—wrest the sceptre from the hands of kings. [Equally true.] He was obnoxious to church and state." To the church of Rome: not to the state in any degree.

He adds a well devised apology for the Romish persecutions of the Protestants, as necessarily resulting from the nature of things, and not from any wrong principles. And this he illustrates by the treatment formerly given to the Methodists, "whose love-feasts and watch-nights roused the vigilance of the magistrate, and influenced the rage of the rabble." Indeed they did not: not only no magistrate ever objected either to the one or the other, but no mob, even in the most turbulent time, ever interrupted them.

But to the council: "Huss strikes at the root of all temporal power and civil authority. He boldly asserts, That all princes, magistrates, &c. in the state of mortal sin, are deprived, *ipso facto*, of all power and jurisdiction. And by broaching these doctrines, he makes Bohemia a theatre of intestine war. See the acts of the council of Constance in L'Abbe's Collection of Councils."

I have seen them, and I can find nothing of all this therein. But more of this by and by.

"He gave notice that he would stand his trial. But he at-

tempted to escape." No, never: this is pure invention. "He is arrested at Constance [whence he never attempted to escape] and confined. His friends plead his safe-conduct. The council then declared, *No safe-conduct granted by the emperor, or any other princes, to heretics, ought to hinder them from being punished as justice shall require. And the person who has promised them security, shall not be obliged to keep his promise, by whatever tie he may be engaged.*"

And did the council of Constance declare this? Yes, says Mr. O'L—. I desire no more. But before I argue upon the point, permit me to give a little fuller account of the whole affair.—The council of Constance was called by the emperor Sigismund and Pope John the 23d, in the year 1414. Before it began, the emperor sent some Bohemian gentlemen, to conduct John Huss to Constance, solemnly promising, that he should "come and return freely, without fraud or interruption." But before he left Prague, he waited on the bishop of Nazareth, papal inquisitor for that city and diocese, who, in the presence of many witnesses, gave him the following testimonial:

'We Nicholas—do by these presents, make known to all men, 'That we have often talked with that honourable man, master 'John Huss, and in all his sayings, doings, and behaviour, have 'proved him to be a faithful man: finding no manner of evil, si-'nister, or erroneous doings in him, unto this present. Prague, 'August 30, 1414.'

This was attested by the hand and seal of the public notary, named Michael Pruthatietz.

After this, Conrade, archbishop of Prague, declared before all the barons of Bohemia, that "he knew not that John Huss was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence whatever." So neither the inquisttor nor the archbishop knew any thing of "his making Bohemia a theatre of intestine war!"

In October he began his journey, accompanied by two noblemen, Wencelet de Duba and John de Chlum. On November 3d, he came to Constance, and was treated with great respect. But not long after, he was suddenly arrested, and cast into a noisome prison. Here he quickly fell sick. During his sickness his accusers exhibited twelve articles against him. But none of them charge him with sedition; they relate purely to the church.

May 14, 1415, The nobles of Bohemia complained to the council, "When master J. Huss came to the council, under the emperor's safe-conduct, he was, in violation of the public faith, imprisoned before he was heard." They add, "And he is now grievously tormented, both with fetters, and with hunger and thirst."

June 8. His accusers brought thirty-nine articles more, and afterward twenty-six others. But both the former and the latter relate wholly to the church.

Seven more were brought next. The first of these is, "If the pope, bishop, or prelate, be in deadly sin, he is then no pope, bishop, or prelate." But this he himself explains in the same tract whence it is taken: "Such, as touching their deserts, are not worthily popes, or pastors, before God; yet as touching their office, are popes and pastors."

After these, six more articles were exhibited, but all relate to the church, as do nineteen more that followed them. In fine, nineteen others were preferred by the chancellor and university of Paris. One of these was, "No man being in deadly sin, is a true pope, prelate, or lord." This seems to be the same with the preceding charge; only they have mended it, by adding the word *lord*. Another was, "Subjects ought publickly to reprove the vices of their rulers." It does not appear that ever he held this.

In the seventeeth session, the sentence and condemnation of John Huss was read and published. The emperor then commanded the duke of Bavaria, to deliver him to the executioners; for which glorious exploit he was thus addressed by the bishop of Landy, in the name of the council: "This most holy and godly labour was reserved only for thee, O most noble prince! Upon thee only doth it lie, to whom the whole rule and ministration of justice is given. Wherefore thou hast established thy praise and renown; even by the mouths of babes and sucklings thy praise shall be celebrated for evermore."

From this whole transaction we may observe, 1. That John Huss was guilty of no crime, either in word or action; even his enemies, the archbishop of Prague, and the papal inquisitor, being judges.

2. That he never preached or wrote any thing tending to sedition; neither was there in fact any sedition, much less intestine war, in Bohemia, while he ministered there.

3. That his real fault, and his only one, was opposing the Papal usurpations.

4. That this "most noble prince" was a bigoted, cruel, perfidious murderer, and that the fathers of the council deserve the same praise, seeing they urged him to imbrue his hands in innocent blood, in violation of the public faith, and extolled him to the skies for so doing; and seeing they have laid it down as a maxim, that the most solemn promise, made to a heretic, may be broken.

Bnt says Mr. O'L— "This regards the peculiar case of safe-conducts granted by princes to heretics." If you mean, they

took occasion from a particular case, to establish a general rule; this is true. But what then? If the public faith with heretics may be violated in one instance, it may be in a thousand. "But can the rule be extended farther?" It may; it must; we cannot tell where to stop. Away then with your witticisms on so awful a subject. What, do you sport with human blood? I take burning men alive to be a very serious thing. I pray, spare your jests on the occasion.

But you have another plea: "Sigismund only promised to guard him from any violence in *going to* the council." Why, this was just nothing. What man in his wits would have moved a step upon a such a promise as this? "But this was all it was in his power to do." It was not: it was in his power to have told the council, "My own honour, and yours, and that of the empire, are at stake. I will not upon any account suffer the public faith to be violated: I will not make myself infamous to all generations. My name shall not stink to all future ages. I will part rather with my empire, with my life." He could have taken John Huss ont of their hands, and have sent him safe to his own country. He would have done it, had he been an honest man, had he had either honour or conscience. I ask Mr. O'L—, Would not *you* have done it, had you been in Sigismund's place? If you say, No, a Protestant ought not to trust you, any more than he would trust a wild bull.

I am afraid this is the case; for you strangely add, "It was nugatory in Sigismund, to grant him a safe-conduct. For neither king nor emperor could deprive the bishops of their right of judging [add, and of murdering] heretics." It is plain, Sigismund thought he could, that he could screen Huss from all dangers; else he had been both a fool and a knave to promise it, especially by a public instrument which pledgeth his own honour, and that of the whole empire, for his safety.

Now for flourish: "Thus the superannuated charge of *violation of faith with heretics*—[No more superannuated now, than it was while John Huss was in the flames] vanishes away."—No, nor ever will. It still stares us in the face, and will do so, till another general council publickly and explicitly repeals that infamous determination of the council of Constance, and declares the burning of John Huss to have been an open violation of all justice, mercy, and truth. But flourish on! "The foundation then of Mr. W.'s aerial fabric being sapped,"—Not at all—"the superstructure falls of course, and his long train of false and unchristian assertions." What can this mean? I know of no *long train of assertions*, whether true or false! I use three arguments, and no more, in proof of one conclusion.

"What more absurd, than to insist on a general council's

disclaiming a doctrine which they never taught?" They *did* teach it: and that not by the by, not incidentally, but they laid it down as a stated rule of action, dictated by the Holy Ghost. I quote chapter and verse. I say too, "See L'Abbe's Councils," printed at Paris, in 1672. Yea, and they were not ashamed to publish this determination to all the christian world! and to demonstrate their sincerity therein, by burning a man alive. And this Mr. O'L— humorously compares to the roasting a piece of beef! With equal tenderness I suppose he would compare, the *singeing the beards of heretics*, (that is, thrusting a burning furze-bush in their face) to the singeing a fowl before it was roasted.

"It is sufficient to disclaim it when it is fixt upon us." Then disclaim it without delay; for it is fixed upon you, to all intents and purposes. Nay, and you fixt it upon yourselves, in every new edition of the Councils: in all of which, this council stands in *æternam rei memoriam*, and this very determination, without the least touch of blame! It must therefore stand as an avowed doctrine of the church of Rome, that "heretics ought to be condemned and executed, notwithstanding the most solemn assurances to the contrary:" in other words, "That *the public faith, even that of kings and emperors, ought not to be kept with heretics.*"

What security then for my life can any man give me, till he utterly renounces the council of Constance? What security can any Romanist give a Protestant, till this doctrine is publickly abjured? If Mr. O'L— has any thing more to plead for this council, I shall follow him step by step. But let him keep his word, and give "a serious answer to a serious charge."—Drollery may come in, when we are talking of roasting fowls; but not when we talk of "roasting men."

Would I then wish the Roman Catholics to be persecuted? I never said or hinted any such thing. I abhor the thought: it is foreign to all I have preached and wrote for these fifty years. But I would wish the Romanists in England (I had no others in view) to be treated still with the same lenity that they have been these sixty years: to be allowed both civil and religious liberty, but not permitted to undermine ours. I wish them to stand just as they did before the late Act was passed: not to be persecuted or hurt themselves, but gently restrained from hurting their neighbours.

Chester, March 31, 1780. J. Wesley.

In the preceding History, the genius, spirit, design, and operation of Popery, are sufficiently exhibited.. As a *system of religion*, it is an insult to God, and a disgrace to man. Its *cere-*

monies are at once as ridiculous as they are nugatory and oppressive: and its *legends* as unfonnded in *fact* as they are blasphemous against the *truth*. It exacts a tyrannous and oppressive influence over the body, soul, conscience, and property of its votaries: so that a man neither can *be*, nor *believe*, nor *possess*, any thing, but as this oppressive and worthless church pleases. To prevent its wicked pretensions from being disputed, it has endeavoured to extinguish the lamp of science, that ignorance might be the nurse and support of its superstitions. To oblige the people to do the *will of its priests*, instead of the *will of God*, it has either withheld the scriptures from the people entirely, or given them in a false translation, which has obscured the sense, and eclipsed the glory, of the *word of God*. In order to give some countenance and sanction to its superstitious, absurd, and heathenish rites and ceremonies, it has *taken away* from the word of God in some places, and *added* to it in others. The vilest and most ridiculous legends in the Apocrypha, (such as the *History of Judith*, *Bel and the Dragon*, and the *Book of Tobit*,) are all canonized, and made of equal authority with that Revelation which came down from heaven.

But view its operations in the *State!* By it lawful kings are deposed, and wicked and unlawful governors put in their place. If its exactions be not fully complied with, it lays the whole kingdom under an *interdict*, dissolves all political union in the different branches of the civil government, absolves the subjects from the obligation of their oath of allegiance, and not only makes it *lawful* for them to *rebel* against their sovereign, and cease from respect and obedience to the laws, but makes it *criminal* for them to perform the acts of their political duty. It does more, it throws the sovereign's life into the hands of the mob, who are persuaded they shall do God service by killing *him*, who refuses to be subject to the *pope* of Rome. All these, and worse things, it has already done: and if it now faints in the day of trial, it is because its *strength* (not its *will*) is small. Protestants should never cease to consider Popery as a system of wretched superstition and political despotism; and in the British isles, it should be considered as pregnant with the principles of disaffection and rebellion, and as at invariable enmity with our religious liberty, and our blessed civil constitution. Notwithstanding all its pretences to charity, philanthropy, and humanity, its *tender mercies* are KNOWN to be *cruel*. No political power should be entrusted to its hands for a moment: for, from what it has done, we see clearly what it would do, were it again permitted to have the upper hand. *Britons*, remember the slaughter of your pious forefathers, whom this cruel church roasted in slow fires; and not contented with that cruelty, that reduced the bo-

dies of God's saints to ashes before their eyes, with an excess of infernal malice which Satan himself alone can match, devoted their souls to hell-fire; and in their *burning* charity, invoked all the devils in hell to take possession of the souls of those who had expired under their torments!—This the reader has seen frequently exemplified in the preceding history:—a history that should never be forgotten, nor neglected to be read, while *civil liberty* is dear—while our *glorious constitution* is held sacred—while the *honour of God* is duly prized—while his *testimonies* are revered, and while the *salvation of the soul* is considered a subject of infinite importance and worth.

Reader, while you have this horrible system before your eyes, while you behold its prisons, fines, confiscations, racks, tortures, anathemas, and flames, cease not to abhor it—cease not to pray to the great God against it. Implore him to enlighten and convert its blind votaries, and to destroy its influence from off the face of the earth! But still remember, that you make a wide difference between the *priesthood* and the *simple people*, who are deluded by it. To *these* do every act of kindness—to *these* shew the benevolence and mercy of that heavenly religion, with which God in his mercy has favoured you. Let no *Catholic* ever have it to say, that he was persecuted for conscience sake by a Protestant; or that any act of charity or mercy was ever withheld from him, in consequence of his religious profession: and thus shall ye prove *yourselves* to be the legitimate children of your Father who is in heaven; who causes his sun to shine upon the evil and the good, and sends down his rain upon the just and unjust.

Persecution of the Puritans.

Having slightly noticed the persecution of the Puritans in a former page, we shall here give a little more information on that subject, and add some short memoirs of a few of the excellent men who suffered.

Early in the reign of Elizabeth, the famous acts entitled, "The Act of Supremacy:" and the "Act of Uniformity of Common Prayer," were passed. However the necessity of the times might call for these measures, they were afterwards the fruitful sources of much misery to many of the best of her Majesty's subjects. The former gave rise to a new Ecclesiastical Court, called *The Court of High Commission*, which by the exercise of its unlimited power and authority became the instrument of inconceivable oppression.

In 1559, Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; and in the same year the queen published her Injunctions, consisting of fifty distinct articles. Her object was to unite the Papists and Protestants together, which measure greatly alarmed the best men in the nation, both clergy and laity. Hence many of the clergy in both universities, and in the country, but especially in the city of London, refused to wear the square cap, the tippet, and the surplice. But the archbishop Parker and his *High Commission*, were resolved to enforce a compliance with the Injunctions, and those who refused were immediately suspended or sequestered. Many of these having wives and children, were reduced to great poverty and want. Some, to procure a livelihood, betook themselves to trades, some to farming, and some went to sea. By the rigorous proceedings of the ruling prelates, the church was deprived of many of its brightest ornaments; while some thousands of ministers of inferior character, such as common swearers, drunkards, gamesters, whoremongers, and massing priests, because they were conformable, enjoyed their livings, and obtained preferment.

In the year 1565 the archbishop and the commissioners convened the London ministers before them, and when they appeared in court, Robert Cole, a clergyman, being placed by the side of the commissioners, in priestly apparel, they were addressed in these words: "My masters, and ye ministers of London, the council's pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel, like this man that stands here canonically habited with a square cap, a scholar's gown, priest-like, a tippet, and in the church a linen surplice. Ye that will subscribe, write, *Volo;* those that will not subscribe, write, *Nolo.* Be brief; make no words." When some of the ministers offered to speak they were immediately interrupted with the command, "*Peace, peace;*" and "*Apparitor* call over the churches: ye masters, answer presently under the penalty of contempt." Thirty-seven refused compliance, being as the bishop said, the best among them. These were immediately suspended, and told that if they did not conform within three months, they should be deprived of all their spiritual promotions.

In 1575 Edmund Grindal succeeded Parker. He was a prelate of rigid and inflexible principles. It was during this year that a congregation of Dutch Anabaptists was discovered, without Aldgate, London; twenty-seven of whom were apprehended and cast into prison: four bearing faggots at Paul's cross, recanted their opinions. Eight were banished from the kingdom, and two were condemned to the flames, and burnt in Smithfield! The Dutch congregation in London interceded for their pardon, as did Mr. Fox the martyrologist; but Elizabeth was inflexible.

†

In the year 1579 or soon after, *Matthew Harment*, a poor plough-wright at Hetherseth, near Norwich, being suspected of holding many unsound and dangerous opinions, was convened before the bishop of Norwich, condemned as a heretic, and May 20th, committed to the flames in the castle ditch. As a part of his punishment his ears were cut off on the 13th of the same month. These persecutions resembled those of the Church of Rome.

Numbers of pious and learned ministers were now indicted at the assizes for the most trivial departures from the established order of things. They were ranked with the worst of felons, and exposed to public contempt, to the great dishonour of God, and injury of her Majesty's subjects. Many persons of quality in the various counties of England, petitioned the Lords of the council in behalf of the persecuted ministers. In the Suffolk petition are these words:—"The painful pastors and ministers of the word, by what justice we know not, are now of late brought to the bar at every assize; marshalled with the worst malefactors; indicted, arraigned, and condemned for matters, as we presume, of very slender moment: some for having holidays unbidden; some for singing the hymn *Nunc dimittis*, in the morning; some for turning the question in baptism from the infant to the godfathers, which is only *you* for *thou*; some for leaving out the cross in baptism, whereunto neither the law nor the law-makers in our judgment, had ever any regard."

But instead of this relieving the suffering ministers, their burdens were greatly increased. In the year 1580, the parliament passed a law, which enacted, "That all persons who do not come to church or chapel, or other place where common prayer is said, according to the act of uniformity, shall forfeit *twenty pounds per month* to the queen, and suffer imprisonment till paid. Those who are absent for twelve months, shall, besides their former fine, be bound with two sufficient sureties in a bond of *two hundred pounds*, until they conform. And every *schoolmaster* who does not come to common prayer, shall forfeit *ten pounds a month*, be disabled from teaching school, and suffer a year's imprisonment." This, says a learned churchman, was little better than making merchandise of souls. The fine was, indeed, unmerciful, and the common people had nothing to expect but imprisonment.

The legislature, by these violent measures, overshot the mark, and instead of crushing the Puritans, or reconciling them to the church, they drove them farther from it. Men of integrity will not easily be beaten from their principles by canons, injunctions, subscriptions, fines, or imprisonment; much less will they esteem the church fighting with such weapons. Multitudes were by

these methods driven to a total separation, and they became so far opposed to the church, as not to allow it to be a true church, nor its ministers true ministers. They renounced all communion with it, not only in the prayers and ceremonies, but in hearing the word and the sacraments. These were called BROWNISTS, from Robert Brown, at this time a preacher in the diocese of Norwich. The Brownists did not differ from the church of England in matters of faith; but were very rigid in points of discipline. Many of them were great sufferers in their zeal for nonconformity: among these were Mr. Copping and Mr. Thacker, ministers in the county of Suffolk. After sufferiug imprisonment seven years, for spreading Brown's books against the bishops and the established church, they were tried, condemned, and hanged at Bury St. Edmunds. At the same time, Mr. John Lewis, for denying the godhead of Christ. and, it is said, for holding other detestable heresies, was burnt at Norwich, September 17, 1583.

Upon the death of Archbishop Grindal, Dr. John Whitgift became Archbishop of Canterbury, and was confirmed September 23, 1583. The new archbishop immediately published the following articles, and sent them to the bishops of his province, for their direction in the government of their dioceses:—"That all reading, preaching, catechising, and praying in any private family, where any are present besides the family, be utterly extinguished.—That none do preach or catechise except he also read the whole service, and administer the sacrament four times a year.—That all preachers, and others in ecclesiastical orders, do at all times wear the *habits* prescribed.—And that none be admitted to preach, or to execute any part of the ecclesiastical function, unless they be ordained according to the manner of the church of England; nor unless they subscribe the three following articles.

1. "That the queen hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty "and rule over all manner of persons, born within her domi- "nions, of what condition soever they be; and that none other "power or potentate hath, or ought to have, any power, eccle- "siastical or civil, within her realms or dominions.

2. "That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordaining "bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it *nothing contrary* "*to the word of God*, but may be lawfully used; and that he "himself will use the same, and none other, in public prayer "and administration of the sacraments.

3. "That he alloweth the book of articles, agreed upon in the "convocation holden at London in 1562, and set forth by her "Majesty's authority; and he believe all the articles therein con- "tained to be agreeable to the word of God."

These were called *Whitgift's* articles, because he was their

principal author. Subscription to them was required for many years, without the warrant of any statute or canon whatsoever. By Whitgift's strict imposition of them upon all ministers, multitudes who refused to comply were suspended and deprived. They would most cordially have subscribed to the *first* and *third*, but could not in conscience subscribe, "That the Book of Common Prayer and Ordination contained *nothing contrary to the word of God.*" These proceedings excited universal alarm, and great numbers of worthy ministers were brought under the ecclesiastical censure. Sixty-four ministers were suspended in the county of Norfolk, sixty in Suffolk, thirty in Sussex, thirty-eight in Essex, twenty in Kent, and twenty-one in Lincolnshire.

Mr. Daniel Dyke, a most excellent divine, was twice suspended, deprived of his ministry, and driven out of the county. Mr. Benison was committed to the Gatehouse, where, to his unspeakable injury, he remained five years. Upon his application to the council, the lords were so moved with the reading of his case, that they wrote to Bishop Aylmer, signifying that he ought to make the good man some considerable recompence for his hard dealing. Dr. Browning was deprived of his fellowship at Cambridge, and forced from the university. Mr. Brayne, another learned divine at Cambridge, was cited to Lambeth, and, refusing the oath *ex officio*, was suspended. Mr. Elliston of Preston, in Northamptonshire, was, for three years together, continually molested and cited before the prelates. During that period, he had ten journies to London, seven to Peterborough, one to Cambridge, and many to Leicester and Northampton. He was greatly impoverished, suspended from his ministry, and deprived of his living. Mr. Cawdrey, rector of Luffenham in Rutlandshire, a divine of good reputation, was suspended, deprived, cast into prison, degraded from the ministry, and, with a family of eight children, left to starve as a mere layman: also, during his troubles, which continued many years, he had *twenty-two* expensive journies to London. Mr. John Holden, rector of Bildeston, was suspended and excommunicated for not subscribing to Whitgift's articles. Upwards of thirty other ministers in the county of Essex were suspended, deprived, or worse treated, by the inhuman proceedings of Bishop Aylmer, for refusing to subscribe, wear the surplice, or some other trivial matter. He moreover, advised the heads of the university of Cambridge to call in all their licenses, and expel all who refused to wear the apparel, saying, "The folly that is bound up in the heart of a child, is to be expelled by the rod of discipline." This cruel, persecuting prelate might, therefore, with much truth say, "He was hated like a dog, and was called *the oppressor of the children of God.*"

While the Puritans were suffering the above extremities, there was the greatest scarcity of preachers in all parts of the kingdom. It appears from an impartial survey of all the counties of England, that there were only 2000 preachers, to serve nearly 10,000 parishes: and while many of the best and most useful preachers were silenced, there were multitudes of pluralists, non-residents, and ministers, who could not preach. There were 416 ministers who could not preach in the county of Norfolk, 457 in Lincolnshire, and nearly the same in other counties. Numerous petitions were, at the same time, presented to parliament in favour of the suffering non-conformists; but by the opposition and influence of Whitgift and other prelates, they were rejected. The lords of the council being much concerned for the persecuted ministers, wrote to Whitgift and Aylmer, saying, "That they had received complaints, that great numbers of *zealous* and *learned* preachers in various counties, especially in Essex, were suspended or deprived; that there was no preaching, prayers, or sacraments in the vacant places; that in some places, the persons appointed to succeed them, had neither good learning, nor good name; and that in other places, a great number of persons occupying cures, were notoriously unfit, some for lack of learning, and others chargeable with enormous faults: as, *drunkenness, filthiness of life, gaming at cards, haunting of alehouses*, &c. against whom they heard of no proceedings." The lord treasnrer Burleigh, also, himself addressed the archbishop, saying, "I am sorry to trouble you so oft as I do, but I am more troubled myself, not only with many private petitions of ministers, recommended for persons of credit, and peaceable in their ministry, who are greatly troubled by your grace and your colleagues; but I am daily charged by counsellors and public persons, with neglect of my duty, in not staying your grace's vehement proceedings against ministers, whereby papists are encouraged, and the queen's safety endangered.—I have read over your *twenty-four* articles, formed in a *Romish style*, to examine all manner of ministers, and to be executed *ex officio nuro*. I think the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests. Surely this judicial and canonical sifting of poor ministers, is not to edify or reform. This kind of proceeding is too much savouring of the *Romish Inquisition*, and is a device to *seek* for offenders, rather than to *reform* them." But these applications were to no purpose: for, as Fuller observes, "This was the constant custom of Whitgift; if any lord or lady sued for favour to any non-conformist, he would profess how glad he was to serve them, and gratify their desires, assuring them for his part, that all possible kindness should be indulged to them, but he would remit nothing of his

rigour. Thus he never *denied* any great man's desire, and yet never *granted* it; pleasing them for the present with general promises, but still kept to his own resolution; whereupon the nobility ceased making any further application to him, knowing them to be ineffectual."

Notwithstanding this rigorous treatment of the Puritans, their numbers increased, and their cause acquired a popularity which greatly alarmed the apprehensions of the prelates, and in 1587 the flame of contention broke out with redoubled fury. In 1590, Mr. *Francis Kett*, a man of some learning, and master of arts in one of the universities, was convened before the Bishop of Norwich; and for *holding* divers detestable opinions, as they were pleased to call them, he was condemned and burnt near the city.

The parliament having yielded its own liberties and those of the subject, to the queen, passed one of the most unjust acts that was ever known in a Protestant country. It is entitled "An Act for the Punishment of Persons obstinately refusing to come to Church;" and enacts, "that all persons above the age of sixteen, refusing to come to church; or persuading others to deny her majesty's authority in causes *ecclesiastical;* or dissuading them from coming to church; or being found present at any conventicle or meeting under pretence of religion; shall upon conviction be committed to prison without bail, till they shall conform and come to church." But in case such offenders should refuse to subscribe a most debasing recantation, it is further enacted, "That within three months, they shall ABJURE THE REALM, and go into PERPETUAL BANISHMENT. And if they do not depart within the time appointed; or if they ever return without the queen's license, they shall SUFFER DEATH WITHOUT BENEFIT OF CLERGY." The case of the non-conformists was by this act worse than that of felons. Herein the queen exceeded Henry VIII. For absolute as that monarch was, he contented himself with punishing those who *opposed* the established religion by some overt act; but by this new statute, the subjects were obliged, under the heaviest penalty, to make an *open profession* of the established religion, by a constant attendance on its public service.

The oppression of this statute fell chiefly upon the Brownists, who renounced all communion with the national church, and were now become very numerous. Sir Walter Raleigh declared in parliament, that in their various congregations, they were increased to the number of twenty thousand. There were several considerable persons at their head: as Messrs. Smyth, Jacob, Ainsworth, Johnson, and Greenwood. Their London congregation being obliged to meet in different places, to hide itself from the bishop's officers, was at length discovered on a Lord's

day at Islington, in the very place in which the Protestant congregation met in the reign of Queen Mary; when about *fifty-six* were apprehended, and sent two by two to the different prisons about London, where many others had been long confined. The names of most of these persecuted servants of Christ, with the cruel oppressions they endured, are preserved. They suffered a long and miserable confinement; and under the barbarous usage they met with, many of them died in prison. Mr. *Roger Rippon*, who died this year, is said to have been the last of *sixteen* or *seventeen* that were murdered in Newgate. Numerous families, as well as individuals, were driven into banishment, while many died in close imprisonment, and others suffered upon the gallows. Among the latter were Mr. *Henry Barrow* and Mr. *John Greenwood*. These persons having endured several years close imprisonment in the Fleet, were tried, condemned, and executed at Tyburn, giving the strongest testimony of their unfeigned piety towards God, and their unshaken loyalty to the queen. Also, Mr. *John Penry*, a pious and learned minister, was arraigned, condemned, and executed in a most cruel and barbarous manner. Mr. *William Dennys* was also executed on the same account, at Thetford in Norfolk. These violent proceedings drove great numbers of the Brownists into Holland, where their leaders, Messrs. Smyth, Johnson, Ainsworth, Jacob, Robinson, and others, by leave of the states, erected churches according to their own views of the gospel, at Amsterdam, Arnheim, Middleburgh, and Leyden.

The Puritans of these times were men of like passions with their adversaries; and although they opposed the episcopal impositions, if they had accomplished their wishes, like their successors in the times of the Commonwealth, there is no doubt but they would have imposed the dogmas and discipline of Calvin. So confused were their notions of religious liberty, and so rigid and severe were their spirit and behaviour.

On the accession of King James to the English throne, the hopes of the Puritans were raised, but it was only to heighten the pain of disappointment: for in a short time, to shew his zeal against heresy, he exercised it upon two of his own subjects; who, in the year 1611, were burnt alive for their heretical opinions.* One was *Bartholomew Legatt*, a native of the county of Essex. He was a man of a bold spirit, a fluent tongue, well

* The Puritans were now oppressed by every means that could be devised. Mrs. Venables, a lady of great liberality and exemplary piety, being deeply concerned for the numerous persecuted servants of Christ, bequeathed in her last will £5000, to be distributed among the suffering non-conformist ministers. This was no sooner known at court, than the money was seized, and given to such ministers as were conformable. Such was the fraud and barbarity of the times.

skilled in the scriptures, and of an unblameable conversation. He denied the divinity of Christ, and a plurality of persons in the Godhead. The king himself, and several of the bishops, conferred with him, and endeavoured to convince him of his errors. Having continued a long time prisoner in Newgate, he was at length brought before the king, many of the bishops, and many learned divines, in the consistory of St. Paul's; where he was declared a contumacious and obdurate heretic, and delivered over to the secular power. The king having signed a writ *de heretico comburendo* to the sheriffs of London, he was carried to Smithfield, March 18, and, before an immense number of spectators, was burnt to ashes. Pardon was offered him at the stake if he would have recanted, but he firmly refused.

Mr. *Edward Whiteman*, of Burton-upon-Trent, was, at the same time, convicted of heresy by Dr. Neile, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and burnt at Litchfield, April 11. In the king's warrant for his execution, he is charged with no less than sixteen distinct heresies, among which are those of the Ebionites, Corinthians, Arians, and Anabaptists, and other heretical, execrable, and unheard-of opinions. Some of the opinions imputed to him savoured of vanity, superstition, and enthusiasm; and he was certainly an object more deserving of compassion than of punishment. But, to gratify the wishes of his enemies, he must pass through the fire.—There was another condemned to be burnt for similar heresies; but the constancy of the above sufferers having greatly moved the pity of the spectators, he was left to linger out a miserable life in Newgate.

The distressed Puritans felt the iron rod of their cruel persecutors in various parts of the country. Messrs. Ball, Nicholls, Paget, and many others, in the diocese of Chester, were often cited before the high commission, when attachments were issued to apprehend them, and commit them to prison. They were obliged to conceal themselves, and heavy fines were laid upon them for their non-appearance, and were aggravated from one court day to another; till their case was returned into the exchequer, when, to their unspeakable injury, they were obliged to compound. Mr. Bradshaw had his house searched by the bishop's pursuivants, and he was suspended. Mr. John Wilkinson was several times spoiled of his goods, and kept many years in prison by the furious prelates. Mr. Hildersham was suspended a fourth and a fifth time. He was afterwards summoned before the high commission, and, refusing the oath *ex officio*, committed first to the Fleet, then to the King's-bench, where he continued a long time. Having obtained his liberty, he was censured in the ecclesiastical court, upon the most glaring false witnesses, and fined £2000, pronounced excommunicate, degraded from his ministry,

ordered to be taken and cast into prison, required to make a public recantation in such form as the court should appoint, and condemned in costs of suit. His two friends, Mr. Dighton and Mr. Holt, being committed, one to the Fleet, the other to the Gatehouse, were fined £10,000 each, excommunicated, ordered to be publickly denounced, to make their submission in three different places, condemned in costs of suit, and sent back to prison. The learned Mr. John Selden, for publishing his "History of Tithes," was summoned before the high commission, and obliged to sign a recantation.

When King Charles came to the crown, he was at first thought favourable to puritanism. His tutor, and all his court, were puritanically inclined. The Puritans, however, soon found that no favour was to be expected. The unjust and inhuman proceedings of the COUNCIL-TABLE, the STAR-CHAMBER, and the HIGH-COMMISSION, during this reign, are unparalleled. The two former were become courts of *law*, to determine matters of *right;* and courts of *revenue*, to bring money into the treasury. The *council-table*, by proclamations, enjoined upon the people what was not enjoined by law; and the *star-chamber* punished the disobedience of those proclamations by heavy fines and imprisonment. The exorbitance of this court was such, that there were very few persons of quality who did not suffer more or less, by the weight of its censures and judgments.

These courts made strange havoc among the Puritans, detaining them long in prison, without bringing them to trial, or acquainting them wsth the cause of their commitment. Their proceedings were, in some respects, worse than the *Romish Inquisition;* because they suspended, degraded, excommunicated, and imprisoned multitudes of learned and pious ministers, without the breach of any established law. While the heaviest penalties were inflicted upon the protestant non-conformists, the papists lived without molestation. Indeed, the king gave express orders "To forbear all manner of proceedings against Roman Catholics, and that all pains and penalties to which they were liable, should cease."

Mr. Smart, prebend of Durham, was many times convened before his ecclesiastical judges; then sent to the high commission at York, and kept a prisoner nine months. He was next sent to the high commission at Lambeth; then returned to York, fined £500, and ordered to recant; for refusing which, he was fined a second time, excommunicated, deprived, degraded, and committed to prison, where he remained eleven or twelve years, suffering immense damages. These severities were inflicted by instigation of Laud, soon after made bishop of London, and prime minister to his majesty. Mr. Henry Burton was brought

before the council-table, and the high commission. He was afterwards apprehended by a pursuivant, then suspended and committed to the Fleet. Mr. Nathaniel Bernard was suspended, excommunicated, fined £1000, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to New Prison, where he was treated with great barbarity; and refusing to make a public recantation, after languishing a long time, he died through the rigour of his confinement. But the unparalleled cruelty of this prelate most appeared in the terrible sentence inflicted upon Dr. Alexander Leighton. He was seized by a warrant from the high commission; dragged before Bishop Laud; then, without examination, carried to Newgate, where he was treated a long time with unexampled barbarity. When brought to trial before that arbitrary court, the furious prelate desired the court to inflict the heaviest sentence that could be inflicted upon him. He was, therefore, condemned to be degraded from his ministry, to have his ears cut, his nose slit, to be branded in the face, whipped at a post, to stand in the pillory, to pay £10,000, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. This horrible sentence being pronounced, Laud pulled of his hat, and holding up his hands, *gave thanks to God, who had given him the victory over his enemies.*

The sufferings of the people for want of the bread of life continually increasing, a number of ministers and gentlemen formed a scheme to promote preaching in the country, by setting up lectures in the different market-towns. To defray the expense, a sum of money was raised by voluntary contribution, for purchasing such impropriations as were in the hands of the laity, the profits of which were to be divided into salaries of forty or fifty pounds a year, for the support of the lecturers. Most people thought the design was very laudable, and wished them good success; but Bishop Laud looking upon the undertaking with an evil and a jealous eye, as if it was likely to become the great nursery of puritanism, applied to the king, and obtained an information against all the feoffees in the exchequer. The feoffment was, therefore, cancelled, their proceediags declared illegal, the impropriations already purchased, amounting to five or six thousand pounds, were confiscated to the king, and the feoffees themselves fined in the star-chamber.

If the persecuted Puritans at any time ventured to except against the proceedings of this fiery prelate, they were sure to feel his indignation. Mr. Hayden having spoken against them from the pulpit, was driven out of the diocese of Exeter, but afterwards apprehended by Bishop Harsnet, who took from him his horse, his money, and all his papers, and caused him to be shut up in close prison for thirteen weeks. His lordship then

sent him to the high commission, when he was deprived, degraded, and fined, for having preached against superstitious decorations and images in churches. Mr. Hayden venturing afterwards to preach occasionally, was again apprehended by Bishop Laud, who sent him first to the Gatehouse, then to Bridewell, where he was whipped and kept to hard labour; then confined in a cold dark hole during the whole of winter, being chained to a post in the middle of the room, with irons on his hands and feet, having no other food than bread and water, and a pad of straw to lie on. Before his release, he was obliged to take an oath, and give bond, to preach no more, but depart from the kingdom, and never return. Henry Shirfield, Esq. a bencher of Lincoln's-inn, and recorder of Salisbury, was tried in the star-chamber, for taking down some painted glass from one of the windows of St. Edmund's church, Salisbury. These pictures were extremely ridiculous and superstitious. The taking down of the glass was agreed upon at a vestry, when six justices of the peace were present. Towards the close of his trial, Bishop Laud stood up, and moved the court, that Mr. Shirfield might be fined £1000, removed from his recordership, committed to the Fleet till he paid the fine, and then bound to his good behaviour. The whole of this heavy sentence wes inflicted upon him, excepting that the fine was mitigated to £500.

Towards the close of this year, William Prynne, Esq a member of Lincoln's-inn, having published a book, entitled "Histriomastix; or, the Play's Scourge," exposing the evil of plays, masquerades, &c. was sentenced to have his book burnt by the common hangman, to be put from the bar, to be for ever incapable of his profession, to be turned out of the society of Lincoln's-inn, to be degraded at Oxford, to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, to lose both his ears, one in each place, to pay a fine of £5000, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. Dr. Bastwick, a physician of Colchester, having published a book, entitled *Elenchus religionis, papisticæ*, with an appendix, called *Flagellum pontificis & episcoporum Latialium*, so greatly offended the prelates, by denying the divine right of bishops above that of presbyters, that by the high commission, he was discarded from his profession, excommunicated, fined £1000, and imprisoned till he should recant. And Mr. Burton having published two sermons against the late innovations, entitled "For God and the King," had his house and study broken open by a serjeant at arms, and his books and papers carried away. He was then suspended, and committed close prisoner to the Fleet, where he remained a long time.

Dr. Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, at the same time per-

secuted the non-conformists without mercy. He drove all the lecturers out of his diocese, and put down their lectures, as factions, and nurseries of puritanism. Upon a reflection on what he had done, he said, "I thank God, I have not one lecturer left in my diocese," hating the very name. He suspended Mr. Davenish, of Bridgewater, for preaching a lecture in his own church on a market-day; and having absolved him upon his promise to preach no more, he said, "Go thy way, and sin no more, lest a worse thing befal thee." He suspended Mr. Cornish for preaching a funeral sermon in the evening; and he questioned Mr. Thomas Erford for preaching on a revel-day, saying, "his text was scandalous to the revel." He sharply reprimanded other ministers for explaining the questions and answers in the catechism, and said, "That was as bad as preaching," For this practice he enjoined Mr. Barret, rector of Barwick, to do public penance.

Mr. Burton, Mr. Prynne, and Dr. Bastwick, already mentioned, having been long confined in prison, were prosecuted in the star-chamber, when they received the following dreadful sentence:—"Mr. Burton shall be deprived of his living, and degraded from his ministry, as Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick had been already from their professions; they shall each be fined £5000; they shall stand in the pillory at Westminster, and have their ears cut off; and because Prynne had lost his ears already, the remainder of the stumps shall be cut off, and he shall be stigmatized on both his cheeks with the letters S. L. for a *seditious libeller;* and they shall all three suffer perpetual imprisonment in the remotest parts of the kingdom."

The governing prelates were now arrived at their highest power and splendour. The afflicted non-conformists, and those who favoured their cause, felt the relentless vengeance of the star-chamber and high commission. Dr. Williams, the excellent Bishop of Lincoln, was now removed from the court, and retired to his diocese. Here he connived at the non-conformists, and spoke with some keenness against the ceremonies. He once said, "That the Puritans were the king's best subjects, and he was sure they would carry all at last." Laud being informed of this expression, caused an information to be lodged against him in the star-chamber, when, after suspension from all his offices and benefits in the high commission, he was fined £10,000 to the king, £1000 to Sir John Mounson, and committed to the Tower during the king's pleasure. Being sent to the Tower, his library and all his goods were seized, and sold to pay the fine. His papers being seized, two letters were found written to him by Mr. Osbaldeston, chief master of Westminster school, contain-

ing certain dark expressions,* on the ground of which he was condemned in the additional fine of 5000*l.* to the king, and 3000*l.* to the archbishop, and kept close prisoner in the Tower. Mr. Osbaldeston was fined 5000*l.* to the king, and 5000*l.* to the archbishop; to be deprived of all his spiritual promotions, to stand in the pillory before his own school, and have his ears nailed to it, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. Mr. Osbaldeston being among the crowd in the court, when the sentence was pronounced, immediately went home, burnt some papers, and absconded, leaving a note on his desk in his study, with these words: "If the archbishop enquire for me, tell him I am gone beyond Canterbury." Mr. John Lilburne, afterwards a colonel in the army, for refusing to take an oath to answer all interrogatories concerning his importing and publishing seditious libels, was fined 5000*l.* and whipped through the streets from the Fleet to the pillory in Westminster. While in the pillory, he was gagged, then carried to the Fleet, and committed to close confinement, with irons on his hands and feet, where he remained betwixt two and three years, without any persons being allowed to see him.

These terrible proceedings, without serving the interest of the church, awakened universal resentment against those in power. Many shousand families were driven to Holland, and many thousands to New England. This so alarmed the king and the council, that a proclamation was issued, April 30, 1637, observing, "That great numbers of his Majesty's subjects were yearly transported to New England, with their families and whole estates, *that they might be out of the reach of ecclesiastical authority;* his Majesty therefore commands, that his officers of the several ports should suffer none to pass without a license from the commissioners of the plantations, and a testimonial from their minister, of their conformity to the orders and discipline of the church." And to debar all *ministers*, it was ordered, "That whereas such ministers as are not conformable to the discipline and ceremonies of the church, do frequently transport themselves to the plantations, where they take liberty to nourish their factious and schismatical humours, to the hindrance of the good conformity and unity of the church; we therefore expressly command you, in his Majesty's name, to suffer no clergyman to transport himself without a testimonial from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London." The Puritans must not be suffered to live peaceably at home, nor yet be allowed to take sanctuary in

* These letters made mention of *a little great man;* and in another passage, the same person was denominated *a little urchin.* Such were the dark expressions which, by interpretation, were applied to Laud.

a foreign land. These unparalleled acts of cruel and tyrannical injustice in a protestant country, turned the hearts of tens of thousands to the cause of the Puritans.

Notwithstanding the above prohibitions, multitudes went on board ships in disguise, and got over to the new plantations. There were, indeed, eight ships in the river Thames bound for New England, and filled with Puritan families, among whom was OLIVER CROMWELL; who, seeing no end of the cruel oppressions in their native country, determined to spend the remainder of their days in America. But the council being informed of their design, issued an order "to stay those ships, and to put on shore all the provisions intended for the voyage." To prevent the same in future, the king prohibited all masters and owners of ships, from sending any ships with passengers to New England, without a special license from the privy council; "because, (says he) the people of New England are factious and unworthy our support."

November 3, 1640, the LONG PARLIAMENT first assembled, and continued sitting with some little interruption about *eighteen* years. The members of this parliament were *all members of the Church of England*, and nearly all advocates for episcopal government. The first week was spent in appointing committees, and receiving the numerous petitions from all parts of the kingdom, craving a redress of grievances both in church and state. Numerous petitions were also presented by the Puritans who had been many years under close confinement; when the parliament favourably received them, released the prisoners, and voted them to receive considerable sums out of the estates of their persecutors, by way of damages. They released Dr. Leighton, who had been imprisoned ten years; Mr. Smart, eleven or twelve years; and Mr. Brewer, fourteen years. Also, Burton, Prynne, Bastwick, Walker, Lilburne, Bishop Williams, and many others, now obtained their liberty. The above canons were, at the same time, condemned in the house of Commons, as being against the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the realm, the liberty and property of the subject, and as containing divers other things tending to sedition and dangerous consequence. For which several of the bishops were impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours. The archbishop was impeached of *high treason*, and committed to the Tower.

The *committee of accommodation* was appointed by the upper house, to consider of such innovations as were proper to be taken away. It consisted of ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons. They also appointed a sub-committee of bishops and learned divines, to prepare matters for debate, Bishop Williams being

chairman of both.* The result of their conference was drawn up for the debate of the committee, in a number of propositions and queries. But all attempts at an accommodation were blasted by the obstinacy of the bishops, and by the discovery of the plot for bringing the army up to London to dissolve the parliament. This widened the distance betwixt the king and the two houses, and broke up the committee, without bringing any thing to perfection. The moderation and mutual compliance of these divines, it is justly observed, might have saved the whole body of episcopacy, and prevented the civil war: but the court bishops expected no good from them, suspecting that the Puritans would betray the church.

In 1644, the Presbyterians having gained the ascendancy, grasped at the same arbitrary power as that under which they had formerly suffered so much. The Parliament published two ordinances, one against the preaching of unordained ministers, the other against heresy, both of which became the instruments of oppression and persecution. The latter, says Mr. Neal, is one of the most shocking laws I have met with in restraint of religious liberty, and shews, that the governing party would have made a terrible use of their power, had they been supported by the sword of the civil magistrate. Several ministers of puritan principles, became sufferers by these ordinances. Mr. Clarkson having embraced the sentiments of the anabaptists, was cast into prison, and required to recant, for the marvellous sin of *dipping*. Mr. Lamb, Mr. Denne, and Mr. Knollys, all of the same denomination, were apprehended and committed to prison. Mr. Knollys was afterwards prosecuted at the sessions, and sent prisoner to London. Mr. Oates was tried for his life, but acquitted. Mr. Biddle was cast into prison, where he remained seven years.

King CHARLES II. being now seated on the throne of his ancestors, the commencement of his reign was a continued revel. "The restoration, (says Burnet) brought with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety, and entertainments and drunkenness overrun the three kingdoms. The king had a good understanding; and knew well the state of affairs both at home

* The names of these bishops and learned divines, were as follows:

Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln,
Dr. Usher, archbishop of Armagh,
Dr. Morton, bishop of Durham,
Dr. Hall, bishop of Exeter,
Dr. Samuel Ward,
Dr. John Prideaux,
Dr. Robert Sanderson,
Dr. Daniel Featley,
Dr. Ralph Brownrigg,
Dr. Richard Holdsworth,
Dr. John Hacket,
Dr. William Twisse,
Dr. Cornelius Burgess,
Mr. John White,
Mr. Stephen Marshall,
Mr. Edmund Calamy,
Mr. Thomas Hill.

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and abroad. He had a softness of temper that charmed all who came near him, till they found out how little they could depend on good looks, kind words, and fair promises; in which he was liberal to an excess, because he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of importunities. He seemed to have no sense of religion. He was no atheist, but disguised his popery to the last."

Upon his Majesty's accession, many of the Puritans were in great hopes of favour. Besides the promises of men in power, they had an assurance from the king, in his declaration from Breda, "That he should grant liberty to tender consciences, and that no man should be questioned for a difference of opinion in matters of religion, who did not disturb the peace of the kingdom." Afterwards, the king having issued his declaration concerning ecclesiastical matters, dated October 25, 1660; and the London ministers having presented to him their address of thanks, his Majesty returned them this answer: "Gentlemen, I will endeavour to give you all satisfaction, and to make you as happy as myself." All this was, indeed, most encouraging. But all their hopes were soon blasted.

The Puritan ministers have been decried as ignorant mechanics, canting preachers, enemies to learning, and no better than public robbers. The common people have been stigmatized as *hypocrites*. Their looks, their dress, and behaviour, have been represented in the most odious colours; yet we may challenge these declaimers to produce any period since the Reformation, wherein there was less open profaneness and impiety, and more of the spirit as well as appearance of religion. Better laws were never made against vice, or more rigourously executed. Drunkenness, fornication, profane swearing, and every kind of debauchery, were justly deemed infamous, and universally discountenanced. The clergy were laborious to an excess, in preaching, praying, catechising, and visiting the sick. The magistrates were exact in suppressing all kinds of games, stage-plays, and abuses in public houses: and a play had not been acted in any theatre in England, for almost twenty years.

But the court and bishops were now at ease. The doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance were revived. And the Puritans began to prepare for those persecutions which presently followed. Mr. Crofton, who had been very zealous for the king's restoration, for having written in favour of the covenant, was deprived of his living, and sent close prisoner to the Tower, where he was not permitted to have pen, ink, or paper. Mr. Parsons, a noted royalist, was fined 200*l.* and cast into prison, for non-conformity. The celebrated Mr. John Howe was committed to prison; and multitudes were sequestered and prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, for not wearing the surplice and ob-

serving the ceremonies. These were powerful indications of the approaching storm.

Upon Venner's insurrection,* Mr. Knollys and many other innocent persons, were dragged to Newgate, where they continued eighteen weeks. The rebellion of Venner occasioned a royal proclamation, prohibiting all *anabaptists* and *other sectaries* from worshipping God in public, except at their parish churches. This oppressive edict was another signal for persecution. Mr. *Biddle* was tried at the public sessions, fined one hundred pounds, and cast into prison, where he soon after died. Mr. *John James* was seized in the pulpit, tried, condemned, and beheaded. His bowels were then burnt, and his body being quartered, was placed upon the four gates of the city of London, and his head first upon London bridge, then opposite his meeting-house in Bulstake-alley.

In order to crush the Puritans in every corner of the land, and strike all non-conformists at once dumb, the famous "Act of Uniformity" was passed, requiring a perfect conformity to the Book of Common Prayer, and the rites and ceremonies of the church. This struck the non-conformists with universal consternation. The unmerciful act took place August 24, 1662, justly denominated the BLACK BARTHOLOMEW-DAY. By this act, "it is well known, that nearly 2500 faithful ministers of the gospel were silenced. And it is affirmed, upon a modest calculation, that it procured the untimely death of 3000 non-conformists, and the ruin of 60,000 families."

Gilbert Alcock was an excellent minister of puritan principles, but silenced, with many of his brethren, for non-conformity. April 3, 1571, he presented a supplication to the convocation, in behalf of himself and his suffering brethren, earnestly soliciting the house to consider their case, and redress their grievances. In this supplication he expresses himself as follows:

"If a minister preach true doctrine and live virtuously, yet omit the least ceremony for conscience sake, he is immediately indicted, deprived, cast into prison, and his goods wasted and destroyed; he is kept from his wife and children, and at last excommunicated, even though the articles brought against him be ever so false. How heavy these ceremonies lie upon the consciences of christians; and what difference there is between them, and those for which the people of God have been, and are still, so much persecuted, judge ye, as ye expect to be judged in the

* Mr. Thomas Venner, a wine-cooper, with about fifty of his admirers, being in expectation of a fifth universal monarchy, under the personal reign of *King Jesus* upon the earth, raised an insurrection in the city. But their mad scheme was frustrated. Many of them were killed in the contest; and Venner and some others were seized, tried, condemned, and executed.—*Burnet's Hist. of his Time*, vol. i. p. 160.

day of judgment. Those who observe your ceremonies, though they be idolaters, common swearers, adulterers, or much worse, live without punishment, and have many friends. We therefore, beseech your fatherhoods to pity our case, to take these stumbling-blocks from us, that we may live quiet and peaceable lives, to the honour of our God." The convocation were, however, of another mind: and, instead of lessening their burdens, very much increased them.

Robert Johnson was fellow of King's college, Cambridge, and domestic chaplain to Lord Keeper Bacon. He preached and administered the sacrament in his lordship's family at Gorambury, and was statedly employed in the ministry at St. Alban's. In July, 1571, he was brought into trouble for non-conformity. He was cited before archbishop Parker, and the bishops of Winchester and Ely, at Lambeth. Upon his appearance, he was threatened to be silenced if he would not subscribe. Accordingly, not being satisfied in every point contained in the articles proposed to him, and refusing subscription, he was immediately suspended. Afterwards, he sent a humble letter to the commissioners, earnestly desiring to be restored to his ministry. This letter was dated from the lord keeper's house, near St. Alban's, August 14, 1571.

It is not probable that it produced the desired effect, as we find, that Mr. Johnson was brought into further trouble. In 1573, he was convened before the bishop of Lincoln, and required to subscribe to the three articles following:

1. "I am content hereafter, in my open sermons and public preaching, to forbear to impugn the articles of religion agreed upon in the Synod at London, in 1562, or any of them.

2. "Neither will I speak against the state of the church of England, now allowed by the laws of this realm: nor against the Book of Common Prayer, or any thing contained therein.

3. "Neither will I say or sing, or cause, procure, or maintain any other to say or sing, any common or open prayer, or minister any sacrament, otherwise, or in any other manner or form, than is mentioned in the said book, till further order be taken by public authority."

Mr. Johnson refusing subscription, answered as follows:— "Whether these articles be such as I ought in duty to subscribe, and whether for refusing this subscription, I deserve to be openly declared a forsaker of the church, and the flock committed to my care, and whether it be matter for which I ought to be defamed, I refer to your worship's consideration."

We do not, indeed, find what immediately followed his refusing to subscribe: whether he was dismissed, and allowed to go on in his ministry, or sent to prison. Most probably he was

released; for he afterwards became minister of St. Clement's church, London. Here, however, he enjoyed but little repose; for towards the close of December, in the above year, he and some others were committed close prisoners to the Gate-house. February 2, following, Mr. Johnson being still in prison, wrote a letter to Dr. Sandys, bishop of London, whom he styles, "superintendant of popish corruptions in the diocese of London." In this letter, he reminds his lordship of some of the existing evils, especially that of professed christians persecuting one another. "There is, (says he) persecution enough. Some are imprisoned, and are in danger of losing, not only their liberty, but also their lives, being compelled to remain in filthy jails, more unwholesome than dunghills, and more stinking than pig-styes. Others are persecuted in their minds, by being enforced to subscribe to those things against which every good man's conscience makes a stand, and every godly man disallows. It is a great evil for a man to lose or spend his property in prison; it is a greater, to lose his reputation; it is greater still, to lose his liberty; but it is greatest of all, to be greatly distressed and disquieted in his conscience. Take heed, therefore, lest you get your name enrolled amongst the number of persecutors. Let not worldly policy prevail more than true divinity. Let not man cause you to do that which God has forbidden. Let not the commission draw you further than God's word will allow. Let not your honour here on earth, cause you to do that which is against the honour of God. Let not your palace make you forget the temple of Christ. The laws and authority of *men*, should not set aside the laws and authority of *God*. The popish logic of slander and imprisonment will not prevail at last. The Fleet, the Gate-house, the White-lion, the King's-bench, and Newgate, are weak arguments to convince the conscience."

Upon the 20th day of the same month, Mr. Johnson was brought to trial before his judges, and examined at Westminster-hall, in the presence of the queen's commissioners, the bishop of London, the dean of Westminster, the lord chief justice, and others. The examination which he underwent at his trial, was as follows:

Johnson. If it please your honours, may I not submit myself, and declare the truth of things as they were done.

Lord Chief Justice. Yes, you may.

J. I stand here indicted for three points. The first is, that I have not repeated the words of the institution; or, as they commonly call it, I did not consecrate the wine, when I delivered it to the communicants.—Secondly, that I have not married with the ring.—Thirdly, that I have not used the cross in the administration of baptism, and have left out the whole sentence for

that purpose.—Unto these charges, I answer, that respecting the *contempt*, as expressed in the indictment, I plead, *not guilty*. And as to the first of those charges, I answer under my protestation, that at no time, in celebrating the communion, have I omitted any prayer or words of the institution, which the book prescribeth, but have used them in as full and ample a manner as they are appointed. Only upon a certain occasion, when the wine failed, I sent for more, which I delivered to the people, using the words appointed in the book to be used in the delivery of the sacrament, not again repeating the words of the institution: partly, because, as I take it, being an entire action and one supper, the words of the institution at first delivered were sufficient; and partly, because, in the Book of Common Prayer, there is no order appointed to which I could refer the case. And as to the second, I answer, that once or twice, I did not use the ring. For looking into the mass-book, I found the words with which the papists *hallow* the ring; and because this seemed to me no less derogatory to the death of Christ, than holy bread and holy water, I thought as other persons had omitted those, I might omit this.

Commissioner. There is no such thing in the Book of Common Prayer.

Dean. He speaketh of the mass-book.

Bishop. Then you compare the mass-book and the common-prayer book, and make the one as bad as the other.

J. My lord, I make no such comparison. But after I was complained of to my ordinary, Dr. Watts, archdeacon of Middlesex, who reprehended me, I used the ring, as I have good and sufficient witness. Since, therefore, I did in this default correct myself, I refer myself to your honour's discretion, whether I have herein stubbornly and contemptuously broken the law.—As to the the third charge, I answer, that I have omitted to make the sign of the cross, but not of contempt. But seeing I have already suffered seven weeks imprisonment, with the loss of my place and living, I beseech you, be indifferent judges, whether this be not sufficient for so small a crime.

Mr. *Gerard.* You were not sent to prison for that, but for your irreverent behaviour.

J. I trust, Sir, I did not behave myself more irreverently than I do now. Whereas the indictment is, that I omitted the whole prayer, "We receive this child," &c. This is false; for I never administered baptism without using that prayer, though I omitted making the sign of the cross.

B. Those two are but trifles. The chief is the consecration of the sacrament. For, as it had not the word, it was no sacrament, and so the people were mocked.

J. My lord, I did not mock the people; for it was a sacrament.

D. St. Augustin saith, "That the word must be added to the element, to make a sacrament." You lacked the word, therefore, it was no sacrament.

J I had the word.

B. How had you the word, when you confess that you recited not the institution?

J. I had recited the institution before, and that was sufficient.

D. Yea, for that bread and wine that was present; but when you sent for more bread or wine, you should again have rehearsed the words of the institution.

J. The book appointed no such thing.

B. Yes, Sir, the book saith, you shall have sufficient bread and wine, and then the prayer of the institution must be recited. Now, as you had not sufficient, you should, therefore, have repeated the institution.

J. There is no such caveat, nor proviso, appointed in the book.

B. But that is the meaning of the book.

J. Men may make what meaning they please; but I refer myself to the book, whether or not it be so appointed.

D. You are not forbidden to use the repetition.

J. Neither am I commanded.

D. I will prove this to be the meaning of the book. For it is said in the prayer, "these creatures of bread and wine:" so that the book hath respect to the bread and wine there present, and not to any other. Therefore, if there be any more brought, it must be consecrated afresh, by the words of the institution.

J. I pray you tell me one thing. Are the words of the institution spoken for the bread, or for the receivers?

D. For both.

J. I deny that. For the evangelist declares, that Christ said unto his *disciples*, to teach them for what end and purpose they should take the bread.

D. Then the word is of no force.

J. I deny that. The word is necessary to the substance of the sacrament. But this is not the question: we both confess this. Herein is the controversy, whether it be necessary for the institution to be repeated, seeing it is but one and the same action, and the same communicants as before, for whom the words are spoken. If it had not been the same supper, or if the communicants had been changed, it would have been necessary to rehearse the institution.

B. You like yourself very well, and you are stubborn and arrogant. I have before heard of your stubborn heart, but now I perceive it.

J. My lord, who he is that liketh himself so well, and is so stubborn and arrogant, that Lord, who trieth the hearts of all, must judge.

B. Why, you being unlearned, stand stubbornly against us all, and so no learning will satisfy you.

J. I would fain understand with what words Christ did consecrate.

Dr. Wilson. With this word, *benedixit.*

J. Be it so. But we know not the words with which Christ did *benedicere.* Therefore, we must consecrate with we know not what.

L. C. J. Ah! Johnson. Is this your submission?

J. I must needs defend my own innocence.

G. Johnson, you in a manner confess as much as you are charged with. For you confess, that when the words of the institution were recited, you had no wine.

J. I do not confess that. I had both bread and wine.

G. But you had not that wine.

J. No.

G. Therefore it was not consecrated.

J. The words before repeated were sufficient for the consecration.

D. Then, with those words you consecrated all the wine in the tavern.

J. No, Sir, it was the wine that was brought from the tavern to the church, and of a common wine, was appointed to be a sacramental wine, to represent Christ's blood; and this is consecration.

D. Why then, with you, the word is of no force.

J. It is not of force to bring any holiness to the sacrament. I trust you do not think that the word maketh the bread any holier when used in the sacrament.

W. Yes, it is holy bread.

B. It is a holy sacrament.

J. That I confess. But holiness is in the use and end, not in the substance. For otherwise you would make a magical enchantment of it, and not a consecration. Dr. Cranmer, in his book on the sacrament, saith, "There cometh no holiness to the bread by consecration."

G. If thou wert well served, thou wouldst be used like a magician.

J. Whatever your judgment may be, I stand or fall to my own Lord.

B. You know not what harm you have done, by defending an error before this company, bringing them so into doubt, that they know not which way to take.

J. My lord, I defend no error. I maintain the truth.

D. Nay, you maintain a *horrible heresy.*

Bromley. Yea, if you were well served, you should *fry a faggot.*

J. As you say that I maintain a heresy, I pray you shew me by what commandment I am bound to the precise words of the institution.

D. As the word in baptism is, "I baptise thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost:" so the word in the Lord's supper is the rehearsal of the institution.

L. C. J. Here is my lord of London, a prelate of the realm, and a bishop, and this gentleman, Mr. Dean; dost thou not think they are learned?

J. I neither despise, nor deprave their learning. But as to the words of the institution, I say, they are to be considered, either as they are expressly set down by the evangelist; or, as other words are used equivalent to them, declaring the sum and substance of them, and, in either case, the institution is whole and sound. Consecration may be taken either according to the consecration of the papists, who say, "This is my body, and this is my blood;" or, as the best writers in our time, take it for the rehearsal of the promises and thanksgiving to be enjoined; and whichsoever of these two be accepted, seeing I used the words of delivery, there was sufficient consecration.

L. C. J. Let us make an end of it. Charge the jury.—The witnesses were then called and sworn, some of whom were known papists, and others had done penance for the foulest crimes, against whom no exception would be taken; and Mr. Johnson being by their verdict found guilty, was condemned to one year's imprisonment, and immediately sent back to the Gate-house.

The hard treatment Mr. Johnson received from Bishop Sandys, and the other commissioners, as appears in the above examination; with the heavy sentence pronounced upon him, after having endured some close and severe imprisonment already, were, surely, more than proportionate to any crime with which he was charged, even supposing he had been guilty. Indeed, whether the principal thing with which he was charged was good or evil, was matter of mere opinion, and a point much to be disputed. But right or wrong, he must be punished.

During the execution of the heavy sentence, and about two weeks after his trial, Mr. Johnson wrote a letter to Bishop Sandys, dated March 7, 1574, in which he earnestly pleads for more kind treatment. He thus observes, "Our Saviour saith, *Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy:* And the apostle, *He shall have judgment without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy.* I wonder what mercy you, and the rest of the commissioners, hope for, and what judgment you look for, seeing for trifles and of no

weight, nay of no truth, as I doubt not you are persuaded in your own consciences, you not only mock and molest men, deprave and deprive them, but to their great poverty and utter ruin, and without any bowels of mercy, you condemn them to long imprisonment. Where hath God given any such commandment? Where hath Christ given any such precedent? Where did the apostles put any such thing in practice? If you say, that we hold errors, are schismatics, and promote sects; then do you the part of a teacher, to reform our errors, to reduce schismatics to unity, and to dissuade sectaries from dissension. Your office and function, your name and title, your degree and profession, your knowledge and religion, yea the apostles, Jesus Christ, and God himself, requireth this at your hands. You know who saith, *If a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness.* Compare your doctrine in time past, and your doings now, and see how they agree.

"If to imprison and famish men, be the proper way to instruct the ignorant and reduce the obstinate, where is the office and work of a shepherd, to seek that which was lost, and bring home that which went astray? We beseech you, therefore, to gather something out of the Old and New Testament, that you may reduce those who go astray, and heal that which is bruised and broken. And I pray you, let us feel some of your charitable relief, to preserve us from death, under this hard usage; especially as you have been the chief cause of my trouble, I desire you to be some part of my comfort. Let pity requite spite, and mercy recompense malice. Thus beseeching God, that you may proceed faithfully in all the duties of a bishop, I commend you to Jesus Christ, the great Sbepherd and Bishop of souls.

"Robert Johnson."

Mr. Johnson, at the same time, presented a petition to the queen or council, desiring to be restored to his former liberty of preaching, from which he was restrained by the foregoing heavy sentence. This petition, together with a letter from the court, dated Greenwich, March 19, 1573, were sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, pressing them to take the case into consideration, and take such order therein as should appear most convenient. The council also sent another letter to the Bishop of London, dated Greenwich, May 16, 1574, signifying that their lordships were given to understand, that Mr. Johnson, committed to the Gate-house for non-conformity, was very sick and likely to die, unless he might enjoy more open air. Therefore they commanded his grace to give order for the poor afflicted man to be bailed, and upon sureties to be removed to his own house, but not to depart thence without further order.

All these efforts were, however, without any good effect. The relentless prelate continued inflexible. Mr. Johnson experienced neither his lenity, nor his charity, nor any other favour: for the good man died soon after, a prisoner in the Gate-house, through the cruelty of his imprisonment, and his extreme poverty and want.

Richard Taverner, A. M. was born at Brisley, in Norfolk, in the year 1505, and educated first in Bennet college, Cambridge, then in the university of Oxford. The famous Cardinal Wolsey having founded a new college at the latter place, furnished it with all the best scholars in the nation; among whom were Taverner, Tindal, Frith, Goodman, and many others. Here Mr. Taverner and his brethren were soon called to the trial of their faith. They were men of good learning and grave judgments, and Mr. Taverner was famous for his knowledge of music; but conferring together about the corruptions of the church, they were presently accused to the cardinal, and cast into prison. They were confined in a deep cell under the college, where salt fish was wont to be preserved; so that by the filthiness and infection of the place, several of them soon lost their lives. Mr. Taverner, however, escaped the fatal malady. He had a good knowledge of the Greek language, philosophy, and divinity; but about this time he removed or was expelled from the university, and became a student at the inns of court. Here, when he read any thing in the law, he made his quotations in Greek. In the year 1534, he was taken under the patronage of Lord Cromwell, principal secretary to Henry VIII.; by whose recommendation the king afterwards made him one of the clerks of the signet.

In the year 1539, he published "A Recognition or Correction of the Bible after the best Exemplars." It was printed in folio, dedicated to the king, and allowed to be publickly read in the churches. But upon the fall of Lord Cromwell, in 1540, the bishops causing the printers of the Bible in English to be cast into prison and punished, Mr. Taverner, as the reward of his labours, was sent to the Tower. Here, however, he did not continue long; for, having fully acquitted himself before his judges, he was soon after released, and restored to his place and the king's favour.

In the year 1552, Mr. Taverner, though he was not ordained, obtained a special license subscribed by King Edward, to preach in any part of his dominions: and he did not fail to make use of the liberty granted him. He preached from place to place through the kingdom; also at court before the king, and in other public places, wearing a velvet bonnet or round cap, a damask gown, and a chain of gold about his neck; in which habit, he

sometimes preached in St. Mary's church, Oxford, in the days of Queen Elizabeth. While he was in the office of high sheriff, he appeared in St. Mary's pulpit, with his gold chain about his neck, and his sword by his side, and preached to the scholars, beginning his sermon with the following words:—"Arriving at the mount of St. Mary's, in the stony stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biskets, baked in the oven of charity, and carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation." This way of preaching was then mostly fashionable, and commended by the generality of scholars in those times.

Francis Merbury was minister at Northampton, and brought into many troubles, being several times cast into prison. November 5, 1578, he was convened before the high commission; when he underwent the following examination before Bishop Aylmer, Sir Owen Hopton, Dr. Lewis, Mr. Recorder, and Archdeacon Mullins, in the consistory of St. Paul's, London:

Bishop. Merbury, where have you been since your last enlargement?

Merbury. At Northampton.

B. You were especially forbidden to go to that place. For there you did all the harm.

M. I was not, neither in justice may be inhibited from that place. Neither have I done harm there, but good.

B. As you say, Sir.

M. Not so. I refer myself to the judgment of God's church at that place.

B. The last time, you found more favour than you deserved, and more than you shall find hereafter; and yet you vaunted that you had rattled the Bishop of Peterborough, and in like manner you would treat me.

M. If your ears be open to every sycophant, you will have slanders enow: but for proof, bring forth mine accusers. For if bare words will serve your purpose, you may as well accuse me of high treason.

B. Well, sir, what have you to say against my lord of Peterborough, or me?

M. Nothing: but God save you both.

B. Nothing! Why, you were wont to bark much of dumb dogs. Are you now weary of it?

M. I came not to accuse, but to defend. Yet because you urge me for advantage, I say, that the bishops of London and Peterborough, and all the bishops in England, are guilty of the death of as many souls, as have perished by the ignorance of the ministers of their making, whom they *knew* to be unable.

B. Whom such have I made?

M. I accuse you not particularly, because I know not your state. If you have, you must bear the condemnation.

B. Thy proposition is false. If it were in Cambridge, it would be hissed out of the schools.

M. Then you had need hire hissers.

B. If I, finding one well qualified with learning, admit him, and he afterwards play the truant, and become ignorant, and by his ignorance slay souls, am I guilty of their death?

M. This is another question. I distinguish and speak of them which never were able.

B. Distinguish! thou knowest not a distinction. What is a distinction?

M. It is the severing of things which appear to be the same.

B. Nay, that is *differentia.*

M. *Different, quæ non sunt ambigua;* but we distinguish those things only which are ambiguous: as, you differ not from the Bishop of London; but I may distinguish between you and the Bishop of London, because you are a man though you were without a bishopric.

B. Here is a tale of a tub. How many predicaments are there?

M. I answer you according to your question, if I say there are enow of seven. Why do you ask me questions so impertinent?

B. How many predicables be there? Where didst thou learn logic?

M. The last time you spoke of good behaviour; but this is something else. I am no logician.

Recorder. Merbury, use my lord more reverently. He is a peer of the realm. I perceive your words are puffed up with pride.

M. I speak only the truth. I reverence him so far as he is reverend; and I pray God to teach him to die.

B. Thou speakest of making ministers. The Bishop of Peterborough was never more overseen in his life than when he admitted thee to be a preacher in Northampton.

M. Like enough so, in some sense. I pray God those scales may fall from his eyes.

B. Thou art a very ass; thou art mad; thou art courageous; nay, thou art impudent. By my troth, I think he is mad: he careth for nobody.

M. Sir, I take exception against swearing judges. I praise God I am not mad, but sorry to see you so much out of temper.

B. Did you ever hear one more impudent.

M. It is not impudency, I trust, to answer for myself.

B. Nay, I know thou art courageous; thou art fool-hardy.

M. Though I fear not you, yet I fear the Lord.

R. Is he learned?

B. Learned! He hath an arrogant spirit. He can scare construe Cato, I think.

M. Sir, you do not punish me because I am unlearned. Howbeit, I understand both Greek and Latin. Make trial of me, to prove your disgrace.

B. Thou takest upon thee to be a preacher, but there is nothing in thee. Thou art a *very ass*, an *idiot*, and a *fool*.

M. I humbly beseech you, Sir, have patience, and give these people a better example. Through the Lord, I am what I am. I submit the trial of my sufficiency to the judgment of the learned. But this wandering speech is not logical.

B. This fellow would have a preacher in every parish church!

M. So would St. Paul.

B. Where wouldst thou have them?

M. In Cambridge, in Oxford, in the inns of court, yea, and some in prison, if more were wanted. We doing our part, the Lord would do his.

B. I thought where thou wouldst be. But where is the living for them?

M. A man might cut a large thong out of your hide, and that of the other prelates, and it would never be missed.

B. Go thou on to contrive. Thou shalt orderly dispose of our livings.

M. That is more than you can do yourselves. If rich livings be the fault, they are to blame who have too much. Whatever be the cause, the church feeleth the smart.

Mullins. Sir, in the beginning of her majesty's reign, there was a defect of able men; and the church was constrained to take such as it could get, upon the recommendation of noblemen.

M. I speak of later times. As for noblemen, they are no sureties for us; and as to the defect, it cannot wholly dispense with the word. A minister must be able to teach.

Mull. Then you would have a preacher, or none at all; and so the church would be unserved.

M. It would be better to have nothing, than that which God would not have.

B. How dost thou prove that God would not have them, when we can get no better?

M. Doth he not say, "Because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest unto me?"

B. Thou art an overthwart, proud, puritan knave. Thou wilt go to Northampton; and thou wilt have thine own sayings till thou die. But thou shalt repent.

M. I am no puritan. I beseech you to be good to me. I have been twice in prison already; but I know not why.

B. Where was he before?

Keeper of the Gate-house. With me, my lord.

B. Have him to the Marshalsea. There he shall cope with the papists.

M. I must go where it pleaseth God. But remember God's judgments. You do me open wrong. I pray God forgive you.

Mr. Merbury was then carried to the Marshalsea; but how long he remained in prison we are not able to learn. Notwithstanding the cruelty with which the good man was treated, he was not a person of severe principles, but acted with great moderation; and afterwards, with liberty of interpretation, became much more conformable.

John Copping, was minister near Bury St. Edmunds, and of the Brownist persuasion. In the year 1576, he was committed to prison at Bury. He is said to have maintained the following opinions: "That unpreaching ministers were dumb dogs.—That whoever keeps saints' days, is an idolater.—That the queen, who had sworn to keep God's law, and set forth God's glory, as appointed in the scriptures, and did not perform it, was perjured." And it is added, that for the space of six months, he had refused to have his own child baptized; "because, (he said) none should baptize his child who did not preach;" and that when it was baptized, he would have neither godfathers nor godmothers. These were the great crimes alleged against him! Mr. Copping having for these offences remained in prison two years, and still refusing to conform, December 1, 1578, he underwent an examination before Justice Andrews, when the above *false* and *malicious opinions*, as they are called, were proved against him. The good man continuing steadfast to his principles, and still refusing to sacrifice a good conscience on the altar of conformity, was sent back to prison, where he remained nearly five years longer. What shocking barbarity was this! Here Mr. *Elias Thacker*, another Brownist minister, was his fellow prisoner. The two prisoners having suffered this long and painful confinement, were indicted, tried, and condemned for spreading certain books, said to be seditiously penned by Robert Brown against the Book of Common Prayer. The sedition charged upon Brown's book, was, that it subverted the constitution of the established church, and acknowledged her majesty's supremacy only in *civil* matters, not in matters *ecclesiastical*. The judges took hold of this to aggravate their offence to the queen, after they had passed sentence upon them, on the statute of 23 Eliz. against seditious libels, and for refusing the oath of supremacy.

Having received the sentence of death, they were both hanged at Bury, in the month of June, 1583. Such, indeed, was the resentment, and even the madness, of the persecutors of these two servants of Christ, that, previous to their death, all Brown's books that could be found, were collected together, and burnt before their eyes. Under all these barbarities, they continued immoveable to the last, and died sound in the faith, and of holy and unblemished lives. But, to hang men for spreading a book written against the church only, appeared extremely hard, especially at the very time when Brown himself was pardoned and set at liberty.

Mr. *Antony Gilby*, was author of a work, entitled "A Viewe of Antichrist, his Lawes and Ceremonies in our English Church unreformed," 1570. The first part of this humorous piece is called "The Book of the Generation of Antichrist the Pope, the revealed Child of Perdition, and his Successors." The ecclesiastical genealogy is expressed as follows:

The devil begat darkness. Darkness begat ignorance. Ignorance begat error and his brethren. Error begat free-will and self-love. Free-will begat merit. Merit begat forgetfulness of the grace of God. Forgetfulness of the grace of God, begat transgression. Transgression begat mistrust. Mistrust begat satisfaction. Satisfaction begat the sacrifice of the mass. Sacrifice of the mass begat popish priesthood. Popish priesthood begat superstition. Superstition begat hypocrisy the king. Hypocrisy the king begat lucre. Lucre begat purgatory. Purgatory begat the foundation of pensions, and the patrimony of the church. Pensions and patrimony begat the mammon of iniquity. Mammon begat abundance. Abundance begat fulness. Fulness begat cruelty. Cruelty begat dominion in ruling. Dominion begat ambition. Ambition begat simony. And simony begat the POPE, and his brethren the cardinals, with all their successors, abbots, priors, archbishops, lord-bishops, archdeacons, deans, chancellors, commissaries, officials, and proctors, with the rest of the viperous brood.

The pope begat the mystery of iniquity. The mystery of iniquity begat divine sophistry. Divine sophistry begat rejection of the holy scriptures. Rejection of the holy scriptures begat tyranny. Tyranny begat murder of the saints. Murder begat despising of God. Despising of God begat dispensation of offences. Dispensation begat license for sin. License for sin begat abomination. Abomination begat confusion in matters of religion. Confusion brought forth travail of the spirit. Travail of the spirit brought forth matter of disputation for the truth: by which that desolator, antichrist the pope, hath been revealed, and all other antichrists shall in due time be revealed. And

they are antichrists, who make laws for the church, contrary to the truth, and deprive, imprison, and banish the members of Christ, both preachers and others, refusing obedience thereunto. —Most of the points in this curious genealogy, are supported by an appropriate portion of scripture.

As Mr. Gilby was a zealous opposer of the ecclesiastical corcuptions, and constantly desirous to obtain a more pure reformation, he could not escape the severe animadversion of the contrary party.

John Stroud, was minister first of Yalding, and then of Cranbrook, in Kent. His troubles began about the year 1567. Having had in his possession the Book of Ecclesiastical Discipline, he was cited before the chancellor to the Bishop of Rochester; and confessing the fact, that such a book had been in his hands, the chancellor said, "it contains treason, rebellion, and heresy," and immediately committed him to prison. Mr. Stroud observing that he hoped he was not deserving of such hard usage, wished to give sufficient security, but his offer was utterly disregarded. Upon his release from prison, he was forbidden to preach, and even to teach children, within the parish or elsewhere, and commanded to depart out of the diocese in forty days. This unfeeling and inhuman sentence was sent to the churchwardens of Yalding, with a strict command to see it fully executed. But an impartial statement of his case being laid before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the cruel sentence was in part reversed.

His liberty, however, was of very short continuance. For in a few months, he was cited, with several others, to appear at Rochester; and the citation was ordered to be read publickly in the church at Yalding. Upon his appearance in the court, the churchwardens were first called and examined. The chief article of their examination was, "whether any child or children had been baptized in their parish, when the order prescribed and appointed in the Book of Common Prayer was not in all points observed; and whose children they were, who were godfathers and godmothers, and whether they answered according to the form required in the said book?" But the churchwardens were too wise to accuse their own minister, and they were all dismissed.

Afterwards, both minister and churchwardens were again brought into the bishop's court, at Rochester. The churchwardens were first examined as before; and in addition to the former interrogatory, their examination was extended to the following articles:—"Whether any one preached at Yalding without a license?—Whether any preached who were forbidden, and commanded to leave the diocese?—Whether any such preachers have

any unlawful or suspected books, leading to the contempt or derogation of the Book of Common Prayer, or of any orders, rites, or ceremonies of the church, as by law established? or who hath in any public meeting or private conventicle set forth any such books, or any doctrine therein contained?—And whether they knew or had heard, that Mr. Stroud had observed or done any of the things above named?"

Mr. Stroud being next called, and required to take the oath *ex officio*, to answer the enquiries of the court, he refused till he knew those inquiries. The following interrogatories were then read to him:—"Have you now, or have you had in time past, any printing-press and letters, and where are they?—Have you printed any contentious or rebellious books, and when, and where, and how long since, and what is become of them?—Have you any suspected or unlawful books leading to the contempt of the Book of Common Prayer?"—Mr. Stroud refused to answer these interrogatories, which were evidently designed to make him accuse himself, and told the chancellor that these things belonged to her majesty's commissioners, and not to him. Upon this, the angry and cruel chancellor pronounced upon him the sentence of excommunication, which he commanded to be publickly announced in the church of Yalding. He, also, received the sentence of deprivation from the bishop.

The good man being thus cast out of the church, and reduced to extreme poverty, was obliged to condescend to the low office of correcting the press, and of publishing books to obtain a livelihood. But even in this occupation, he was not suffered to enjoy quietness. For, having published Mr. Cartwright's reply to Whitgift, he was summoned, November 25, 1573, before the Bishop of London and other high commissioners, when he underwent the following examination:

Mr. Stroud being asked what became of Cartwright's books after they were printed, said he delivered thirty-four of them to the Bishop of London; but the rest were dispersed abroad. And being asked how he dared to print them a second time, seeing the queen's proclamation was against him, he said they were printed before the queen's proclamation came out, or he would not have printed them; upon which, the bishop thus addressed him:

Bishop. Are Mr. Cartwright's books good and lawful, or not? And will you defend them?

Stroud. As there is no book without its faults, the book of God excepted: so will I not affirm that this book is altogether without faults; but to defend it I will not. He is of age to defend himself. And as for the book, I think your lordship will not utterly condemn it.

B. I confess there is something in it godly. It is a very evil book that hath no good thing in it. But I say the book is wicked, and is the cause of error and dissention in the church.

Catlin. Wilt thou condemn the Book of Common Prayer? Is it antichristian?

S. For these five years, I have not served in any church; but when I have attended, I have resorted to common prayer, which, if I had condemned it, I would not have done. Yet if I should allow of all things in our ministry, I should allow of those things which his lordship has denied. For he said, in his sermon at Paul's cross, "that there were certain evils in our ministry."

B. Indeed, I said there were. Yet ought they not to be removed by private, but by public authority.

S. That is granted. But are those things to be removed?

B. Though they may be removed, they are such things as cannot offend the church; and every true christian ought to bear with them until they be removed.

S. I have borne with them, or I should not have resorted to the church, as I have done.

B. Have you been a minister, and now given it up? Every one laying his hand to the plough, ought not to look back, without some special cause.

S. About five or six years since, I was called before my ordinary, who told me I must subscribe, or lose my living, and be discharged from the ministry. Accordingly, I refusing to subscribe, he deprived me of my ministry.

C. Wilt thou receive the communion according to the order prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer?

S. I have never refused to receive it according to the word of God; and where I have resorted, I have received it more than six times in the year.

Goodman. Name one church were thou hast received the communion.

S. You seek to injure me.

G. Nay; we seek to save thee.

S. I have refused to attend upon idle shepherds; and, as you said they were dumb dogs, there can be no good received from them. Therefore, I beseech you to endeavour to get them removed.

G. Why, every member of the church of Christ is a sinner.

B. Shall we then receive no communion?

Dyer. What sayest thou of the order of baptism? Wilt thou have thy child baptized according to the order prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer?

S. I have no child to baptize.

D. Dost thou condemn the order of the sacrament of the

Lord's supper, the order of churching of women, the burial service, or the ceremonies of the church?

S. If I had condemned them, I would not have resorted to the church, as I have done.

B. Thou wilt then agree to these three things:—1. "That thou hast offended against the law in printing Cartwright's book.—2. That Cartwright's book is neither godly, nor lawful. —3. That thou dost not condemn the Book of Common Prayer, but wilt receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the order prescribed."

S. I say as I have said before, if I had condemned the Book of Common Prayer, I would not have resorted to the church, as I have done.

Garret. But wilt thou subscribe?

S. I will.

Upon Mr. Stroud's submission to subscribe, he returned to his beloved exercise, and became minister at Cranbrook. But his troubles were not ended. For, upon the translation of Whitgift to the see of Canterbury, his non-conformity exposed him to the displeasure of the new archbishop, who deprived him of his ministry, and commanded him to leave the country. But the good man was so universally beloved, that multitudes of persons in Kent, signed petitious to the archbishop, earnestly soliciting his continuance. In one of these petitions, they address his lordship as follows:

"We know, most reverend father, that Mr. Stroud has been several times beaten and whipt with the untrue reports of slanderous tongues, and accused of crimes whereof he has most clearly acquitted himself. Most of us have heard him preach Christ truly, and rebuke sin boldly, and have seen him hitherto apply to his calling faithfully, and live among us most peaceably: so that, by his diligence and doctrine, not only has our youth been instructed, and ourselves have been confirmed in true religion and learning; but we are daily allured by his holy conversation and example, to a christian life, and the exercises of charity. And no one of us, most reverend father, hath hitherto heard from his own mouth, nor by the credible relation of others, that he has publickly in his sermons, or privately in conversation, taught unsound doctrine, or opposed the discipline, about which, alas! there is now so great a controversy. And as he hath given a faithful promise to forbear handling any questions concerning the policy of the church; so we think in our consciences, he has hitherto performed it.

"In consideration of these things; and that our country may not be deprived of so excellent a labourer in the Lord's harvest; that the enemies of God's truth, the papists, may not have cause

of joy and triumph; and that the man himself may not be thus discouraged and wounded to the heart, in receiving condemnation without examination: We, therefore, most humbly beseech your grace, for the poor man's sake, for your own sake, and for the Lord's sake, either to take judicial knowledge of his cause, that he may be confronted by his adversaries; or, of your great wisdom and goodness, to restore him to his liberty of preaching the gospel among us. So we shall heartily thank God, and shall continually pray for you."

Besides the above petition, signed by many worthy persons, another was signed by *twenty-four ministers* and others, and presented to Whitgift; but whether they were the means of procuring his lordship's favour, is extremely doubtful.

John Gardiner was the laborious minister of Malden, in Essex, but deprived of his ministry, and most cruelly treated. His sufferings would have moved the compassion of any man, excepting Aylmer, bishop of London. The bishop committed him to Newgate for matters scandalously laid to his charge seven years before, of which he had even been cleared by a regular course of law. He requested his lordship, that he might be bailed; and if he was found guilty, that he might have punishment without mercy. The account of his barbarous usage is given in a supplication which Mr. Gardiner sent to the bishop, dated September 7, 1586; in which he expressed himself as follows:

"To the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop
" of London.

" My duty in humble-wise remembered, my lord. I am cast into Newgate by your lordship, for a matter which about seven years past, was slandeorusly raised against me. I was by course of law cleared, and the Lord God who searcheth the hearts, before whom you and I shall shortly appear, doth know, and him I call to witness, that I was and am falsely accused. I have been extremely sick in prison. I thank God, I am amended, but am yet so ill, that the physicians say my infection from the prison will be very dangerous. I have a poor wife and five children, who are in a lamentable case. I had six at the beginning of my imprisonment; but by reason of my sickness in prison, and my wife being constrained to attend upon me, one of my children, for want of somebody to oversee them, was drowned in a tub of wort, being two years and a half old. If your lordship have no compassion on me, yet take pity upon the poor widow and the fatherless, (for in that state are now my wife and poor infants) whose tears are before the Lord. I crave only to be bailed; and if I am found guilty of any breach of law, let me have extremity without any favour. Your lordship's to command in Christ,

JOHN GARDINER."

It does not appear how long Mr. Gardiner remained in prison, nor what other punishment he endured.

John Wilson was born in the parish of Kildwick, in Yorkshire, and ordained deacon according to the order of the church of England; when he obtained a license from the Archbishop of York to preach at Skipton, in the same county. He was a pious, faithful, and useful preacher, but endured much severe usage for non-conformity. Archbishop Sandys receiving complaints against him, sent his pursuivant with all haste to apprehend him, and bring him before the high commission. Upon his appearance before their lordships, and inquiring what charges were alleged against him, he was told that he must obtain two sureties to be bound in two hundred pounds for his future appearance. Accordingly, he obtained the securities demanded, and, January 9, 1587, appeared again before the archbishop and other commissioners at Bishopsthorp, when he underwent the following examination:

Archbishop. You are brought before us for certain disorders, contempts, and disobedience, by you committed, to which you must answer as they shall be objected against you.

Dean. You must answer as truly as if you were sworn.

A. He must be sworn, and answer upon his oath. Hold him a book, and let him take the oath.

Wilson. If the law require me to be sworn, I am contented. But I think it doth not compel a man to accuse himself; and I hope I shall not be urged to do more than the law requireth.

A. If you refuse to be sworn, answer as you will; but be sure, if I prove any thing against you which you deny, you shall smart for it.

W. Let me have the law, and spare not. But because I mean to deny no truth objected against me, whether I be sworn or not, I am, therefore, contented to answer upon my oath. (He then took the oath.)

A. Read the first article against him.

Fathergill. You have taken upon you to execute the office of a minister for the space of three years, without any warrant so to do.

W. I know not what law maketh known the minister's duty. I must, therefore, be informed of this, before I can answer.

A. Tell him.

Hudson. It is to say service, to preach the word, to minister the sacraments, to marry, and to bury the dead.

W. I have not done all these things without the law.

A. What warrant of law have you?

W. I have the orders for the office of a deacon, according to law.

A. Shew unto us your orders. (Here Mr. Wilson produced his orders, which were read by the dean, but nothing was observed.)

W. Write, Mr. Proctor, that I am deacon, according to law.

A. What say you of your preaching? At what churches have you preached?

W. At all the churches near Kildwick. Mr. Proctor, record this.

A. You must always have that refuge to fly to.

W. My lord, I am sworn. There may be more, though I do not remember them. I dare not upon mine oath set down an uncertain thing as certain; therefore, I say, these are all, *so far as I recollect.*

A. What authority then had you to preach?

W. I had your grace's authority in writing.

A. That was only upon condition that the people would receive you, and be willing to hear you.

W. I know not what was the condition. I followed the direction under the hand of Mr. Cock, in which I am sure no such thing was expressed.

Cock. My lord, I wrote that it was your grace's pleasure that he should preach at Skipton, until your return from London, if he behaved himself according to law.

A. I ordered you to write no such thing, unless the people would receive him willingly, as Mr. Palmer said they would.

C. My lord, they are ill-natured people, and would willingly receive none.

A. You have said service without surplice, and not according to the Book of Common Prayer.

W. That is not true.

A. You have not used the surplice in reading the service.

W. I have no pastoral charge. I said service only in the absence of the pastor, which was very seldom; and, on those occasions, I thought I was not bound to use it.

A. You say not the service according to the book.

W. I do.

H. You use a prayer of your own at the beginning.

W. That is not true, Mr. Proctor.

A. Let me know the order you have observed.

W. I first read one of the portions of scripture appointed, and then exhorted the people to the confession of their sins. That being done, I read some of the Psalms, after that two chapters, and then the sermon.

A. Then you say not according to the book.

W. Yes, my lord, that which I read is according to the book.

A. But you omit many things.

W. And so I may according to law, especially when there is preaching, or any more profitable exercise.

A. More profitable exercise! that is, your *talking*.

W. I am sure that preaching is more profitable than reading. And I am sure your lordship will not deny, that my *talking*, being out of the word of God, is more profitable than *saying service*.

A. Nay, you have your tongue at your will. What is the next article?

F. When you should say the epistle and gospel, according to the book, you will not call them the epistle and gospel, but the *portion of scripture*.

A. Have you never administered the sacraments?

W. No.

H. Did you never christen?

W. Some few times, though very seldom.

B. Did you use the sign of the cross?

W. No, my lord, I said the words, but did not use the cross.

A. Did you say, "I sign thee with the sign of the cross?"

W. No.

A. Tell me then what words you used.

W. "We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified upon the cross."

H. Did you never administer the communion?

W. No.

H. What, neither the bread, nor the cup?

W. Yes, I have ministered the cup by the appointment of the pastor, being warranted in this by law.

A. Did you ever receive the communion?

W. Yes, my lord.

A. Where?

W. At Kildwick.

A. At whose hands?

W. At the hands of the pastor.

A. When?

W. At the last communion, if I remember right.

A. You must ever take this advantage.

W. My lord, seeing I answer upon mine oath, you should not think the worse of me, because I am so careful not to speak wrong, or that which is not true.

H. You do not bury the dead according to the book.

W. I do.

H. You do not meet the corpse at the church-stile, and walk before it into the church.

W. Though I have sometimes done this, the book doth not bind me to do any such thing.

H. You do not read the prayers and places of scripture appointed.

W. I do.

H. You omit the prayers.

W. Sometimes I do, and sometimes I do not.

A. What is the next article?

F. You have gone from your own ordinary, without his consent, and have received orders from another bishop.

W. My own ordinary giveth no orders; but if his consent be his dimissary, I had his consent.

A. If you have his dimissary, shew it us.

W. See, it is here, my lord.

A. What is the next article?

F. You have taken upon you to say service without any authority by license or toleration from your ordinary.

W. I have all the authority which the orders of a deacon can give; and I hope that is sufficient to say the service.

F. You confess yourself that you were born in Kildwick parish.

W. Yes.

F. Do you acknowledge yourself to belong to this diocese, and submit yourself to the authority of your diocesan?

W. I acknowledge all this.

A. You have a haughty and a proud spirit.

W. I confess, my lord, I am not free from any one sin; but I hope that sin hath not so great a power over me as you represent.

A. Nay, you care not for mine authority.

W. My lord, I reverence your authority.

Swinborn. That is not likely, Mr. Wilson, seeing you have so much disobeyed.

W. And that disobedience is no likely argument to disprove my reverence to his authority. If your argument were good, few subjects would be found who reverence even the queen's authority.

A. You can speak for yourself I warrant you. But what say you of your calling? The scripture mentions only the offices of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors. Which of these then have you?

W. The office of a doctor or teacher.

A. Where do you exercise it?

W. At Kildwick.

A. Who called you?

W. The minister and the people of that place earnestly entreated me to teach and instruct them.

A. Tush! that is nothing.

W. But it hath been something in time past.

A. Lo! this fellow would have ministers to be elected by consent of the people!

W. My lord, the word of God is plain enough upon that point, and this you know well enough yourself. Your grace made this sufficiently manifest in refusing me to be at Skipton, unless the people would consent to receive me.

A. That I did, because I would not intrude you upon them.

W. Then it follows, that you think *intrusion* is not the right calling; and on the contrary, that the right calling is by the consent or choice of the people.

A. There is no end to your talk.

W. Yes, my lord, but I had the license of your own word for that place.

A. That is true; but it was a donor.

W. And when the donor came, I stayed.

A. Yes, but you have preached there since that time.

W. I have, indeed, preached there once; which, I hope, is not so great a crime, but that your grace will deal favourably with me, and thus cause me the more to revere and esteem you.

Mr. Wilson's first examination being concluded, the good man was taken away and sent to prison, where he remained for some time. At length, he was brought to a second examination at Bishopsthorp, when the archbishop opened the business by affirming, that Mr. Wilson had been guilty of the most wilful disobedience, and malicious contempt. His lordship used very opprobrious language, as if he had been arraigned for treason or rebellion, exulting, at the same time, in his own favourable dealing with him. Also, he declared that before Mr. Wilson should be discharged, he should confess both in open court, and publickly in the church, how greatly he had offended; to which Mr. Wilson made the following reply:

W. My lord, I hope you will find it more difficult to prove me guilty of those odious crimes which you say I am guilty of, than to charge me with them. And as to your favour, when I find it, I shall acknowledge it. Hitherto I have felt nothing but extremity, bringing my ministry into open disgrace, and my person into public reproach.

A. You see the stubbornness of this fellow. I purposed to have discharged him, the second day of his imprisonment, and would have done it, if he had sued for it. And though he hath now been a week in prison, the pride of his heart would not let him once sue for his liberty.

W. It was neither my pride, nor my stubbornness, as you uncharitably misrepresent, and slanderously magnify against me: but my ignorance of the prisoner's duty, that I did not sue to your grace for liberty.

A. We shall never make an end, if we babble with him thus. Will you yield to the conditions?

W. My lord, I beseech you consider those conditions with impartiality, and, I hope, your grace will not urge me. My imprisonment will greatly injure my ministry, and bring reproach upon my person; but to do open penance before the people, will be worse than all. Therefore, I beseech your lordship not to reward one evil, by inflicting another which is much greater.

A. These are only your imaginations. Tell us plainly: Will you subscribe the bond?

W. My lord, I must take all the care in my power to preserve my ministry from the contempt of the wicked. And seeing how much harm it would be likely to do to the church of God, I cannot in any wise subscribe unto it.

A. See again the stubbornness of this arrogant fool! But I tell thee, thou may and shalt subscribe unto it.

W. And I answer, that, by the help of God, I neither may, nor ever will, subscribe unto it. Such unmerciful and cruel dealings are too bad among professing christians. The Lord grant me patience, and I shall be satisfied.

A. I always thought what a stir we should have with him. But thou persuadest people to meetings and private conventicles.

W. My lord, you now remind me of a duty which I have hitherto neglected; but by the grace of God I will remember it hereafter, and will exhort the people of God to meet together, and to edify and comfort one another with what they have learned. And this, by the help of God, I mean to do; though I hear that for so doing, one of the Lord's servants is committed a close prisoner.

A. Will you then defend his doings to be lawful?

W. I will defend the lawfulness of God's people meeting together, to confer upon the points of religion or the doctrines taught them out of the word of God, to sing psalms, and to pray together. I hear of no other things for which he was committed. And I am sure your grace will not deny these things to be lawful.

A. But he gathered *night-assemblies*, contrary to law. Will you defend them also?

W. Certain religious householders requested him and others to meet at night in their houses. Shall we then say that he collected night-assemblies? I do defend by the word of God, that to meet together for the above purposes, whether in the night or the day, is lawful. Yet I would have persons to satisfy the law of the realm, as much as they can with a good conscience.

A. If we follow him thus, we shall never come to an end. Will you subscribe the bond?

W. I have answered that already. I refuse not to do any thing that is lawful. If you can prove out of the word of God, that I may do it with a good conscience, I am ready to yield; otherwise I cannot, and I will not, subscribe. I will be bound, however, to leave your province in a fortnight.

S. You had then better go out of his grace's province to make your submission.

W. That is more than I say, Mr. Swinborn: but I would rather go out of his province and twenty others; yea, out of the world, and this soul out of this body, than I would subscribe to that submission.

A. I hear that in prison thou hast great liberty, and that thou lovest it. It is that which maketh thee so bold and stubborn, but I will remove thee thence.

W. I have no cause to complain of my keeper. And as to my liberty, it is confined within the walls of the castle. I know not how you would have me handled, unless you would have me into the lower prison, where you would soon have my skin for your fees: But you can do nothing, except it be given you from above.

A. I tell thee plainly, that if thou wilt not yield, I will remove thee to Hull jail, and afterwards to other places.

W. My lord, the word of God will strengthen and comfort me, more than your threatenings can hurt me or make me afraid. I care not for all your prisons. Remove me where you please. God will strengthen me against all your extremities. I will not yield so long as I live, and so long as the word of God persuades me to the contrary.

A. Thou art an *arrogant puritan.*

W. Gross errors and slanderous abuses have been cast upon the godly in all ages. Your charges against me are uncharitable and unjust.

A. Thou art a rebel, an enemy to her majesty, and an underminer of the state.

W. These speeches savour not of the Spirit of God. I am as true a subject, and as good a friend to her majesty and the state, according to my ability, as you are.

A. I tell thee, the queen said, that these puritans are greater enemies to her than the papists.

W. What just cause she had so to say, all the world knoweth; and the Lord will one day judge the numerous traitorous conspiracies that have been detected. When did any, who are slanderously called puritans, give the least cause of any such suspicion? Their lives and writings testify to all the world, how far they are from such things. Therefore, they who charge them with these things, have the greater sin.

A. If we suffer thee to prattle, thy tongue will never cease. Therefore, that we may make an end of it, I counsel thee to admit the conditions proposed.

W. If your grace will shew me the least warrant from the word of God, I am ready to submit. Though you call my answers by what name you please, they are not deserving of your reproach.

A. Will you yield to the conditions?

W. My mind is so well settled already, that I can see no reason to alter it. Therefore, I cannot yield to the conditions.

A. Perhaps you think it is very hard dealing to be tied to *read* it. Will you then yield, if we give you liberty to use your own words?

W. I strive not about the *manner*, but the *matter*; and I utterly refuse to do any such thing, either in my own words or any others.

A. What! surely you can say two words, even that you have preached without license. In so doing, you shall have my favour more than you think of.

W. My lord, let me have your favour only according to my behaviour in a good and just cause; but the word of God will persuade more than either your threatenings or promises. So while I see the word of God favouring me in the present case, I will never yield to speak two words, nor even one word, to any such purpose.

A. Choose then for yourself, whether you will be excommunicated out of my diocese, or return to prison, or yield to the conditions required.

W. My lord, I hope that christian charity and brotherly dealing will not bring me into any of those extremities.

A. No! but you shall observe one of them.

Mr. Wilson's second examination being thus concluded, he was immediately sent back to prison. After confinement for some time, by the appointment of the archbishop, he appeared before the commissioners at the dean's house in the city of York, his grace being absent. Upon the commencement of his third examination, a new bond was produced, in which he was required not to exercise any part of his ministry within the archbishop's province, without further license; nor, during his silence, allowed to come within Kildwick church, the place of his ordinary labours. This being read, he was addressed as follows:

D. Mr. Wilson, what say you of this?

W. I say it is marvellously strange dealing, that one extremity must drive out another. Excommunication from Kildwick church must drive out the public confession before required. Will you

neither suffer me to preach there, nor to hear others? This is very hard dealing. God willing, I will never yield unto it.

D. Do as you please. Do as you please.

W. I was born and brought up in that parish, and I am bound to attend there by the laws of the realm. Do you then sit here to execute the law, and will you bind me to act contrary to the law?

Palmer. Erase it, erase it, for shame! It is a thing never before heard of, that a man should be bound from attending at his own parish church.

Proctor. I will put this in its place, "that he shall never come there to preach."

W. Will you put in that, Mr. Proctor? Will you first exclude me from his whole province, and then exclude me from that particular place?

D. What else have you for him to do?

P. He must confess that before us, which he would not acknowledge publickly in the church.

D. Then read it unto him.

W. I will confess these things neither publickly, nor privately. But if you allow me, I will separate those things which are true, from those which are false.

D. Give him the paper.

He then took the paper, and told them what was true, and what was false. This being done, and the good man having bound himself to preach no more in the archbishop's province, he was released, ascribing honour and praise to God for his merciful deliverance.

Mr. Wilson having obtained his liberty, though excluded from all usefulness in the province of York, went to London, and, during the same year, frequently preached at Allhallows in Thames-street. Also, by the allowance of the minister of St. Michael's, Cornhill, he delivered a sermon there; for which Bishop Aylmer silenced him the very next day, and summoned him, and the church-wardens of Allhallows, to appear before him the Saturday following. Mr. Wilson not seeing the bishop's officer when he left the information at his lodgings; nor knowing what warrant he had for what he did, refused to appear. But one of the church-wardens appeared, when, though the bishop was not present, Dr. Stanhope pronounced upon them both the sentence of excommunication; upon the one for not appearing, and upon the other for suffering Mr. Wilson to preach without a license.

Mr. *Giles Wigginton* being a zealous non-conformist, he became a great sufferer in the common cause. In the year 1581, Archbishop Sandys, writing to the Bishop of Chester, in whose

diocese our divine lived, thus reproaches his non-comformity:— "Your lordship, (says he) shall do well to better Mr. Wigginton, a young man very far out of frame; who, in my opinion, will not accept of you as his ordinary or bishop; neither would I accept of him being in your place, as a preacher of my diocese. He laboureth not to build, but to pull down, and, by what means he can, to overthrow the state ecclesiastical."

Being afterwards in London, he was appointed in the year 1584, to preach before the judges, in St. Dunstan's church. Information of this coming to the ears of Whitgift, then archbishop of Canterbury, he sent a pursuivant to Mr. Wigginton's lodgings in the dead of the night; and, finding him in bed, forbade him preaching, and required him to give bond for his appearance the next day, at Lambeth. All this he did without any written warrant. Upon his appearance at Lambeth, and refusing the oath *ex officio*, to answer certain articles altogether unknown to him, the archbishop, after using much reviling and reproachful language, committed him to the Gate house, where he remained nine weeks within one day. At the expiration of this period, the merciful archbishop released him, and gave him canonical admonition, charging him not to preach in his province without further license.

In the year 1585, upon the information of one Edward Middleton, a man of profane character, and a suspected papist, Whitgift gave orders to his brother Sandys of York, to proceed against Mr. Wigginton, even to deprivation. He was therefore cited before Chadderton, bishop of Chester, when *twelve* charges were exhibited against him: and, in the end, he was deprived of his ministry; and one Colecloth, a minister of immoral character, was sent to take possession of the living. Afterwards, by the favour and influence of several persons of quality, he was again restored.

In the year 1586, being in London, he was again apprehended by one of Whitgift's pursuivants, and carried before his grace at Lambeth; who, for refusing the oath to accuse himself as before, committed him to the White-lion prison, where he was treated with the utmost barbarity, We shall give the account in his own words. "In the month of May, (says he) I was in London; and was sorely vexed by the archbishop's pursuivants, who apprehended me, and took me to Lambeth. At Lambeth, I was shamefully reviled and abused by the archbishop and those about him, as if I had been the vilest rebel against my prince and country. He then committed me to the keeper of the prison in Southwark, who, by the archbishop's strict charge, so loaded me with irons, confined me in close prison, and deprived me of necessary food, that in about five week, I was nearly dead."

While in this deplorable condition, Mr. Wigginton wrote to a certain nobleman, soliciting him to use his utmost endeavours to obtain his deliverance from such cruel usage. In this letter, dated from the White-lion, June 1, 1586, he expressed himself as follows:—"I desire you to make known my lamentable case to her majesty's honourable privy council, or to her majesty herself, that the cause of my imprisonment may be examined, and that I may be delivered from this hard usage. For I desire *justice*, and not *mercy*, being conscious of my own innocency. My old adversary, the archbishop, hath treated me more like a *Turk*, or a *dog*, than a man, or a minister of Jesus Christ. I heartily commend you to God.

"GILES WIGGINTON."

He further proceeds in this account of himself, and says, "At length, my life being in so great danger, I was removed to another prison in London. And some time after this, I was brought again to Lambeth: when, for refusing to answer as before, after much slanderous usage, the archbishop suspended me from preaching in his province, and, in a certain way, deprived me of my living at Sedburgh: but for my final deprivation, he sent me to Sandys, archbishop of York.

"When by the extremity of my sickness in prison, I was constrained still to abide some time in the city; and when, in the opinion of learned physicians, I was on my death-bed, the archbishop sent two pursuivants, commanding me to appear before him again at Lambeth; which I being unable to do, he pronounced against me the sentence of deprivation and degradation. After my departure, the Earls of Warwick and Huntington, without my solicitation, did earnestly sue unto him for my restoration; but he absolutely refused, signifying, that he had already written to the patron of the living, for the presentation of another to the place."

Upon Mr. Wigginton's recovery from sickness, he returned to Sedburgh, and offered himself to preach in the church, but was refused the pulpit. He, therefore, preached in various places, and particularly in his own house, where he had a considerable assembly; and looking upon himself as the pastor set over the people by the Lord, he administered both the ordinances of the gospel. This coming to the knowledge of Whitgift, by his instigation an attachment was sent forth from Archbishop Sandys, "To all justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other her majesty's officers and subjects, within the province of York, or to any of them, to apprehend him, and commit him to the castle of Lancaster, in the province of York." Accordingly, Mr. Wigginton being soon after on a journey, was apprehended at Boroughbridge, arrested by a pursuivant from

the archbishop, and carried to Lancaster castle, being the distance of fifty miles, in a severe, cold winter. There he was shut up in close prison among felons and condemned prisoners, and more basely used than they, or the recusant papists. From hence he sent an account of his case to Sir Walter Mildmay, his worthy patron, and one of the privy council; wherein he expressed himself as follows:

"Since my late deprivation at Lambeth, I have both preached and ministered the sacraments, to my flock at Sedburgh; nor could I find any rest in my conscience till I had done this.* And as I have not depended on any man's opinion, in what I have done, so the Lord hath abundantly blessed me with heavenly comforts in my own soul, and under my painful sufferings; and abundantly blessed my labours among those whom he committed to my care.

"I have turned my back upon those antichristian and unlawful proceedings which were used against me, my ministry, and my flock. This was necessary in these days of prelatical and popish superstition. But I must inform you, that as I was lately on my journey as far as Boroughbridge, my wife big with child, and the other branches of my family being with me, I was there arrested by a pursuivant, and brought to this place, a distance of fifty miles, in this cold winter. The chief cause of this usage, is my preaching and administring the sacraments among my flock, after my deprivation. Dr. Sandys used me hardly, in causing me, and those who were with me, to remain four days at Boroughbridge, and in sending me this distance, to this noisome prison, in cold winter, when there were better prisons near at hand. I am here within the iron grate, in a cold room, among felons and condemned prisoners, and in various ways, worse used than they, or recusant papists. Therefore, my suit to your honour is, that it would please your honour to use some means, as God shall direct you, whereby I may be delivered out of the hands of my cruel enemies. And that it may please your honour to further the reformation of our English church, especially in this present parliament; that the faithful ministers of Christ may not be silenced by the prelates; that good christians may not be brought into trouble, for refusing those rites and ceremonies which are the inventions of men; and that a learned and godly minister may be appointed to every congregation.

"You are now one of the oldest nobles in our land. Your days are few and wearing out; therefore, let them be spent to

* About one hundred and forty of Mr. Wigginton's people, for the sad crime of hearing him preach after his deprivation, were cited to appear at York and other places, at the distance of sixty or eighty miles, most of whom were excommunicated by the ecclesiastical commissioners.

the honour of Christ. Thus we shall pray for you, while you live, and esteem your posterity when you are with Christ in the kingdom of heaven. The Lord both guide and bless your honour, and his whole church. From Lancaster castle, February 28, 1587.

"GILES WIGGINTON, pastor of Sedburgh."

It does not appear what effect was produced by the above letter, nor how long Mr. Wigginton remained a close prisoner; but in about two years, he was brought into other troubles by Whitgift, his old adversary. In the month of December, 1588, being in London, the archbishop's pursuivant apprehended him at his lodgings, while he was in bed, and carried him to Lambeth, upon suspicion of being one of the authors of Martin Mar-Prelate. At Lambeth, he appeared before the archbishop, the bishop of Winchester, Dr. Aubery, Dr. Cosin, Dr. Goodman, and other high commissioners; when he underwent the following examination:

Archbishop. There is a book, called Martin Mar-Prelate, a vile, seditious, and intolerable book; and you are suspected to be one of its authors. Therefore, you are to swear what you know concerning it.

Wigginton. You do well to let me know what I have to swear to. But let me know, also, who are my accusers. For I do not mean to accuse myself.

A. We will take your answers upon your word alone. What say you to these answers following? Have you any of those books? or have you read or heard any of them read, or any part of them, at any time?

W. I will not answer to accuse myself. Let my accusers stand forth and proceed against me. You have known my mind upon this point, many years.

A. Have you had any of them, and how many? How came you by them? What did you do with them? In whose hands are they? And by whose means did you obtain them?

W. I had rather accuse myself, than other persons; but I will accuse neither. Let mine accusers, and proper witnesses according to the laws of God and the realm, proceed against me. I expect no comfort in accusing myself, or my neighbour.

A. Have you bought, sold, given, dispersed, handled, or any way dealt in any of them? and in what sort?

W. I account it as unnatural for me to accuse myself, as to thrust a knife into my thigh. The matter, I understand, is doubtful and dangerous; therefore, I will accuse neither myself nor others. "In the mouth of two or three witnesses, let every word be established." The heathen judge said, "I will hear thee when thine *accusers* are come."

A. Do you know the author, writer, or printer of that book? Did you make or help to make, write, or print it, or any part of it, or see any part of it before it was printed?

W. I did neither make, write, nor print it, nor any part of it, nor see any part of it before it was printed.

A. Did you not deliver some copies of it in the country, one to Mr. Moore, and another to Mr. Cartwright?

W. I understand, what you well know, that many lords, and other persons of quality, have obtained and read the book. And supposing I have done the same, it will, in my opinion, be more to your credit, to examine all sorts about it, and not poor persons only, according to your custom.

A. Whom do you believe, think, suspect, or conjecture, to be the author, writer, or printer of it, or any part of it, or any way helper towards it? Did you make any oath, or vow, or promise, to conceal the same?

W. What I believe, think, suspect, or conjecture, or have vowed or promised, I am not bound to make known. I answer as before, I would rather accuse myself, than my neighbour.

A. What printing press, or furniture for printing, have you known, within the two years last past?

W. I know of none, as I told you before.

A. Yes, but you are verily suspected of it. Public fame is against you.

W. I thank God, I am not infamous; nor will I borrow of any man. But, by the grace of God, I will live a true subject, the benefit of whom I claim, and wish to enjoy.

A. But what do you say about the case of Atkinson of Sedburgh, as mentioned in the book? Did not you minister this report of Atkinson, nor any thing else towards the book? Have you the note of Atkinson's hand for it, or who hath it?

W. I did not minister any such thing. For if I had done it, I would have reported the same story in another form. Atkinson told it to many others besides me, whose names I reserve in silence.

A. Did you not say to the pursuivant, as you came in the boat, that you had seen the second Martin, called "The Epitome?"

W. Let the pursuivant stand forth, and accuse me, if he will.

Bishop. You have preached pernicious doctrine.

W. What do you mean by pernicious doctrine? I preach that doctrine which promotes the glory of God, and the salvation of his people.

B. We have the queen's authority and commission in our hands.

W. I pray for you, that you may do well; but this I tell you,

that while I profess to serve God, all that I do is not the service of God: so while you challenge the queen's authority and commission, all that you do is not the queen's authority and commission.

A. The papists answer altogether like you.

W. The papists eat bread, and so do I: and I fear not to do like them in any good thing. Yet I hope you will make a difference betwixt me and papists.

A. Not in that point.

W. It is well known that you mistake my design, and I yours; but I wish you well.

A. I care not for your wishes.

W. My wishes and prayers, though they be sinful, will do you no harm.

A. I desire them not, and would be loath to come under them.

W. Love me not the worse for being plain with you.

Cosin. No, you are not so plain; for you do not directly answer.

W. Martin himself, I understand, will come forth, and defend his matters, if he may have fair trial.

A. Record that, Mr. Hartwell.

W. It is well known that I am as ready to read and lend that book as any person, in a good and lawful manner. Yet I will not accuse myself, and thus do myself hurt, and you no good. And I would rather have to speak well, than ill of you hereafter.

Goodman. If we be ill, whom do you mean?

W. All are ill, and need reformation.

Auberry. Did not you tell Mr. Martin, your keeper at the Compter, that he could not find out the author of the book?

W. Mr. Martin is a simple man, and imagines from the title of the book, that I am the author.

A. Is Mr. Perry then the author of the "Demonstration," or of Martin Mar-Prelate?

W. I think he is not. And I think you are greatly deceived in charging him with it.

A. There are many lies in Martin.

W. You must then confute them.

A. You despise the high commission. Why do you wear a cloak above your gown?

W. As a woman just come out of child-bed, I am just come out of the Compter, and dress thus, fearing the cold.

A. You make a wise comparison of yourself. Such women must be kept warm.

W. Then let them be kept warm.

The commissioners having finished the examination of Mr. Wigginton, and finding him, after using all the inquisition their

wits could devise, unwilling to accuse himself or others, they dismissed him from their presence, while they consulted what they should do. And being again called in, the archbishop thus addressed him:—"Forasmuch as you have refused to swear, and to answer as we have required you, and so, by law, have confessed yourself to be guilty of the accusations charged against you; and as you have at sundry times, and in divers ways, shewed your contempt of our ecclesiastical authority, and of this our high commission, which the queen hath given unto us, and which you shall obey and yield unto, before I have done with you; therefore, your former enlargement shall now be taken away, and you shall be kept close prisoner in the Gatehouse, until you shall yield in these matters; and when you are so disposed, you may send us word. In the mean time go your way. Away with him, pursuivant." He was then carried to the Gatehouse, where he remained a long time; and though repeated intercessions were made to the archbishop for his release, it was all to no purpose.

The preceding examples are selected from among the many who suffered during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth. The same spirit of intolerance prevailed during the reign of her successor and his son, as the following pages will shew.

Thomas Paget was a zealous minister in the diocese of Chester, but much persecuted for non-conformity; and when he could no longer enjoy the blessing of religious liberty in his own country, he sought refuge in a foreign land, and retired to Holland. He had been many years employed in the ministry, in the above diocese, when Dr. Thomas Morton became Bishop of Chester. This learned prelate was no sooner comfortably seated in the episcopal chair, than he began to prosecute the non-conformists within his jurisdiction, and sent forth letters missive, summoning them to appear before the high commission. Among those who were cited was Mr. Paget. This was no sooner known in the country than many of the most worthy knights and gentlemen in the diocese took the matter into serious consideration, espoused the cause of the distressed ministers, and wrote a very appropriate letter to the bishop; in which they expressed themselves as follows:

"Right Reverend, &c. Whereas we understand that divers of our painful and discreet ministers are lately, by letters missive from your lordship and others of his majesty's high commission for causes ecclesiastical within the diocese of Chester, enjoined to appear before you, to answer to such matters as shall be objected against them. We, whose names are subscribed, have thought fit to acquaint your lordship with our opinion of those ministers, for the preventing, if need require, of such sinister

and malicious informations: which, in these cases, are frequently stirred up against men of their sort and quality; sometimes by lewd and profane persons; and many times by the disguised, subtil, and superstitious Romanists and church-papists, whose hearts are wholly against us, all the while their faces are seemingly for us. We have observed, so far as we are able to judge, in these our ministers, integrity of life and conversation, orthodox soundness of doctrine, diligence and painfulness in their places, sobriety and peaceableness in their dispositions, and freedom from faction. Also, as the great good and profit which our congregations where they live have abundantly received from their ministry; therefore we are emboldened to entreat your favour, &c."

This letter was delivered to his lordship at Stockport; who, after reading it, said, "They whom the letter concerneth are the worse to be liked, for the good testimony here given of them." Mr. Paget was one of the ministers in whose behalf the letter was written, and being present at the reading of it, the bishop immediately required his arguments against the use of the cross in baptism; that, as he then boasted, he might instantly discover their weakness and folly in refusing to conform. Mr. Paget and his brethren at first declined all disputation, partly because their errand was not to dispute, but to obtain their release from the high commission; and because the bishop was to be the sole judge, so that they might bring themselves into danger. However, the bishop continuing to urge them in the presence of many persons of quality, lest they should seem to betray a good cause by total silence, Mr. Paget at length entered upon a disputation with his lordship; who, in the conclusion, ingenuously acknowledged his own neglect to study the controversy, but resolved in future to direct his attention more that way. And, besides releasing them from the high commission, he frankly owned, that he found in them more learning than he expected. But, in order to bring them to conformity, he commanded each of them to produce in writing, three arguments against the cross in baptism, the use of the surplice, and kneeling at the Lord's supper, and bring them to him in the space of a month. His order was accordingly obeyed; but it failed of the success which his lordship expected.

Soon after, several of the ministers were again cited into the high commission court, and used with great cruelty. Mr. Paget himself met with much unkind treatment, and was under the necessity of making three journies of sixty miles each, within the space of fourteen days, the bishop and other commissioners still deferring the consideration of his case to a future court-day. The bishop's officers treated him with much vile and abusive

language, attended with blasphemous cursing and swearing, declaring he should assuredly be damned. On a day appointed, the good man again appeared before the commission at Chester; when the bishop expostulated with him a full hour, concerning the observance of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and signified that his own remissness in prosecuting the non-conformists, had hindered his preferment to the bishopric of Lincoln. In the conclusion, his lordship being in a violent passion, threatened to suspend, excommunicate, and degrade him, and to make the land too hot for him; and asked him what he would then do. Mr. Paget meekly replied, in the words of the prophet: "I will look unto the Lord; I will wait for the God of my salvation. My God will hear me." The bishop immediately retorted, saying, "God will not hear a blasphemer: a blasphemer of his mother the church of England, and one who despiseth her ordinances." Mr. Paget then replied, "I desire to fear God and abhor blasphemy; and my refusal of conformity to superstitious ceremonies, which even by the prelates themselves are esteemed indifferent, is neither blasphemy nor contempt." The angry prelate at length dismissed him without any censure, but ordered him to pay large fees to the officers of the court.

In the year 1618, Morton being translated to the see of Litchfield and Coventry, Dr. Bridgman became his successor at Chester. The latter prelate did not, at first, manifest any great opposition against the non-conformists, except by suspending a few of them, together with Knutsford chapel.* Afterwards, however, the bishop took courage, and inhibited most of the puritans in his diocese. Mr. Paget, among the rest, was convened before him, when the good old man humbly desired his lordship's connivance; which he denied, lest, as he observed, he should lose the favour of his prince. And when he required Mr. Paget to assign his reasons for refusing to kneel at the sacrament, he cited the words of our Lord: "Howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." These words, he observed, might be justly applied to the imposition of kneeling at the Lord's supper. The bishop then signified, that he expected a more learned argument, and supposed that Mr. Paget would have insisted upon the posture used by Christ and his disciples, at the institution of the ordinance. And, to convince Mr. Paget how unseemly that posture would now be in the

* The curious occasion of the bishop's suspending this chapel, was the following: "A gentleman of Knutsford, being fond of sport, caused a bear, passing along the streets, to be led into the chapel. The bishop no sooner heard of the chapel being thus profaned by the bear, than he suspended it from being used for public worship, and it remained a long time under his lordship's ecclesiastical censure."

church, his lordship gravely laid himself upon a bench by the side of a table, leaning on his elbow, affirming that to have been the posture of Christ at the institution of the supper; which, said he, you cannot contradict, especially if you understand Greek. However, to close the business, Mr. Paget, together with many others, was suspended from the ministry, and remained under his lordship's censure about two years.

In the year 1621, when it was hoped the storm was abated, means were used to obtain his liberty, but without effect. Afterwards, written testimonies were procured from York, signed by the register of the high commission court, in behalf of Mr. Paget and two other minister in Cheshire, releasing them from suspension, and allowing them to go on in their ministerial work as usual. But within three months, without any previous warning, attachments were issued from the high commission to apprehend them, and bring them to York; when they were ordered to be cast into prison till they could give satisfaction to the court. In these painful circumstances, obtaining information of the approaching storm, and having already too much felt the cruel oppressions of that court, they withdrew, as did the prophet to escape the fury of Ahab. When they could not be found, heavy fines were laid upon them; and, for their non-appearance, their fines were aggravated from one court-day to another; till at length their case was returned into the exchequer. In the end, having suffered great poverty, and many other troubles, they were obliged to compound. But upon no consideration could they obtain their liberty to preach. Therefore, Mr. Paget forsook his native country, and went to Holland, where he most probably spent the remainder of his days.

Arthur Hildersham.—His parents were zealous papists; and he was brought up in all the errors and superstitions of popery, and taught to repeat his prayers in Latin. During his abode at the university, he embraced the protestant religion, and was highly esteemed on account of his learning, piety, affability, and inoffensive conversation. His father no sooner knew of the change in his religious sentiments, than he took him from the university, and resolved to send him to Rome, with a view to have him reclaimed, and obtain ecclesiastical preferment. Young Hildersham, however, was fixed in his protestant principles, and refused to go; for which his father cast him off and disinherited him. Thus, he whom God had appointed to be a great sufferer in his cause, began to bear the yoke in his youth; by forsaking parents, friends, and all earthly comforts, and the certain prospect of worldly advancement, for the sake of Christ and the testimony of a good conscience.

In this forlorn situation, Mr. John Ireton, then of Cambridge,

providentially meeting him in London, said to him, "Arthur, why art thou so long from thy books, losing so much time?" "Alas, Sir, (said he) I shall go no more to Cambridge;" and then gave him a particular account of his unhappy condition. "Well, (said Mr. Ireton,) be not discouraged. Thou hast a noble kinsman, whom I will acquaint with thy case; and I doubt not that he will provide for thee." He accordingly laid his distressed situation before Henry earl of Huntingdon, lord president of the north, whose mother and Mr. Hildersham's mother were brother's children. The noble earl gladly embraced this opportunity of shewing his kindness and generosity. He warmly espoused his cause, sent him again to the university, and afforded him his liberal support.

He soon entered upon his public ministerial function; but he presently received a sudden check, and was convened before the high commission, suspended from his ministry, and deprived of his fellowship, chiefly for preaching occasionally before he took orders. This was done by the particular instigation of Archbishop Whitgift, who commanded him to make a public recantation, and required him to enter into bonds to appear again on a certain day before the high commission, if he presumed to refuse. The form of his recantation, dated January 10, 1588, was the following:

"I confess that I have rashly and indiscreetly taken upon me to preach, not being licensed, nor admitted into holy orders, contrary to the orders of the church of England; contrary to the example of antiquity; and contrary to the direction of the apostle in the Acts: whereby I have given great and just offence to many; and the more, because I have uttered in my sermons certain impertinent, and very unfit speeches for the auditory, as moving their minds to discontent with the state, rather than tending to godly edification. For which my presumption and indiscretion, I am very heartily sorry, and desire you to bear witness of this my confession, and acknowledging my said offences."

In the year 1590, he married the daughter of Mr. Barfoot, of Lamborn-hall, in Essex. She was his constant companion in all his tribulations, and an excellent comforter under his numerous and painful sufferings. During the first year of his marriage, his faith and patience were put to the trial. He was convened before the high commission, suspended from his ministry, and obliged to enter into bonds, prohibiting him from attending upon the duties of his ministry in any part of England. The year following he was partially restored, but still forbidden to preach at any place south of the river Trent. This prohibition utterly excluded him from labouring among his beloved people

at Ashby. But this restraint was afterwards taken away, when he returned to his stated ministerial charge at that place. In the month of July, 1593, the worthy Earl of Huntingdon presented him to the benefice of Ashby; and he obtained his induction to the living.

Mr. Hildersham was called, in the year 1596, to preach the assize sermon before judge Anderson, at Leicester. Though it is said to have been "a godly and learned sermon," the judge could not conceal his displeasure, even while he was in the church. Anderson was no sooner seated upon the bench, than he required the jury to bring an indictment against the preacher, but they refused; "and it would have been difficult, (adds our author) to have found a jury in Leicestershire, that would not have been ashamed of doing it." The angry judge was so mortified and offended, that he brought Mr. Hildersham afterwards into some other troubles; from which, however, the Lord mercifully delivered him. In the year 1598, an attachment was issued from the high commission to apprehend him; but whether he was taken into custody, or he concealed himself till the storm subsided, we have not been able to learn.

He did not, however, enjoy his liberty many years. For in November, 1611, he was again silenced, by Neile, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. The occasion of his lordship's censure was his supposed connexion with Mr. Edward Whiteman, of Burton-upon-Trent, denominated a notorious heretic, for which he was afterwards burnt at Litchfield. Though, upon Mr. Hildersham's examination before the bishop and many others, his innocence was made perfectly manifest in open court, he continued under the episcopal censure a long time; and, to the unspeakable grief of many, the two exercises at Repton and Burton-upon-Trent were put down. In addition to this, December 8, 1612, letters missive were issued from the high commission, requiring his appearance before the ecclesiastical judges. Upon his appearance at the time and place appointed, he was judicially admonished, then prohibited from ever preaching, catechising, or attending upon any part of the ministerial function, either in public or private, until he should be lawfully restored.

In the year 1615, he was again prosecuted in the high commission; and, for refusing the oath *ex officio*, was committed first to the Fleet, then to the King's-bench, where he continued a long time. During his tedious and painful confinement, a certain nobleman made application to Archbishop Abbot for his release; when the angry archbishop protested, "that unless he would submit to what the commissioners required, he should die and rot in prison." Abbot, it is said, was a prelate of great learning and piety; but he was esteemed a puritan in doctrine; and in

discipline, too remiss for one placed at the head of the church. But, surely, this did not appear, at least on the present occasion. Mr. Hildersham, upon giving bond to appear when called, was at length released from confinement.

In September, 1616, the commissioners sat at Ashby, to examine certain witnesses against Mr. Hildersham and his two friends, Mr. Thomas Dighton and Mr. John Holt.* The witnesses against Mr. Hildersham affirmed upon their oaths, what all the parish knew to be notoriously false, and even declared by what motives he was actuated in what was charged against him. But upon this most glaring false witness, the court proceeded to censure him as follows:—He was pronounced refractory and disobedient to the orders, rites and ceremonies of the church of England; and a schismatic and schismatical person, and well worthy of severe punishment. Also, because he was deemed the *ringleader* of all schismatical persons in that part of the country, he was fined two thousand pounds, excommunicated, degraded from the ministry, ordered to be taken and cast into prison, commanded to make a public recantation in such form as the court should appoint, and to finish the business, he was condemned in costs of suit. What a happy circumstance is it that we live in better days! in which it is generally acknowledged, that, in religious matters, every man ought to act according to the persuasion of his own mind. "If we dissent from one another in these things, (says Mr. Hildersham) it must be without bitter-

* The non-conformists, both ministers and private christians, were now prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts; among whom were these gentlemen, both natives of Ashby. One of them was imprisoned in the Gatehouse, the other in the Fleet; and having endured confinement for some time, they were brought forth, November 21, 1616, under the care of their keepers, when they received the following sentence in the high commission court:—"It appeared to the court, that the said Dighton and Holt, being laymen, had, in opposition to the state ecclesiastical, kept *sundry conventicles*, or *exercises of religion in private houses*, within the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch; and held public disputations against the orders, rites and ceremonies of the church, and dissuaded others from conformity to the same. And because Mr. Hacket their minister, (meaning the person appointed to the place,) was conformable, they have refused to come to church to hear him preach, or read divine service, or to bring their children to be baptized, or their wives to be churched; but, leaving their own parishes, went to other parishes to hear unconformable ministers, and carried many of the parish of Ashby after them, to the great encouragement of schismatical and refractory persons; and, being often admonished in this court, they refused, and do still refuse, to join with the christian congregation in receiving the holy communion *kneeling:* and having made common purses, and sundry collections, for maintaining, abetting, and encouraging such schismatical persons in their obstinacy and disobedience to his majesty's laws ecclesiastical; they are, therefore, pronounced schismatics and schismatical persons, and worthy to be severely punished, and were accordingly fined a *thousand* pounds a piece, pronounced excommunicate, ordered to be publickly denounced, to make their submission in three several places, condemned in costs of suit, and sent back to prison." This is one instance of the persecution of laymen for their non-conformity.

ness, and in brotherly love. The odious names of puritans, formalists, schismatics, or time-servers, ought not to be heard among brethren."

Mr. Hildersham, having heard of the above cruel sentence, wisely, and for a long time, concealed himself. At length, however, he wrote to lady Fielding, desiring her to use her influence to get his fine taken off; or, if that could not be done, to obtain a mitigation of it so far as to be allowed to pay a certain sum annually, being all that he was able to spare. He sent a petition to the same effect to the earl of Suffolk, and another to the high commission. Several processes were in the mean time issued from the exchequer, to inquire into his estates, but none could be found. He therefore compounded the matter with his prosecutors, by paying a great sum of money, and was released from the heavy fine.

This, indeed, was not the end of his troubles. For in the year 1618, a pursuivant from the bishop of London violently broke into his study, and carried away many of his valuable books. The good man petitioned his lordship for them to be restored. By a license, dated June 20, 1625, from the archbishop, he obtained liberty to preach within the dioceses of London, Lincoln, and Coventry and Litchfield; and soon after entered once more upon his public charge at Ashby.

Notwithstanding the above numerous interruptions, Mr. Hildersham had once more to pass through the fire of persecution. March 25, 1630, for refusing to read the public service in the hood and surplice, he was again silenced. This suspension, however, did not continue very long; for, August 2, 1631, he was restored to his beloved ministry, and so continued preaching till December 27th following, when he preached his last sermon.

This pious and learned divine knew by experience the truth of that doctrine which he delivered to the people. "Every faithful minister, who laboureth to win souls to God, shall be sure to be well rewarded, how ill soever an unthankful world may reward him. If we judge by *sense* and *reason*, we shall hardly be able to conceive how it can be true; for no kind of men ever seems to be more neglected of God in this life, than faithful ministers. In all ages these men have been in much trouble, and their enemies have prevailed against them; and that oftentimes even unto death. But if we look into it with a *spiritual eye*, we shall find that God hath a special care to provide for faithful ministers; and that none have such promises of protection and deliverance from trouble. If it please the Lord to let his ministers suffer, it is, either because their testimony is finished; or because God will receive more honour by their suffering, and constant confession of his truth, than by their peace;

as saith the apostle of his own troubles: 'I would, brethren, ye should understand, that the things which have happened unto me, have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel.'"

Nathaniel Bernard, having preached a sermon at Cambridge which gave offence, was cited before the high commission, when the following passages were deemed objectionable.

"It is not the single *having* of God's ordinances of public worship, but having them in their *purity*, that dignifies a nation. God's ordinances in their purity are a sure shield to a nation from public ruin and desolation. For the proof of this, I challenge all records, both human and divine, to produce one instance wherein God punished any part of his church, with any national ruin and destruction, before they had departed from, or corrupted his ordinances. The gospel, which is the power of God to salvation, is the means by which God manifesteth his omnipotent power in the conversion and salvation of all those that believe. Is there not a generation of profane men among us, who are afraid and ashamed to preach twice on a Lord's day; to preach plainly, powerfully, and spiritually to the souls and consciences of their people, lest they should be accounted puritans?"

But the principal exception was the conclusion of his sermon, as follows: "It is impossible, I say, that any should be saved living and dying without repentance, in the doctrine and idolatrous worship of the church of Rome, as the late Tridentine council hath decreed. My reason is, that he who thinks of going to heaven in any other way than by faith in Christ only, shall never come there. Furthermore, if God's ordinances of public worship, in their divine purity, be the glory of a nation; then it follows, that they who go about to deprive a nation of them, either wholly, or of their purity, go about to make the nation base and inglorious, and are the enemies and traitors of that nation. Let us then pray these men either to conversion, if it be the will of God, or to destruction. And let us use that prayer against them, which David used against Ahithophel, with which I will conclude: O Lord, turn the council of all these Ahithopels into folly, who go about to lay the honour of this church and nation in the dust, by depriving us of the purity of thy ordinances of public worship, which are the glory of this our nation."

For these expressions in his sermon, Mr. Bernard was most cruelly censured in the high commission. He was suspended, excommunicated, fined one thousand pounds, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to New Prison; where, for six months, he was most barbarously used, and almost starved for want, of which he complained in sundry letters and petitions

which he sent to the bishop; but the good man could obtain no relief, unless he would defile his conscience by a public recantation. Whether this severe and heavy sentence was disproportionate to his crime, the impartial reader will easily determine.

The degrading recantation enjoined upon Mr. Bernard, was as follows: "Whereas in a sermon made by me, in this place, the 6th of May last, upon this text, 'The glory is departed from Israel, because the ark of God was taken,' 1 Sam. iv. 21; I had this passage: 'The gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation, is the means by which God manifesteth his omnipotent power in the conversion and salvation of all that believe." And I do here publickly acknowledge, that hereby, contrary to his majesty's command in his declaration lately published with the articles of religion, I did go beyond the general meaning of that place of scripture, and of the said articles; and drew the same to maintain the one side of some of those ill-raised differences, which his majesty's said declaration mentioneth. And this I did rather out of a desire to thrust something into my said sermon, in affirmation of one side of the said differences, than was any way occasioned by the text I preached from. For which I here publickly profess my hearty sorrow, and do humbly crave pardon of Almighty God, of his majesty, and of this congregation.

"And whereas in the said sermon, I had this passage: 'If God's ordinances of public worship, in their purity, be the glory of a nation; then it follows, that they who go about to deprive a nation of them, either wholly or of their purity, go about to make the nation base and inglorious, &c. I do now, upon better information, find that many erroneous and dangerous assertions and consequences, unfit to be here expressed, may be collected and inferred from the said words. I do, therefore, hereby publickly recant all the said words, as they were used or may be inferred, to be very rashly and inconsiderately uttered, and to be very undutiful to his majesty. I do humbly refer and submit myself to his majesty's clemency and gracious acceptance, for the interpretation of my meaning; and I am heartily sorry, and do humbly crave pardon, that words and applications, so scandalous and dangerous to the present state of the church of England, proceeded from me." &c. &c.

Mr. Bernard was required to make this recantation publickly before the congregation where he had delivered the sermon; but he absolutely refused. Though in his numerous letters and petitions to Bishop Laud, he professed his sincere sorrow and repentance for any oversights and unbecoming expressions in his sermon, he could obtain no relief. He must either recant according to the above form, or be ruined. He was therefore

detained in New Prison; where, after languishing a long time, he died.

Hugh Clark, A. M.—This excellent person was born at Burton-upon-Trent, in Staffordshire, August 15, 1563, and educated first in Jesus college, Cambridge, then in the university of Oxford. Having finished his studies at college, he first settled in the ministry at Oundle, in Northamptonshire. Here he found the people in a state of most deplorable ignorance and profaneness.

During Mr. Clark's abode at this place, he experienced several remarkable providential deliverances, among which was the following:—Having, in his sermon on the sabbath-day, announced the just judgment of God against certain particular sins, to which the people were much addicted, the next morning a lusty young man came to his house, wishing to see him. Mr. Clark, having invited him into his chamber, and, knowing his vicious character, sharply reproved him, and warned him of his awful danger; and God wrought so effectually upon his heart, by this pointed and faithful dealing, that the man, falling down on his knees, and crying for pardon, pulled out a dagger by which he had determined to murder him. "I came hither (said the man) with a full resolution to stab you, but God has prevented me. This was occasioned by your terrifying sermon yesterday. But, if you please to forgive me, I shall, by the grace of God, never attempt any such thing again." Mr. Clark freely pardoned the offence; and, after giving him suitable advice, dismissed him.

In the year 1590, Mr. Clark removed from Oundle, and succeeded Mr. Edward Lord, in the pastoral charge at Woolston, in Warwickshire. He received a presentation to the living from Sir Roger Wigston, when he waited upon Bishop Overton for his institution. But the bishop, designing the living for one of his chaplains, endeavoured to persuade Mr. Clark to relinquish it, promising that he would bestow upon him some other preferment. Mr. Clark, considering his clear call to the place, and hoping that the Lord had there some work for him to do, told his lordship, that he could not give it up with a good conscience, and, therefore, requested his institution. The bishop, being disappointed, gave orders for the ablest of his chaplains to examine him, and dispute with him; hoping, by this means, to obtain some grounds of exception. His lordship, meeting with another disappointment, still refused to grant his institution; and Mr. Clark, after several unsuccessful journies, was under the painful necessity of threatening the bishop with a prosecution, before it could be obtained. His lordship did not forget, however, to recompense him for the affront, by sending spies to

watch him, and by citing him, on the most trivial occasions, to appear in the ecclesiastical court. This was disagreeable and expensive to Mr. Clark; though he was not much interrupted by these molestations from attending to the duties of his ministry.

The angry prelate did not desist, but seemed determined, if possible, to ruin him; therefore he went himself to Woolston, to hear him preach on a sabbath morning. Though Mr. Clark saw him in the church, he was not in the least discouraged, but went through the service, and dispensed the word of life with his usual zeal and fervency. During the sermon, his lordship was much displeased, which he manifested by shifting from place to place, as if he sat upon thorns. A person observing his extreme uneasiness, without knowing who he was, fetched a cushion for him to sit upon, then another to recline upon; but he still appeared uncommonly restless. The public service was no sooner ended, than the bishop declared openly before the congregation, saying, "This is indeed a hot fellow, but I will cool him." To this Mr. Clark replied, "My lord, if I have not faithfully delivered the truth of God, I beseech you to declare what I have said amiss, that I may defend myself before the people." But the bishop only answered as before, "You are indeed a hot fellow, but I will cool you," and so departed. His lordship was as good as his word: for not long after he caused the good man to feel the effect of his angry spirit. He first suspended him from preaching; then Mr. Clark expounded the scriptures. He next suspended him from expounding; then Mr. Clark catechized. And when the bishop suspended him from catechizing, he appointed a pious man, at the usual time of sermon, to read a chapter; and at the end of every verse the man asked him the meaning of it, and what uses and instructions flowed from it. This so enraged the bishop, that he immediately excommunicated him. The character given of this prelate, therefore, appears very correct. "He was sufficiently severe, (it is said) to suppress those whom he suspected of non-conformity." Mr. Clark, in consequence of these tyrannical oppressions, laid his case at the feet of the archbishop of Canterbury, obtained his absolution, and so went on in his ministry.

This, indeed, irritated the bishop more than ever; and he could never feel easy till he had again caught this reverend divine in the snare. The persecution of the non-conformists being now very hot, Mr. Clark prayed in the public congregation, though in very modest terms, *that the Lord would forgive the queen her sins;* one of the bishop's spies being present, immediately laid the information before his lordship, who caused him to be apprehended, and for this insignificant crime, charged him with *treason,* and committed him to the common jail at Warwick,

where he remained till the next assize. Previous to the trial, the bishop, it is said, took care to exasperate the judge; and accordingly, in the time of his trial, he urged the jury to find him guilty. A worthy and honourable justice on the bench, at this juncture stood up and declared to the judge, that before any wrong should be done to Mr. Clark, he would kneel for him before the queen. This wrought so effectually upon the minds of the jury, that they gave a verdict of *not guilty*, and he was acquitted. Mr. Clark again laid his case at the feet of the archbishop, complaining of the hard usage he had met with from the bishop. The archbishop upon this called them both before him; and after an impartial hearing of both parties, he commanded the bishop to go to Mr. Clark's church, and on the sabbath day, the congregation being present, to make a public acknowledgement of the wrong he had done him, which the bishop performed accordingly. And, remarkable as it may appear, Bishop Overton from that time became Mr. Clark's cordial friend, and so continued as long as he lived.

John Hayden was minister in Devonshire, and most grievously persecuted for non-conformity. Having spoken in his sermon against setting up images in churches, he was forced to quit the county, and was afterwards apprehended in the diocese of Norwich by Bishop Harsnet, who, taking from him his horse, his money, and all his papers, caused him to be shut up a close prisoner inthe common jail of Norwich for thirteen weeks, where he was in danger of starving for want. When the justices at the quarter sessions would have admitted him to bail, his lordship refused, and sent him under the guard of a pursuivant to the high commission in London. Having been kept under confinement two whole terms, or more, he was brought before the high commission in the consistory of St. Paul's, when he was deprived of his ministry, degraded from the sacred function, required to pay a fine, and sent back to prison. Being at length released from confinement, and venturing, in the year 1634, to preach occasionally, without being restored, he was again apprehended and sent to the Gatehouse by Archbishop Laud, and from thence to Bridewell, where he was whipt and kept for some time to hard labour; then he was confined in a cold dark dungeon during the whole of winter, without fire or candle, being chained to a post in the middle of the room, with heavy irons on his hands and feet, having no other food than bread and water, and only a pad of straw to lie upon. Before his release could be obtained, he was obliged to take an oath, and give bond, that he would preach no more, but depart out of the kingdom in a month, and never more return. All this was done without any exception against his doctrine or his life.

On February 29, 1629, Dr. *Leighton*, coming out of Black-friars church, was seized by a warrant from the high commission court; and, by a multitude of men armed, was dragged to Bishop Laud's house. From thence, without any examination, he was carried to Newgate, and there clapt in irons, and thrust into a loathsome dog-hole, full of rats and mice: and the roof being uncovered, the rain and snow beat in upon him, having no bedding, nor place to make a fire, except the ruins of an old smoky chimney; where he had neither meat nor drink from the Tuesday night till Thursday noon. In this loathsome and miserable place he continued fifteen weeks, not any of his friends, or even his wife, being permitted to come near him, and was denied a copy of his commitment. On the fourth day after his imprisonment, the pursuivants belonging to the high commission went to his house, and laid violent hands upon his distressed wife, using her with the most shameful and barbarous inhumanity; and holding a pistol to the breast of a child five years old, threatening to kill him, if he would not inform them where the books were, by which the child was so frightened that he never recovered. They broke open presses, chests, boxes, &c. though his wife was willing to open all. They carried away all the books, manuscripts, apparel, household stuff, and other things, leaving nothing they wished to possess. During his confinement in Newgate, it appeared from the opinion of four physicians, that poison had been given him; for his hair and skin came off. As he lay in this deplorable situation, sentence was passed upon him in the star-chamber, even without hearing a single word he had to say, though a certificate from four physicians and an attorney was given of the dreadful state of his complaint.

But it will be requisite to give a particular account of the charges brought against this unhappy man. June 4, 1630, an information was exhibited against Dr. Leighton in the star-chamber, by attorney-general Heath, when he was charged with having published and dispersed a scandalous book against the king, peers, and prelates, entitled, "Sion's Plea against the Prelacie;" in which, among other things, he sets forth these false and seditious assertions and positions following:

1. "That we do not read of greater persecution, and higher indignity done upon God's people in any nation professing the gospel, than in this our island, especially since the death of Queen Elizabeth.

2. "He terms the prelates of this realm *men of blood*, and enemies to God and the state; and saith, that the maintaining and establishing of bishops within this realm, is a main and master sin established by law, and that ministers should have no voices in council deliberative and decisive.

3. "He avows the prelacy of our church to be antichristian and satanical, and terms the bishops ravens and magpies, that prey upon the state.

4. "He terms the canons of our church, made in 1603, *nonsense*-canons.

5. "He disallows and contemns the ceremony of *kneeling* in receiving the sacrament, alleging that this spawn of the *beast* was brought forth by the prelates, to promote their own unlawful standing.

6. "He affirms that the prelates have corrupted the king, forestalling his judgment against God and goodness, and most audaciously and wickedly calleth his majesty's royal consort, our gracious queen, the *daughter of Heth.*

7. "He most impiously seems to commend him who committed the barbarous and bloody act of murdering the late Duke of Buckingham, and to encourage others to second him in the like wicked and desperate attempt, to the destruction of others.

8. "He layeth a most seditious scandal upon the king, state, and kingdom, wickedly affirming, 'That all who pass by us spoil us, and we spoil all who rely upon us.' And amongst other particulars, instanceth the black pining death of the famished *Rochellers*, to the number of fifteen hundred, in four months. By which passages and wicked assertions, he doth as much as in him lay, scandalize his majesty's sacred person; his religious, wise, and just government; the person of his royal consort, the queen; the persons of the lords and peers of the realm, especially the reverend bishops.

9. "That in another place in the said book, endeavouring not only to slander his majesty's sacred person and government, but to detract from his royal power, in making laws and canons for ecclesiastical government, he saith, 'That the church hath its laws from the *scripture*, and that no king may make laws in the house of God; for if they might, then the scripture would be imperfect.'

10. "And he is further charged in another place in the said book, with these words following, thinking to salve all with an expression of his sacred majesty: 'What a pity it is, and indelible dishonour it will be to you, the states representative, that so ingenuous and tractable a king should be so monstrously abused, to the undoing of himself and his subjects.'"

These ten particulars contain all the charges brought against Dr. Leighton, and we may be sure they were the worst that could be collected out of his book, his enemies being judges. The unprejudiced reader here sees the worst part of Leighton's character, and will easily judge what degree of criminality was attached to his conduct. Though some of the above assertions

were unjustifiable, many of them were certainly true, and too glaringly manifest in the history of those times. Dr. Leighton, in his answer to the above charges, confessed, that when the parliament was sitting, in the year 1628, he drew up the heads of his book; and having the approbation of five hundred persons under their own hands, some of whom were members of parliament, he went into Holland to get it printed. Also, that he printed betwixt five and six hundred only for the use of the parliament; but they being dissolved before the work was finished, he returned home, not bringing any of them into the kingdom, but made it his special care to suppress them. He confessed his writing the book, but with no such ill intention as suggested in the information. His only object was to remonstrate against certain grievances in church and state, under which the people suffered, that the parliament might be induced to take them into consideration, and give such redress as might be most for the honour of the king, the advantage of the people, and the peace of the church.

When the cause was heard, the doctor's defence was read at length, and the various particulars contained in his charges were read out of his book. In answer to the first charge, viz. "That we do not read of greater persecution of God's people, in any nation professing the gospel, than in this our island, especially since the death of Queen Elizabeth;" he confessed the words, and said, "The thing is too true, by the prelates taking away the life and livelihood from many ministers and private men, many of whom have been pined to death in prison; and many have wandered up and down, their families being left desolate and helpless: and besides this, the blood of souls hath been endangered, by the removal of the faithful shepherds from their flocks." This was a most cutting truth; at which Laud was so exceedingly enraged, that he desired the court to inflict the heaviest sentence that could be inflicted upon him. This they did to his lordship's fullest satisfaction. For Leighton was condemned to be degraded from his ministry, to have his ears cut, his nose slit, to be branded in the face, to stand in the pillory, to be whipped at a post, to pay ten thousand pounds, (though they knew he was not worth so much) and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. The grateful sentence being passed against him, Laud pulled off his hat, and holding up his hands, GAVE THANKS TO GOD, WHO HAD GIVEN HIM THE VICTORY OVER HIS ENEMIES. A certain knight having moved one of the lords relative to the dreadful nature of the censure, intimating that it opened a door to the prelates to inflict the most disgraceful punishments and tortures upon men of quality; *that* lord replied, that it was de-

signed only for the terror of others, and that he would not have any one to think the sentence would ever be executed. This worthy lord, however, was greatly mistaken; for Laud and his adherents caused the dreadful sentence to be executed with the utmost rigour and severity.

The ruling ecclesiastics proceeded with proper decorum, and a due observance of ecclesiastical order. Therefore, November 4th, he was degraded in the high commission; and on the 10th of the same month, being a star-chamber day, the barbarous sentence was to be executed; but the preceding evening he made his escape out of the Fleet, where he had been kept a close prisoner. Information of his escape was no sooner announced to the lords of the council, than they caused the following hue and cry to be printed and published through the country:

"A hue and cry against Dr. Leighton.

"Whereas Alexander Leighton, a Scotchman born, who was lately sentenced by the honourable court of star-chamber to pay a great fine to his majesty, and to undergo corporal punishment, for writing, printing, and publishing a very libellous and seditious book against the king and his government, hath this eleventh day of November escaped out of the prison of the Fleet, where he was a prisoner. These are in his majesty's name to require and command all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, customers, searchers, and officers of the ports, and all others his majesty's loving subjects, to use all diligence for the apprehending of the said Alexander Leighton; and being apprehended, safely to keep him in custody until his majesty shall receive notice thereof, and shall give further direction concerning him. He is a man of low stature, fair complexion; he hath a yellowish beard, a high forehead, and is between forty and fifty years of age."

This hue and cry followed him into Bedfordshire, where he was apprehended, and brought again prisoner to the Fleet. Relative to Dr. Leighton's escape, and the execution of part of the sentence, Bishop Laud made the following memorial in his diary: "November 4, Leighton was degraded in the high commission. November 9, he broke out of the Fleet; the warden says, he got or was helped over the wall;* and professes he knew not this from Tuesday till Wednesday noon. He told it not me till Thursday night. Leighton was taken again in Bedfordshire, and within a fortnight brought back to the Fleet. November 26, part of his sentence was executed upon him at Westminster."

* Herein both the warden and the bishop were mistaken. His two friends, Mr. Levingston and Mr. Anderson, lent him their clothes, by which means he got out of prison in disguise. This, however, was no sooner found out than his two friends were prosecuted in the star-chamber; when they were fined each *five hundred* pounds, and committed to the Fleet during the king's pleasure.

Such was the particular memorial which this reverend prelate preserved of these proceedings!

The sentence, so grateful to the remembrance of Laud, was inflicted in the following most shocking and barbarous manner: he was carried to Westminster, where he had one of his ears cut off, then one side of his nose slit; he was branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron, with the letters S. S. for a *sower of sedition*; he was put in the pillory, and kept there nearly two hours in frost and snow; he was then tied to a post, whipped with a triple cord to that cruel degree, that every lash brought away the flesh; and he himself affirmed, ten years after, that he should feel it to his dying day. And after this shocking barbarity, he was not permitted to return to his quarters in the Fleet in a coach prepared for the purpose; but was compelled, in that lamentable condition and severe season, to go by water. On that day sevennight, his nose, ear, face, and back not being yet cured, he was taken to the pillory in Cheapside; when the other ear was cut off, the other side of his nose slit, and the other cheek branded; he was then set in the pillory, and whipped a second time. He was then carried back to the Fleet, where he was kept ten weeks in dirt and mire, not being sheltered from the rain and snow. He was shut up in close prison, and not suffered to breathe in the open air for ten or eleven years, until the meeting of the long parliament. And when he came forth from his long and miserable confinement, he could neither *walk*, *see*, nor *hear*. The sufferings of this learned divine greatly moved the compassion of the people; and, surely, the records of the *inquisition* can hardly furnish an example of similar barbarity.

The long parliament having assembled, Dr. Leighton presented a petition, November 7, 1640, to the house of commons, complaining of the hard usage he had met with; which the house could not hear without several interruptions with floods of tears. The petition being read, an order passed the house, "That Dr. Leighton shall have liberty by the warrant of this house, to go abroad in safe custody, to prosecute his petition here exhibited; and that he be removed out of the common prison, where he now is, into some more convenient place, and have the liberty of the Fleet." A committee was at the same time appointed to take his case into mature consideration.

Through the innumerable complaints from all quarters, and a multitude of other concerns which came before the house and the committee, some time elapsed before the result of the examination of Dr. Leighton's case came forth. But, April 21, 1641, Mr. Rouse having delivered the report of the committee, the house came to the following resolutions:

1. "That the attaching, imprisoning, and detaining Dr. Leighton in prison, by warrant of the high commission, is illegal.

2. "That the breaking up of Dr. Leighton's house, and taking away his papers by Edward Wright, then sheriff of London, and now lord mayor, is illegal.

3. "That the said Edward Wright ought to give reparations to Dr. Leighton, for his damages sustained by breaking open his house, and taking away his papers and other goods.

4. "That the Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop of London, ought to give satisfaction to Dr. Leighton, for his damages sustained by fifteen weeks imprisonment in Newgate, upon the said bishop's warrant.

5. "That the great fine of ten thousand pounds laid upon Dr. Leighton, by sentence of the star-chamber, is illegal.

6. "That the sentence of the corporal punishment imposed upon Dr. Leighton; the whipping, branding, slitting the nose, cutting off his ears, setting in the pillory, and the execution thereof, and the imprisonment thereupon, are illegal.

7. "That Dr. Leighton ought to be freed from the great fine of ten thousand pounds, and from the sentence of perpetual imprisonment, and to have his bonds delivered to him, which he entered into for his true imprisonment.

8. "That Dr. Leighton ought to have good satisfaction and reparation for his great sufferings and damages sustained by the illegal sentence in the star-chamber."

These were the resolutions of the house of commons, after a mature examination of his most affecting case. It is observed, that he was voted to receive six thousand pounds for damages, but, most probably, on account of the confusions of the times, it was never paid him. In the year 1642, Dr. Leighton, by the appointment of the house of commons, was made keeper of Lambeth-house, when turned into a prison.

George Huntley was minister in Kent, a non-conformist to the superstitious ceremonies, and grievously censured in the high commission court. In the year 1627, for refusing to preach at a visitation, though his body was in a weak state, and he sent twenty shillings to the archdeacon to pay another for preaching, he was convened before the high commission for contempt; when he was fined a great sum and cast into prison. Having lain in prison about two years, he was brought to the bar upon his *habeas corpus;* when the cause of his commitment was returned, *a default in his canonical obedience.* He was at first bailed, because the breach of canonical obedience was an offence punishable by the ordinary, by ecclesiastical censure only; and not by the commissioners ecclesiastical, by fine and imprisonment. But

afterwards, by the solicitations of Bishop Laud, he was again delivered, and again brought into the high commission court: when a great fine was imposed upon him. He was deprived of his living, degraded from the ministry, and committed to a loathsome prison, where he continued about ten years, to the impoverishing of himself and family. At the same time Mr. Austin, the archbishop's chaplain, was presented to his living.

Upon this barbarous usage, Mr. Huntley brought his action of false imprisonment against the keeper and several of the commissioners. The business was carried into the king's-bench; when the attorney-general, by command of the king, moved that the commissioners might be spared, and the proceedings be only against the keeper. At length, after much debate, it was ordered that only two of the commissioners should answer. It was Archbishop Abbot who blew the coals in this business, and engaged the commissioners in these mad courses. He pressed the king, by means of Bishop Laud, to stay the proceedings against the commissioners.

As this cause made a great ferment at court, it will be proper further to observe, that the king sent his advocate, Dr. Rives, to the chief justice, requiring that there should be no further proceeding in the business till he had spoken to him. The chief justice answered, "We receive the message;" but, upon consultation together, "the judges conceive the message not to stand with their oaths, commanding an indefinite stay of a cause between party and party, and might stop the course of justice so long as the king pleased." On this occasion Judge Whitlocke insisted upon these points:—1. "That it was against law to exempt any man from answering the action of another that would sue him.—2. That if the court should exempt any, where should they begin, and where should they end?—3. That it was altogether agreeable to the king's monarchical power, and was lawful for any subject to complain before him of any other subject, and to be answered in that complaint."

The high commissioners, not content with the answer of the judges, urged the king to take the cause into his own hands, who sent for the judges, and COMMANDED THEM NOT TO PUT THE DEFENDANTS TO ANSWER. This did the king, at the importunity of Laud and the archbishop, who carried on the business with great violence. In the conclusion, "the king expressly commanded, that they should not put the commissioners to answer;" but the learned judges stoutly answered, "that they could not, without breach of their oaths, observe that command;" so they parted in displeasure.

Afterwards, by the king's special command, the business was brought before the council-table, in the presence of the judges.

After a long debate, and hearing of Bishop Laud, the Bishop of Winchester, two of the privy council, the judges, and the king's attorney, it was agreed that the commissioners should answer. This was a bold stand against the oppressions of a monarch, prompted by the court prelates to exercise an illegal power, to the unspeakable injury of his subjects.

Though this point was gained, it does not appear with what success Mr. Huntley prosecuted the commissioners. In 1644 he was one of the witnesses at the trial of Laud.

Henry Burton was born in Yorkshire, and educated in St. John's College, Cambridge. He was made clerk of the closet to Prince Henry, and after his death to Prince Charles. In 1623 he was appointed to attend the young prince to Spain; but for reasons unknown, he was set aside.

From what he has published to the world, he appears to have been furnished with considerable parts, and to have been no mean scholar. He was courageous in the cause of truth, and a man of a warm spirit; which led him, on certain occasions, to discover some degree of heat and indiscretion. The oppressions and cruelties of the prelates were sufficient to make a wise man mad. In the above year he was presented to the rectory of St. Matthews, Friday-street, London.

Mr. Burton was a person of a most heroical spirit, and never feared the appearance of an enemy, as appears from the account he gave of himself. Speaking of his various citations before Laud, his courage was such, that he says, "I was not at any time before him, but methought I stood over him, as a schoolmaster over his scholars; so great was the goodness of God towards me. Being convened before the high commission for my book, entitled, 'Babel no Bethel,' Harsnet, Archbishop of York, having run himself out of breath with railing against me and my book; and saying, that I had dedicated my book to the parliament, to incense them against the higher powers, (meaning the king,) I answered, 'No, my lord, I am none of those who divide the king and parliament, but I pray God unite them together!'"

He afterwards describes the prelatical innovations and usurpations, and how he set himself to oppose them, saying, "I more and more disliked the prelates' usurpations, and tyrannical government, with their attempts to set up popery. Therefore I purposely preached upon the second chapter to the Colossians, crying down all will-worship and human inventions in God's service. I began in my practice, as in my judgment, to fall off from the ceremonies. Only I watched for an occasion to try it out with them, either by dint of arguments, or force of law, or by the king and his council, resolving either to foil my adver-

saries, though I had no great hope of success; or, at least discover the mystery of iniquity and hypocrisy, which, like a white veil, they had cast over all their foul practices. This discovery I took to be of no small importance. I saw how every day they got ground in the hearts of the simple and credulous, as if all they did was to maintain the protestant religion; when under that specious colour, the withered whore of Babylon came in naked at the first, till at length she began to show her painted face in her superstitions, altar-service, and other garbs. And as they laboured to undermine and overthrow the true protestant religion, and set up popery; so they did not seek less to overthrow the civil state, with its good laws, and just liberties of the subject, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government."

Mr. Burton was a great sufferer in the cause of non-conformity. In the year 1626, he was convened before the high commission, when he would have received the censure of the ruling ecclesiastics, had not the judges interposed and granted a prohibition, which they might do according to law, by which he was at that time rescued from his cruel oppressor. Mr. Burton having published a book, entitled, "The Baiting of the Pope's Bull; or, an Unmasking of the Mystery of Iniquity, folded up in a most pernicious Breave or Bull, sent from the Pope lately into England, to cause a Rent therein, for his Re-entery," 1627; though the book was wholly against the pope and his dangerous bull, and was licensed by Dr. Goad, he was called before the council by the instigation of Laud, who spoke vehemently against the book, calling it a libel. Afterwards, he published another work against popery, entitled, "The Pouring out of the Seven Vials," 1628; for which he was prosecuted in the high commission by this prelate, and the book suppressed. And when he published his book, entitled, "Babel no Bethel," wholly against the church of Rome, this prelate employed his pursuivant to apprehend him; committed him to the Fleet, refusing bail when offered, contrary to the petition of right; suspended him from his benefice; and suppressed the book.* About the same time, his "Trial of Private Devotions," 1628, against Dr. Cosins; and his "Plea to an Appeal, in refutation of divers Arminian and Popish Errors broached by Mountague in his *Appello Cæsarem*," were both called in and suppressed, by the severity of this intolerant ecclesiastic.

How long Mr. Burton remained under the above suspension, and a prisoner in the Fleet, we have not been able to learn. He was afterwards released. This, however, was to him only the beginning of sorrows. November 5, 1636, he preached two sermons at his own church in Friday-street, from Prov. xxiv. 21, 22, "My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle

not with them that are given to change," &c. in which he laid open the late innovations in doctrine, worship, and ceremonies, and warned his hearers against them. Dr. Laud, now archbishop of Canterbury, hearing of this, caused articles to be exhibited against him in the high commission, and summoned him to answer them, out of term, before Dr. Duck. On his appearance, he was charged with having "spoken against turning communion tables into altars, against bowing to them, against setting up crucifixes, against saying the second service at the altar, and against putting down afternoon sermons on the Lord's day." He was, moreover, charged with having said, "that ministers might not safely preach upon the doctrines of grace without being troubled for it; and that the ministers in Norfolk and Suffolk were suspended for non-conformity to the rites and ceremonies, imposed upon them contrary to the laws of the land." These charges, amounting, it is said, to *sedition*, he was required to answer upon his oath, and so to become his own accuser: but he refused the oath; and, instead of answering, appealed to the king. Notwithstanding his appeal, within fifteen days he was summoned, by the direction of the archbishop, to appear before a special high commission at Doctors' Commons; when, in his absence, he was suspended from his office and benefice, and attachments were given out to apprehend him.

Under these oppressive proceedings, Mr. Burton kept himself close shut up in his own house; and, to give an impartial public a fair opportunity of deciding upon his case, he published his sermons, entitled, "For God and the King; the Summe of two Sermons preached on the fifth of November last, in St. Matthewes, Friday-street, 1636;" with "An Apologie for an Appeale," addressed to the king, the lords of the council, and the learned judges.* The pursuivants of the high commission not daring to break open Mr. Burton's doors, the archbishop and the bishop of London, with several others, drew up a warrant to one Dendy, a serjeant at arms, to apprehend him. By virtue of this warrant, Dendy, accompanied by the sheriff of London, and various other armed officers, went the same evening to Mr. Burton's house in Friday-street, and between ten and eleven o'clock at night, violently broke open his doors, took him into custody, and seized his books and papers, as many as they pleased. The next day, instead of being brought before the lords, as the warrant expressed, he was, by another warrant, and without any cause assigned, committed close prisoner to the Fleet.

During Mr. Burton's close confinement, two anonymous pub-

* Mrs. Burton his wife, venturing to present copies of these sermons to several of the lords in parliament, was committed to prison.

lications came forth, the one entitled, "A Divine Tragedy, containing a Catalogue of God's late Judgments upon Sabbath-breakers;" the other, "News from Ipswich," discovering the innovations and severities of the prelates, especially Bishop Wren of Norwich. These were supposed to have been written by Mr. William Prynne, the lawyer. Dr. John Bastwick, a physician, having published a book, entitled, *Apologeticus ad præsules Anglicanos.* and a pamphlet, called, "The New Litany;" these three, Mr. Burton, Mr. Prynne, and Dr. Bastwick, now confined in prison, were prosecuted in the star-chamber, for "writing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and libellous books against the hierarchy, and to the scandal of the government." This was the substance of the indictment. They had warmly reflected upon the bishops, taxed them with inclinations to popery, and exclaimed against the severity and injustice of the proceedings of the high commission. The persons then in power were of too impatient and revengeful a temper to let such reflections and invectives go unpunished.

When the three defendants had prepared their answers to the indictment, they could not obtain counsel to sign them, through fear of the prelates; upon which they petitioned the court to receive them from themselves, which was rejected. However, Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick, having no other remedy, left their answers at the office, signed by their own hands, but were, nevertheless, proceeded against *pro confesso.* Mr. Burton prevailed upon Mr. Holt, a learned and an aged bencher of Gray's-inn, to sign his answer; but the court, instead of receiving it, even when signed, ordered the two chief justices to expunge what they deemed unfit to be brought into the court. Accordingly, they struck out the whole answer, consisting of forty sheets of paper, except a few lines at the beginning, and a few more at the end: and because Mr. Burton would not acknowledge it thus purged, he was, in like manner, proceeded against *pro confesso.*

The three prisoners were brought to the bar June 14, 1637, when they offered to defend their several answers at the peril of their lives; but the court, finding them not filed on record, would not receive them. The prisoners at the bar cried aloud for *justice*, and that their answers might be read; but, however reasonable their request, it was peremptorily denied. During the trial, Prynne and Bastwick having been examined, the learned judges came next to the case of Mr. Burton, which was as follows:—

Lord Keeper. Mr. Burton, what say you?

Burton. My good lords, your honours, it should seem, do determine to censure us, and take our cause *pro confesso*, although

we have laboured to give your honours satisfaction in all things. My lords, what have you to say against my book? I confess, I did write it; yet did I not say any thing out of intent of commotion or sedition. I delivered nothing but what my text led me to, being chosen to suit with the day, namely, the fifth of November.

L. K. Mr. Burton, I pray stand not naming texts of scripture now: we do not send for you to preach, but to answer to those things which are objected against you.

B. My lord, I have drawn up my answer, to my great pains and charges; which answer was signed with my counsel's hand, and received into the court according to the rule and order thereof. And I did not think to have been called this day to a censure, but to have had a legal proceeding by way of bill and answer.

L. K. Your answer was impertinent.

B. My answer, after it was entered in the court, was referred to the judges, but by what means I do not know; and what cause your lordships had to cast it out, I know not. But after it was approved of and received, it was cast out as an impertinent answer.

Lord Finch. The judges did you a good turn, to make it impertinent; for it was as libellous as your book: so that your answer deserved a censure alone.

L. K. What say you, Mr. Burton, are you guilty or not?

B. My lord, I desire you to peruse my book, not only here and there, but every passage of it.

L. K. Mr. Burton, time is short. Are you guilty, or not guilty? What say you to that which was read? Doth it become a minister to deliver himself in such a railing and scandalous way?

B. In my judgment, and as I can prove it, it was neither railing nor scandalous. I conceive, that a minister hath a larger liberty than always to go in a mild strain. I being a pastor of my people, whom I had in charge, and was to instruct, I supposed it was my duty to inform them of those innovations that are crept into the church, as likewise of the danger and ill consequences of them. As for my answer, ye blotted out what ye would, and then the rest, which made best for your own ends, you would have to stand: and now for me to tender only what will serve for your own turns, and renounce the rest, were to desert my cause; which, before I will do, or desert my conscience, I will rather desert my body, and deliver it up to your lordships to do with it what you will.

L. K. This is a place where you should crave mercy and favour, Mr. Burton, and not stand on such terms as you do.

B. Wherein I have offended through human frailty, I crave pardon of God and man. And I pray God, that, in your sentence, you may so censure us that you may not sin against the Lord.

Thus, while Mr. Burton and his fellow-prisoners desired to say more for themselves, they were interrupted, and commanded silence; when the following dreadful sentence was passed upon them: "That Burton shall be deprived of his ecclesiastical benefice, degraded from his ministerial function and degrees in the university, as Prynne and Bastwick have been from their professions of law and physic; they shall be fined each *five thousand* pounds; they shall stand in the pillory at Westminster, and have their ears cut off; and because Prynne hath already lost his ears, by sentence of the court in 1633, the remainder of the stumps shall be cut off, and he shall be stigmatized on both his cheeks with the letters S. L. for a *seditious libeller;* and they shall suffer perpetual imprisonment, in three of the remotest prisons of the kingdom, namely, in Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Lancaster castles." Previous to the execution of this terrible sentence, Mr. Burton's parishioners sent a petition to the king, signed by a great number of hands, humbly entreating his pardon and liberty. It was presented by two of them, who were immediately committed to prison for their pains. And, June 30th, the sentence was executed upon the three prisoners, the hangman sawing off the remainder of Prynne's ears, rather than cutting them.

On passing the above sentence, Archbishop Laud made a long and laboured speech, to clear himself from the charge of *innovations*, with which he was branded by the puritans. Though Laud was the chief prosecutor of these unfortunate sufferers, and his hand was first put to their numerous warrants, he made, in this speech, the following declarations: "I can say it clearly and truly, as in the *presence of God*, I have done nothing, as a prelate, to the uttermost of what I am conscious, but with a *single heart*, and with a *sincere intention* for the good government and honour of the church, and the maintenance of the orthodox truth and religion of Christ, professed, established, and maintained in this church of England." Was the conscience then of this reverend prelate become so callous, that, by continued acts of cruelty and oppression, he had lost all feeling for his fellow-creatures? In the conclusion of the above speech, still addressing the lords who constituted the court, he even adds:—"I humbly give you all *hearty thanks* for your *just* and *honourable censure* upon these men, and your *unanimous dislike* of them!" No one will for a moment dispute their unanimous dislike of them; but as the punishment of these men was exorbitant, and disproportionate to the offence, it was then, and hath been ever

since, looked upon by all merciful and unprejudiced persons with horror and detestation.

The morning when the prisoners were to suffer their heavy sentence, Mr. Burton being brought to the Palace-yard, Westminster, and beholding the pillory, he said, "Never was my wedding-day so welcome and joyful to me as this day is; and so much the more, seeing I have so noble a captain, who hath gone before me with so undaunted a spirit, that he saith of himself, 'I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair.' The Lord God will help me; therefore, I shall not be confounded. Shall I be ashamed of a pillory for Christ, who was not ashamed of a cross for me?" Then being put in the pillory, he addressed the immense crowd of spectators, saying, "Good people, I am brought hither to be a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men. And though I stand here to undergo the punishment of a *rogue*, yet, unless it be the property of a rogue to be a faithful servant of Christ, and a loyal subject to the king, I am clear from any such charge. But if to be Christ's faithful servant, and the king's loyal subject, deserve such kind of punishment as this, I glory in it, and bless God my conscience is clear. I bless God, who hath accounted me worthy of these sufferings, I bless God, I am full of comfort." With a grave and cheerful countenance he added: "I was never in such a pulpit before. Little do you know what fruit God is able to produce from this dry tree. Through these holes (meaning the pillory) God can bring light to his church. My conscience, in the discharge of my ministerial duty, in admonishing my people to beware of the *creeping in of popery*, and in exhorting them unto a dutiful obedience to God and the king, was that which first occasioned my sufferings. The truth which I have preached, I am ready to seal with my own blood, and this is my crown both here and hereafter." When he was delivered out of the pillory, and again brought upon the scaffold, the executioner cut off his ears in a most barbarous manner;* during which, and while the blood was streaming in every direction, he manifested the greatest constancy and composure of mind, saying, "Be content; blessed be God, it is well;" and much more to the same purpose.

The day preceding the execution of the above sentence, it was decreed in the star-chamber, "That Henry Burton shall be sent to Lancaster castle, William Prynne to Carnarvon castle, and John Bastwick to Launceston castle, and there suffer

* His ears were pared so close, that the temporal artery being cut, the blood gushed out in torrents upon the scaffold. The sight of this awakened the compassion and cries of an immense concourse of people.—*Fuller's Church Hist.*

perpetual imprisonment, and not be allowed any use of pen, ink, or paper, or any other book than the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and certain books of devotion; and no person to have access to them." Accordingly, July 26th, Dr. Bastwick was taken from the Gatehouse; the day following, Mr. Prynne was taken from the Tower; and, July 28th, Mr. Burton was taken from the Fleet; and, their sores not being cured, were conveyed to their respective places of confinement. As they passed out of the city, vast multitudes of people came forth to witness their departure, taking their final and sorrowful farewell. As Dr. Burton passed from Smithfield to Brown's-well, a little beyond Highgate, it is said that no less than one hundred thousand persons were collected to witness his departure, and that his wife, going along in a coach, had great sums of money thrown to her as she passed along. But the liberty given to Mr. Burton and his fellow-sufferers to speak in the pillory; and the affection and compassion of the populace, were highly offensive to Laud; as appears from his letter to Wentworth, dated August 28, 1637:* "What say you to it, that Prynne and his fellows should be suffered to talk what they pleased while they stood in the pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of what they spake, and those spread in written copies about the city; and that when they went out of town to their several imprisonments, there were thousands suffered to be upon the way to take their leave, and God knows what else?—And I hear Prynne was very much welcomed, both in Coventry and West-Chester, as he passed towards Carnarvon."

While the three prisoners were on their way to their distant places of confinement, the archbishop, not content with the order sent along with them, procured a fresh one, dated July 30, 1637, which was sent after them, and by which he obtained a more severe imprisonment. In this order there appeared, however, one clause in favour of the prisoners, that, during their

* Mr. Prynne, on his way from London to Carnarvon, spent the Lord's day at Coventry; where he twice attended divine service at church, and several persons, his friends, visited him at the inn, his conductors having received no orders to the contrary. Archbishop Laud hearing of this, immediately sent a messenger to Coventry, to bring the mayor and six others up to London, and convened them before the council-table. Though most of them never spoke to Mr. Prynne, they were obliged to a continued attendance for some time, and put to two or three hundred pounds expense, when they were reprimanded and dismissed. On Mr. Prynne's arrival at Chester, Mr. Calvin Brewen and some others visited him at the inn, assisted him in the purchase of some necessary furniture for his chamber at Carnarvon, and manifested certain other acts of kindness towards him. But by the direction of Laud, pursuivants were sent with warrants to apprehend them, and bring them before the high commission at York; when some were fined three, and some five hundred pounds, and forced to enter into bonds of three hundred pounds each, not only to abide by the further appointment of that court, but to make such public acknowledgment in the cathedral of

close imprisonment, his majesty would give them allowance of their *food.* The whole order was as follows: "Whereas Henry Burton is, by the late sentence of the high court of star-chamber, to be committed to the goal, in the castle of Lancaster, and there to be kept close prisoner. Their lordship's conceiving that the said Burton cannot be in a common goal kept so close a prisoner as by the said sentence is intended; upon consideration thereof, do hereby will and require the constable or other chief officers of the said castle of Lancaster, and his deputy or either of them, to suffer the sheriff of the county of Lancaster, or the keeper of the said goal, still to use such room or chamber without the said goal, and within the said castle, as shall be most fit and convenient to keep the said Burton a close prisoner there: and that none of the other prisoners, or any other person or persons, be permitted to come into the said castle to confer or in any way to converse with the said Burton, such only excepted as are to take care of his safety, or to attend the said Burton to give him daily sustenance and relief. And the said Burton is not to be permitted to have the use of any pen, ink, or paper, or any book or books save only the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and such other *canonical books*, as he shall desire for his comfort and devotion, and which are consonant to the religion professed in the church of England. In regard of which close imprisonment, his majesty will give allowance for his diet, for all which this order shall be a sufficient warrant unto the said constable, or other chief officer of the said castle of Lancaster, and to his deputy, and the gaoler aforesaid." Though this order might seem to make some atonement for the numerous severities inflicted upon them, and be intended to blind the eyes of the people; instead of receiving his majesty's favour, not one of them, through the influence of the reverend prelates, received one penny of the royal bounty; and if their friends and keepers

Chester, and before the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, in the town-hall, as the commissioners should prescribe. Also, these pious high commissioners hearing that there were five paintings of Mr. Prynne, in the poosession of his friends in Chester, they not only prosecuted the poor painter, but sent forth two warrants, first to deface the paintings, then to burn them. Accordingly, the inoffensive paintings were apprehended and defaced, and then publickly burnt at the high-cross in Chester, in the preseuce of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens. It is curious further to observe, that the bishop of Chester, who took an active part in these barbarous proceedings, out of enmity to Mr. Prynne, called his crop-eared horse by the name of Prynne. Thus the angry and revengeful prelates, not glutted by the severe sentence obtained against Mr. Prynne, pursued and grievously oppressed those who, as he was conveyed to prison, shewed him any acts of civility. Mr. Prynne's servant was also severely prosecuted in the high commission, and sent from prison to prison, only for refusing to accuse his mas ter. The archbishop, who was leader in all these barbarous proceedings, and whom Granger considers eminent for sincere and ardent piety, seemed destitute of the feelings of humanity.

had not been more charitable than their lordships, they would soon have perished in their prisons.

Great numbers of persons, who pitied these unhappy sufferers, having resorted to the places where they were confined, the relentless archbishop, to add afflictions to the afflicted, and to deprive them of all possibility of receiving comfort or relief from their wives, relations, or friends, procured an order for their perpetual banishment and close imprisonment, in the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly. This order is much the same as that which followed them to their other places of confinement, only it contains this additional severity: "That no letters or writings be permitted to be brought to the said prisoners, nor from them, to any person or place whatsoever. And that the wives of the said Burton and Bastwick (Prynne not being married) shall not be permitted to land on any of the said islands; and if they or either of them shall be found so offending, such offender or offenders shall forthwith be committed to prison. And that in conveying the said prisoners to the said islands, no person whatsoever, besides those who have the care and charge of them, shall be permitted to speak with them." According to the above order, Mr. Burton, contrary to his sentence in the star-chamber, and without any cause shown, was removed from the castle of Lancaster to Castle-cornet in the island of Guernsey; where he arrived December 15, 1637, and was shut up in a low, narrow, dark room, almost suffocated for want of air, and no one allowed to see or speak to him. Dr. Bastwick was also removed from the castle of Launceston to the castle on the island of Scilly; and Mr. Prynne from Carnarvon to the castle of Montorguiel in Jersey, where they were shut up close prisoners.

These oppressive and illegal proceedings, however gratifying they might be to the spirit of Archbishop Laud, will rouse the pity and indignation of every generous and pious mind. The learned Mosheim, in allusion to these shocking severities, observes, that a violent spirit of animosity and persecution discovered itself through the whole of Laud's ecclesiastical administration. This haughty prelate executed the plans of his royal master, and fulfilled the views of his own ambition, without using those mild and moderate methods, that prudence employs to make unpopular schemes go down. He carried things with a high hand. When he found the laws opposing his views, he treated them with contempt, and violated them without hesitation. He loaded the puritans with injuries and vexations, and aimed at nothing less than their total extinction."

The three prisoners remained in the above remote islands, under most severe usage, till the year 1640. During this period,

Mrs. Burton and Mrs. Bastwick, as widows forcibly divorced from their husbands, often petitioned his majesty, and the lords of the council, for liberty to visit them, or that they might reside on those islands where they were imprisoned, or that they might be shut up in close prison with them. But, by the sovereign power and influence of Laud, their petitions were all rejected. Though the archbishop could never be prevailed on to forgive the three sufferers, he said, "He humbly beseeched GOD *to forgive* them." One of the prisoners, however, obtained some mitigation of his afflictions. For, upon the petition of Sir Thomas Jermin, governor of Jersey, being presented to the king, in behalf of Mr. Prynne, he was allowed to attend divine service, and receive the sacrament in the castle, and to walk with his keeper in the gardens. But as soon as the archbishop heard of the royal indulgence, he fell into a violent rage, and sent a messenger for one Mr. Hungerford, who had been employed in procuring it, and convened him before the council.

In the above year, the prisoners were called home by order of the parliament. For, November 7th, Mrs. Burton and Mrs. Bastwick having presented petitions to the house of commons, in behalf of their husbands, complaining of their heavy sentence in the star-chamber, the house immediately ordered, "That their said husbands shall be forthwith sent for, in safe custody, by a warrant of the house, directed to the governors of the islands where they are prisoners, and to the captains of the castles there; that the cause of their being detained may be here certified." This warrant is dated November 7, 1640. A petition was also presented in behalf of Mr. Prynne, when the house gave a similar order for his return.

Mr. Burton and Mr. Prynne coming in the same vessel, arrived at Dartmouth on the 22d of November, where they were received and entertained with extraordinary demonstrations of affection and joy. In the whole of their journey to the metropolis, they were attended with a marvellous conflux of people, and not only their charges borne with great magnificence, but liberal presents given them. This kind of treatment they met with all the way, great numbers of people meeting them at their entrance into all the towns through which they passed, and waiting upon them some distance out, with wonderful acclamations of joy. As they approached the metropolis, the road betwixt Brentford and London was so full of coaches, horsemen, and persons on foot, come to meet them, and congratulate them on their safe arrival, that it was with difficulty they could ride one mile an hour. As they entered London, there was so immense a concourse of people, that they were nearly three hours in passing from Charing-cross to their lodgings in the city. The nu-

merous crowds who escorted them into the city, in token of their great joy, carried lighted torches before them, strewed the road with herbs and flowers, put rosemary and bays in their hats, and, as they went along, with loud acclamations for their deliverance, shouted, *Welcome home, welcome home! God bless you, God bless you: God be thanked for your return.*

On November 30th, being two days after his arrival in London, Mr. Burton appeared before the house of commons, and, December 5th, presented his petition to the house, entitled, "The humble Petition of Henry Burton, late Exile, and close Prisoner in Castle-cornet, in the Isle of Guernsey." In this petition he gives a sketch of his numerous and painful sufferings, and concludes by recommending his case to their impartial consideration. On the presentation of the petition, with many others of a similar kind, the house appointed a committee for their examination; and on the 12th of March following, Mr. Rigby delivered their report to the house, when the house passed the following resolutions:

1. "That the four commissioners, Dr. Duck, Dr. Worral, Dr. Sams, and Dr. Wood, proceeded unjustly and illegally in suspending Mr. Burton from his office and benefice, for not appearing upon the summons of the first process.

2. "That the breaking up Mr. Burton's house, and arresting his person without any cause shewed, and before any suit depended against him in the star-chamber, and his close imprisonment thereupon, are against the law and the liberty of the subject.

3. "That John Wragg hath offended in searching and seizing the books and papers of Mr. Burton, by colour of a general warrant dormant from the high commissioners; and that the said warrant is against law and the liberty of the subject; and that sergeant Dendy and alderman Abel have offended in breaking open the house of Mr. Burton, and ought respectively to make him reparation for the same.

4. "That Mr. Burton ought to have reparation and recompence for she damages sustained by the aforesaid proceedings of Dr. Duck and others, who suspended him from his office and benefice.

5. "That the warrant from the council-board, dated at Whitehall, February 2, 1637, for committing Mr. Burton close prisoner, and the commitment thereupon, is illegal, and contrary to the liberty of the subject.

6. "That the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Sir H. Vane, Sir J. Coke, and Sir Francis

Windebank, do make reparations to Mr. Burton for his damages sustained by this imprisonment."

The 24th of the same month, Mr. Burton's case being again brought before the house, it was fnrther resolved:

1. "That the sentence in the star-chamber against Mr. Burton is illegal, and without any just ground, and ought to be reversed, and he ought to be freed from the fine of £5000, and the imprisonment imposed upon him by the said sentence, and to be restored to his degrees in the university, orders in the ministry, and to his ecclesiastical benefice in Friday-street, London.

2. "That the order of the council-board for transferring Mr. Burton from the castle of Lancaster to the isle of Guernsey, and his imprisonment there, are against law and the liberty of the subject.

3. "That the said Mr. Burton ought to have reparation and recompence for the damages sustained by the said imprisonment, loss of his ears, and other evils sustained by the said unjust and illegal proceedings."

On the 20th of April, the house of commons voted Mr. Burton to receive *six thousand* pounds for his damages sustained; but the confusions of the times prevented the payment of the money. And by an order of the house, dated June 8, 1641, he was restored to his former ministry and benefice in Friday-street. Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick also presented their petitions to the house, when their cases were taken into consideration, and the house passed similar resolutions in their favour.*

On Mr. Burton's restoration, he formed a church after the model of the Independents; and he appears to have greatly prospered in his public ministry. Wood represents him as severe in the exercise of church discipline; that he would admit none to the Lord's supper besides members of his own church, or any to baptism besides the children of such; that he challenged

* Mr. Prynne was afterwards chosen member of the long parliament. He was a man of a courageous spirit, and boldly stepped forwards to correct every enormity in church and state. Wood supposes that he wrote a sheet for every day of his life, computing from the time of his arrival to man's estate to the day of his death. He says, "His custom was, when he studied, to put on a long quilted cap, which came an inch over his eyes, serving as an umbrella to defend them from too much light; and seldom eating a dinner, would every three hours, or more, be mouncbing a roll of bread, and now and then refresh his exhausted spirits with ale." This voluminous writer was author of about *two hundred* books, which he gave, in forty volumes folio and quarto, to the public library of Lincoln's-inn. On the restoration of Charles II., some one asked the king what must be done with Prynne, to make him quiet. "Why, (said his majesty) let him amuse himself with writing against the catholics, and in poring over the records of the Tower." To enable him to do the latter, Charles made him keeper of the records of the Tower, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year. He died October 24, 1669.—*Wood's Athenæ Oxon.*

a power of examination into the lives and conversation of members, casting out whom he pleased, and not admitting them till they gave satisfaction to the church; and that he would not administer the Lord's supper at *Easter*. But this author further observes, that towards the close of his life, he became more moderate; and he lived till after the beheading of his old master, King Charles I. Herein, however, he is mistaken; for Mr. Burton was buried January 7, 1647, aged sixty-eight years.

Thomas Wilson, A.M. was born at Catterly, in Cumberland, in the year 1601, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge; where he was greatly admired for his indefatigable industry, and great progress in useful learning. Upon his leaving the university, he taught school for some time at Chartwood in Surrey; then entered into the ministry at Capel, in the same county. Here, by his judicious preaching and holy example, he directed the people in the way to eternal life. Though he received little or nothing for his pains, he was not the less faithful and laborious in promoting the welfare of souls, and was greatly beloved by his people. His great popularity and usefulness soon awakened the envy of profane sinners, and several neighbouring ministers; but he went on undismayed, the Lord blessing his labours.

Notwithstanding his labours and usefulness, he was at length silenced for refusing to read the Book of Sports. In the month of April, 1634, he was inhibited by Archbishop Laud's vicar-general, from part of his public ministerial exercises. But, upon the publication of the Book of Sports, he refused to read it, when the archbishop sent for him to Lambeth; and, April 29, 1635, no less than *fourteen* charges were exhibited against him, to each of which he gave his answer, May 28th following. The substance of these articles, together with Mr. Wilson's answer, was as follows:

1. That canonical obedience is due by your oath, taken at your institution.

Answer. It is true, as I understand the oath, it is according to the canons of the church of England.

2. That a minister must have a popular election, as necessary to hold his place.

Ans. I never held such an opinion, nor ever spoke it, privately or publickly.

3. That there is little comfort for a minister instituted and inducted, without the approbation of the people.

Ans. I know and believe the contrary.

4. You have held conventicles in your house, and in other houses in the town of Otham, within these two years, and used exercises of religion by law prohibited.

Ans. I deny that I have holden conventicles, and used exercises of religion by law prohibited.

5. Within these four years you have collected in private houses, or caused to be collected, forty or fifty persons, and to them repeated sermons, expounded scripture, made tedious extemporary prayers, full of tautologies, and delivered dangerous doctrine, to the perverting and corrupting of his majesty's subjects.

Ans. I protest against such doctrine, and any such effect. I also deny that I collected, or caused to be collected, any such persons.

6. You refused to read the King's Declaration for Sports on Sundays, and spoke disdainfully to the apparitor and officer of the court.

Ans. I said to the apparitor, "Remember the sabbath-day to keep it holy;" and I said no more. I refused to read the book, not out of contempt of any authority, being commanded by no law. The king's majesty doth not in the book command or appoint the minister to read it, nor it to be read, but published. And seeing there is no penalty threatened, nor authority given to any one to question those who refuse to read it, my refusal to read it was upon sufficient grounds of law and conscience; which, for the satisfaction of this high court, and to clear myself from contempt, I shall briefly express myself thus: His majesty's express pleasure is, that the laws of the realm, and the canons of the church, be observed in all places of the kingdom; and therefore at Otham in Kent: but this book, as I conceive, is contrary to both.—It is contrary to the statute laws.—It is contrary to the ecclesiastical laws.—It is contrary to the scriptures.—It is contrary to the councils.—It is contrary to divines, ancient and modern.—It is contrary to reason.

7. In 1633, when the commission was granted for repairing St. Paul's, you said, to build sumptuous temples is to justify antichrist.

Ans. I deny this altogether.

8. In 1634, you bade the people, in scorn and derision, to take heed of dealing with high priest's servants.

Ans. I deny both the time and the words.

9. At Boxley, June 29, 1632, you said, No man can have a broken heart, who hath two steeples; meaning two benefices, alleging Acts xx. 20.

Ans. I never spake such words. But at the funeral of a grave and learned minister, I entreated the ministers present to prepare to give an account of their lives and livings, shewing the vanity of those who plead for pluralities, saying, "That if a man's heart were broken, it would not be with the weight of

three churches;" and herein I followed no new opinion, but the general opinion of learned divines, both ancient and modern.

10. You have scandalized the governors and government of the church of England, as persecutors of God's faithful ministers and people.

Ans. This is not true, in the whole or in any part.

11. In April, 1633, you delivered a dangerous doctrine, even that if a subject suffer the penalty of the law from the civil magistrate, he is free from sin.

Ans. I deny the time, and words, and doctrine. I never taught, nor read, nor heard of this doctrine, till I heard this article; and I abhor it, and disclaim it as dangerous.

12. April 22, 1634, you lectured and expounded, after inhibition by the vicar-general.

Ans. This is not true. I did not preach, excepting on Lord's days and holidays; neither did I expound. Yet I had a license to expound, and was not forbidden expounding. I constantly instruct, by question and answer, in the catechism, such as come to prayers, for which I had my institution and license, and from which I never received any prohibition; nor, so far as I understand, is it any sin against God or man.

13. You are accounted an enemy to the church of England, and draw others into schism after you.

Ans. I deny the whole of this, and every part.

14. You are to promise, by your word and honour, to speak the truth.

Ans. I believe what I have confessed, and deny what I have denied in every part.

Mr. Wilson's answers, in which he declared his refusal to read the book, were no sooner given, than the archbishop replied, *I suspend you for ever from your office and benefice till you read it;* and he continued suspended for the space of four years. About the same time he was committed to Maidstone jail for non-conformity, but how long he remained in confinement does not appear. At the expiration of the above period, he was brought into the high commission court by means of the archbishop; and, to his great cost and trouble, was again prosecuted for the same crime.

Mr. Wilson, remaining under suspension, and being dissatisfied with the ministry of his successor, removed to Maidstone, where he gave private instructions among his friends. His adversaries, at the same time, traduced his character, and slandered him as a favourer of schism. Therefore, to wipe off the reproach, he addressed a letter to the parishioners of Otham, exhorting them "to fear God and honour the king, and walk in love one towards another." For the information and satisfaction of all,

this letter was read to the public congregation on the Lord's day. The news of this, however, soon reached London, when Mr. Wilson and Dr. Tuck, who had read the letter, were cited to appear before the high commission. Mr. Wilson was charged in the court with having sent a scandalous and offensive letter to Otham, to nourish schism, and to confirm the people in the dislike of government; upon which he acknowledged his writing a letter, but denied its evil tendency, saying, "I know that it was to exhort the people to fear God and the king, and to meddle not with those that are given to change; to walk in faith and love, and to call upon God: but I utterly deny all occasion of derogating from the church of England, or confirmation of any in a dislike of the government, and protest against all aspersions and imputations of schism or scandal: neither did I direct any one to read it, nor intended or desired it should be read in the church." Notwithstauding all they could alledge in their own defence, they were enforced to continue their attendance no less than *three* years, to their great cost and trouble.

In the year 1639, the Scots having entered England, and a parliament being called, Laud took off Mr. Wilson's suspension. But his troubles and sufferings were not ended; for, September 30, 1640, he was cited to appear before the archbishop's visitors at Feversham, together with other ministers in Kent, to answer for not reading the prayer against the Scots. Upon their appearance, Mr. Edward Bright, being called first, was asked whether he had read the prayer; and when he said he had not, the archdeacon instantly suspended him from office and benefice, without admonition, or even giving him the least time to consider of it. Mr. Wilson, who witnessed this rash proceeding, was next called. When he was asked whether he had read the prayer, he answered in the negative; "because, (said he) in the rubrick of the Common Prayer, it is enjoined that no prayer shall be publickly read excepting those which are contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and that prayer against the Scots is not." This unexpected answer so confounded the archdeacon that he did not know what to say. It cooled his fury, and caused him to proceed more deliberately with Mr. Wilson than he had done with Mr. Bright. He gave him fourteen days to consider of it, and then deliver his answer at Canterbury.

About the same time a warrant was issued from the lords of the council, among whom were Archbishop Laud and the Bishop of London, to apprehend Mr. Wilson. With this warrant a pursuivant was sent to bring him to London. It does not appear for what crime this prosecution was designed; yet no doubt it was the sin of non-conformity. The pursuivant, having received his warrant, hastened without delay to Otham; where,

though he heard Mr. Wilson preach, and was afterwards in the same room with him in his own house, he let him slip out of his hands. Mr. Wilson, suspecting him as soon as he entered the room, retired and hid himself, and so escaped the snare. The pursuivant was enraged at his loss, and said he had been employed in this service *thirty-six* years, and he had never been served so before. Mr. Wilson, having escaped the snare, withdrew from the storm till the meeting of the long parliament, when he went to London, and presented his case and petition to the house of commons. The house appointed a committee to take his case into consideration; and, November 30, 1640, Mr. Rouse, who was one of this committee, reported to the house, "That Mr. Wilson had been suspended four years from his living, worth sixty pounds a year, only for not reading the Book of Recreations on the Lord's day; that the archbishop himself had suspended him; and that for three years he had attended upon the high commission." The house therefore resolved, "That Mr. Wilson had just cause of complaint; and that there was just cause for the house to afford him relief." Upon the presentation of his petition, Sir Edward Deering, one of the members for Kent, said, "Mr. Wilson, your petitioner, is as orthodox in doctrine, as laborious in preaching, and as unblemished in his life, as any minister we have. He is now separated from his flock, to both their griefs: for it is not with him as with many others, who are glad to set a pursuivant on work, that they may have an excuse to be out of the pulpit; it is his delight to preach." Sir Edward further observes of Mr. Wilson, "He is now a sufferer, as all good men are, under the general obloquy of a puritan. The pursuivant watches his door, and divides him and his cure asunder, to both their griefs. About a week since, (he adds) I went to Lambeth, to move that great bishop (too great indeed) to take this danger from off this minister, and to recall the pursuivant. And I did undertake for Mr. Wilson, that he should answer his accusers in any of the king's courts at Westminster. The bishop made me answer, 'I am sure that he will not be absent from his cure a twelvemonth together.'"

Upon the above resolution of the house, he was released from all his troubles, when he returned to his charge and wonted labours at Otham. In the year 1643, he was nominated one of the assembly of divines; and, though at so great a distance, he constantly attended. In the assembly he was much esteemed for his meek and humble deportment, and his grave and judicious counsels. Having continued some time at Otham, he removed to Maidstone, where he remained to the day of his death. Here his first care was to promote the reformation of the church, and

to administer the sacraments, according to his views of the word of God. To this end he preached upon the necessity of observing scriptural discipline, and the qualifications necessary to church-fellowship. At first he met with considerable opposition, but by prudence and perseverance things were brought to a favourable issue.

Mr. Wilson was indefatigable in his attendance upon his numerous duties, and usually observed the following method: he protracted his studies on Saturdays nearly till midnight, and rose by two or three o'clock on a sabbath morning, being much displeased if he was later. About seven he came out of his study, and called his family together, when he read and expounded a portion of scripture, requiring those present to give some account of the exposition; then sung a psalm, and concluded with a prayer. At nine o'clock he went to church, and entered upon public worship by singing, then prayed for a blessing, and expounded out of the Old Testament about an hour; then, besides singing and prayer, he preached an hour, and concluded. Then, going home, he invariably prayed with his family before dinner. In the afternoon he observed the same method as in the morning, only his exposition was upon some part of the New Testament. The public services of the day being ended, he called his family together, when many neighbours attended; then they repeated the sermons and expositions, sung a psalm, and concluded with prayer. After this he usually went to a friend's house in the town, where many attended, and did the same. He administered the Lord's supper regularly once a month, delivered weekly lectures, attended meetings for religious conference, and was incessant in catechizing. He did the Lord's work faithfully, and found his reward in the labour. Some, indeed, thought he laboured too much, and that he ought to have spared himself; but he was of a contrary opinion, being persuaded that God makes no difference betwixt an *idle* and an *evil* servant. Hence, when his friends attempted to dissuade him from so intense an application, he was ever deaf to their counsel, saying, "Would you have my Lord, when he cometh, to find me idle?"

He was always exact in setting a good example before his children and servants, knowing them to be much influenced by the deportment of superiors. What he preached to them on the sabbath, he practised before them all the week; and "in all things he shewed himself a pattern of good works." He was a strict observer of the sabbath, and eminently successful in promoting the same among his people. This was the happy fruit of his labours at Maidstone, as well as at other places. One of the judges taking notice of this at the assize, publickly declared,

that, in all his circuit, there was no town where the Lord's day was so strictly observed. Mr. Wilson was of a courageous spirit, and feared no obstacles in the path of duty. He feared God, and none else; therefore, when trials came upon him, he said, with Luther, "I had rather fall with Christ than reign with Cæsar." He shewed his courage in reproving sin. If men were bold in sinning, he was bold in reproving them, even without respect of persons.

William Erbery, A. B.—This person was born at Roath-Dagfield, in Glamorganshire, in the year 1604, and educated in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he entered into the ministerial office, retired into Wales, and became vicar of St. Mary's in Cardiff. Wood says that he was always schismatically inclined, that he preached in conventicles, and that, for refusing to read the king's declaration for sports on the Lord's day, he was brought several times into the high commission court at Lambeth, where he suffered for his obstinacy. The Bishop of Landaff, visiting his diocese in the year 1634, pronounced Mr. Erbery a schismatical and dangerous preacher; and, for disobeying his majesty's instructions, he gave him judicial admonition, and threatened to proceed further against him if he did not submit. In 1636, his lordship complained of the slow prosecution against him, and observes, that "this made him persist in his by-ways, and his followers judge him faultless." Though the prosecution was slow, it was sure. It was committed into the hands of proper persons, and success was certain. Therefore, in the year 1638, Mr. Erbery was forced to resign his vicarage, and he left the diocese in peace.

Being thus deprived of his living, and driven from his flock, he most probable went from place to place through the country, and preached as he could obtain an opportunity, as did his brethren, Messrs. Wroth, Cradock, and Powell. In the year 1640, says Wood, he shewed himself openly, preached against the bishops and ceremonies, and made early motions towards independency. Mr. Edwards, with his usual scurrility, gives the following account of him: "In the beginning of the parliament, he was an independent, but by degrees is fallen to many gross errors, holding general redemption, &c. and is now a seeker, and I know not what. This man was a chaplain in the Earl of Essex's army a great while, and there did broach many antinomian doctrines, and other dangerous errors: but having left the army a good while since, he was about London, and did vent his opinions here. About last spring he betook himself to the Isle of Ely for his ordinary residence, from whence he takes his progress into one county or another in private houses, venting his opinions amongst well-affected people, under the habit of

holiness. In July last he was at Bury, where he exercised in private, some forty persons being present, and declared himself for general redemption; that no man was punished for Adam's sin; that Christ died for all; and that the guilt of Adam's sin should be imputed to no man. He said also, that within a while God would raise up apostolical men, who should be extraordinary to preach the gospel; and after that shall be the fall of Rome. He spake against gathering churches, the anabaptists' re-baptizing, and said men ought to wait for the coming of the Spirit, as the apostles did. 'Look, as in the wilderness they had honey and manna, but not circumcision and the passover till they came into Canaan; so now we may have many sweet things, conference and prayer, but not a ministry and sacraments. And then, after the fall of Rome, there shall be new heavens and a new earth: there shall be new Jerusalem; and then shall the church be one, one street in that city, and no more.'"

After the surrender of Oxford in 1646, Mr. Erbery, still a chaplain in the parliament's army, was sent thither; where, says Wood, "he kept his conventicles in a house opposite to Merton college church, and used all the means in his power in opposing the doctrine of the predestinarian ministers, who were sent by the parliament to preach the scholars into obedience." He was certainly held in high favour and esteem among the soldiers, but is said to have envied the reputation of the presbyterians. While he was at Oxford he opposed them in several public disputations. At one time the subject of debate was, "Whether the ministry of the church ought to be entrusted to a select number of persons?" In the conclusion, Mr. Erbery and his party are said to have put the presbyterian disputants under the same difficulty as our Lord did the unbelieving Jews, by his question about John's baptism. For, demanding of them, "whence they had their orders," they durst not say, "from the bishops," whom both sides confessed to be antichristian; nor could they deny it, as they had all been episcopally ordained; so the shout went in favour of Erbery's party, and the meeting was dissolved, to the great disturbance of the presbyterian disputants.

Upon Mr. Erbery's departure from Oxford, says Wood, "he went to London, where he vented his blasphemies in several places, especially in his conventicle at Christ-church within Newgate, where those of his opinion met once a week. He was at length brought before the committee of plundered ministers at Westminster; when, to the admiration of those who had heard his blasphemies, he began to make a solemn profession of his faith in orthodox language: but the chairman took him up, and commanded him silence, saying, 'We know your tricks well enough.' To say the truth, (adds our author,) he had language

at command, and could dissemble for matter of profit, or to avoid danger: and it was well known he was a mere canter." This account, from the bigotted historian, is extremely partial and incorrect, as appears from a particular narrative published by Mr. Erbery himself, in which he denies many of the charges alleged against him, and acquits himself of others. The piece is entitled, "The Honest Heritique; or, Orthodox Blasphemer, accused of Heresie and Blasphemie, but cleared of both by the judgment of God, and of good Men, at a Committee for plundered Ministers of the Parliament, March 9th, 1652: With a double Answer to Articles charged against him; whereupon he was freed from his prison, and liberty granted by the Lord to preach again." He died in the month of April, 1654, aged 50 years.

John James.—This unfortunate man was minister to a baptist congregation which assembled in Bulstake-alley, Whitechapel, London, observing the seventh day as the sabbath. October 19, 1661, being assembled for public worship, with the doors of their meeting-house open, they were interrupted by Justice Chard and Wood the headborough, as Mr. James was preaching, whom they commanded in the king's name to be silent and come down, charging him with treason against his majesty. As Mr. James proceeded in his discourse without noticing their summons, the headborough approached him, and commanded him again to come down, or he would pull him down. The disturbance then became so great that he could not proceed, but told the headborough he would not come down except he was pulled down; upon which he pulled him down and dragged him away. Mr. James was charged by one Tipler, a man of base character, with uttering certain treasonable words in his sermon. The men and the women who were at the meeting were carried at the same time, by sevens, before four justices, then sitting at the Half-moon tavern; to whom they tendered the oath of allegiance, and committed those who refused, some to Newgate, and some to other prisons.

Afterwards the justices assembled in the meeting-house, and sent for Mr. James. In the mean time the lieutenant of the Tower, pulling a paper out of his pocket, said, he would inform them what doctrine had that day been preached in that place. Upon the reading of this paper, certain women belonging to the meeting, and still detained, were asked how they could hear such things delivered; to which they, in the fear of God, unanimously replied, "That they never heard such words, as they should answer it before the Lord, and they durst not lie." Nevertheless, upon the evidence of this paper, taken from the mouth of Tipler, the prosecution of Mr. James was founded. When

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he was brought before the justices he underwent an examination; and among other questions put to him were the following: When the lieutenant asked him whether he had not been before him before, he answered, that he had. "And, (said the lieutenant,) were you not civilly used?" "Yes, and I thank you for your civility." "And were you not counselled, (said the lieutenant,) to take heed in future?" "Yes, I have taken heed, so far as I could with a good conscience." Upon this, the lieutenant said, "You shall *stretch* for it; and if you be not hanged, I will be hanged for you." To which Mr. James meekly replied, "I am not careful in that matter; you can do no more than the Lord shall permit you to do." Then said the lieutenant, "I think you are not careful; for you have a mind to be hanged, as some of your holy brethren have before you." Mr. James being asked whether he owned the *fifth kingdom*, and signifying in the affirmative, they laughed at him, and said, *now they had it from his own mouth.* He was also charged with having learned to sound a trumpet, in order to a rising with Venner's party; when he said, there was a friend of his who lodged in his house, and who, designing to go to sea, and wishing to learn the sound, desired that he might have liberty to be taught in his house: but he never learned himself, neither was he at all concerned in that *rising*, judging it to be a *rash act.* The lieutenant of the Tower then called in Captain Hodgskin, who commanded the party of soldiers standing at the door, and said, "Take this man, and be careful of him, and commit him close prisoner to Newgate," and gave him a warrant for that purpose.

November 14th, Mr. James was brought to the bar in the King's-bench, Westminster, and was indicted, 1. "For compassing and imagining the king's death.—2. For endeavouring to levy war against the king.—3. For endeavouring a change of government."

The indictment being read, and Mr. James required to plead guilty or not guilty, he desired a copy of his charge, and time to consider of it; pleading, that he humbly conceived it to be his privilege as an Englishman, and till then he was unable to plead one way or the other. He alleged, that Chief Justice Cook and Judge Heath had declared it good law, and that the latter gave John Lilburn a copy of his charge, being arraigned for high treason. His request, however, was peremptorily denied; and he was told, that if he would not plead, they would proceed against him for contempt, and consider him as mute. Mr. James, seeing he was over-ruled, pleaded *Not guilty* either in *matter* or *form.* Upon this he was sent to the King's-bench prison in Southwark, where he remained till November 19th, when he was again brought to the bar.

During this interval, Mr. James received information from a person of respectability, that there was a jury picked on purpose to take away his life; and that if he did not except against them, or most of them, he was a dead man. Upon his appearance at the bar at Westminster before four judges, and still pleading *not guilty*, four witnesses were produced against him. John Tipler, the first witness, said, that he was, at the time mentioned in the indictment, in a yard adjoining the meeting-house, and, through a window, saw Mr. James preaching, and heard him repeat those words mentioned in the indictment. To this evidence Mr. James excepted, that it was difficult to swear that he was the person, when the witness was not in the place, and only saw him through the window, which might intercept the light. The second witness was Justice Chard, who said he could declare nothing of the words spoken, only he found Mr. James preaching in the place alleged in the indictment, and pulled him out of the pulpit. The next witness was a Yorkshireman, whose name does not appear, who said he was at Tipler's house, and heard one say, "That the Lord had a great work to do for his people, and that they were the people who must do it." The judge asked him, if he heard nothing concerning the king's cup of iniquity, and he answered No. When he was asked whether the prisoner at the bar was the man, he said he could not say that he was. The last witness was one Bernard Osburn, who said he heard Mr. James say, "That King Charles was a blood-thirsty, tyrannical king, and that the nobles of England were blood-thirsty. That he had drunk pretty deep of the blood of the saints already, in that he had shed their blood twelve months ago at Charing-cross, and the blood of the covenanters in Scotland, and that God had brought him in to that end, to fill up the measure of his iniquity, and he had filled it up more in twelve months than in many years before. That they should have power in their hands, then they should fight the Lord's battles more thoroughly. That the ruin of the king was very near." Upon this, Mr. James being allowed to call his witnesses, four were produced in court, who gave evidence, "That this Bernard Osburn confessed to them, that upon a previous examination, he had sworn against Mr. James he *knew not what:* and one of them, a person whom Osburn was about to marry, further declared, that he told her, he did not only swear he knew not what, but that he was affrighted into what he swore." Osburn repeatedly refused to swear at all; nor would he take the oath as witness against Mr. James, till he was threatened to be sent to prison for refusal, and rewards were offered him for swearing against the prisoner. Mr. James then produced four other wit-

nesses, all of whom swore, "That the words charged against him were not spoken."

After the examination of all the witnesses, Mr. James was allowed to speak for himself, but did little more than make a declaration of his own innocence. He denied the charge both in matter and form, and declared he had not any malicious thought against the king, but desired the salvation of his soul, as he did his own; that he had never dealt maliciously against him; but that what he had done, he had done in the fear of God. He denied the various particulars of the charge, that he ever spoke any such things, and therefore desired they would clear him of all such evil things. He then said, "I have but one word for the Lord, and I have done: The Lord Jesus Christ is king of nations, as well as of saints, and the government of all kingdoms of right belongs to him. 'And the seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.'" Having spoken these words, he was interrupted by Lord Chief Justice Foster, who said, "Hold, sirrah, sirrah, you think you are preaching in the conventicle in Whitechapel." Afterwards, when his judges would not allow him to speak even to the jury, he replied, "If you will not suffer me to speak to the jury, you had as good have hanged me in Bulstake-alley, before I came here, and not brought me hither to cover the matter over with the pretence of law."

The jury having brought in a verdict of *guilty*, judgment was deferred till November 22d, and he was sent back to the place of his confinement. During the interval, his wife, by the advice of some friends, endeavoured to address the king, with the view of acquainting him with her husband's innocency, and the condition of those loose persons who had falsely accused him. This she put in writing, lest she should either want an opportunity, or not have courage enough to speak to him. With some difficulty, however, she at last met the king, and acquainting him who she was, presented him with the paper. To whom his majesty held up his finger and said, "Oh! Mr. James, he is a sweet gentleman;" but following him for some further answer, the door was shut against her. Not being discouraged, she attended again next morning; and an opportunity being soon presented, she implored his majesty's answer to her request. His majesty then replied, *He is a rogue, and shall be hanged.* One of the lords, who attended him, asking her of whom she spake, the king immediately replied, "Of John James, *that rogue; he shall be hanged; yea, he shall be hanged.*"

Mr. James was brought to the bar on the above day, and being asked what he had to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he answered, that he had not much to say, only two or three scriptures he would leave with them. "As for me," said he, "do as seemeth good unto you. But know ye for certain, that if you put me to death, you shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof.—Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.—He that toucheth the Lord's people, toucheth the apple of his eye."* He then told them he had no more to say for himself; only one word for the Lord, and then he had done: "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of all the kingdoms of the world." He had no sooner spoken this, than he was silenced, and the judge immediately pronounced upon him the following sentence:—"John James, thou hast been here indicted, arraigned, and tried, as a false traitor of his majesty, his crown and dignity, and hast put thyself upon the trial of God and thy country, and the country hath found thee guilty; and therefore, John James, thou art to be carried from hence to prison, and from thence to the place of execution, and there to be hanged by the neck; and, being yet alive, to be cut down, and thy bowels to be taken out, and to be burnt before thy face, (a fire being prepared,) and thy head to be severed from thy body, and thy body to be quartered, and thy head and body to be disposed of according to the king's pleasure." This being done, Mr. James had only time to say, "Blessed be God, that him whom man hath condemned, God hath justified," and so was immediately carried to Newgate, where he was confined in a dungeon.

During his confinement in the dungeon, one of his friends visiting him, and weeping over him, he, with a smiling countenance, said, "I beseech you, let me not see any of this, for all is well. I beseech you, forbear such carriage, which will encourage the Lord's enemies. I pray you let me not see a sad countenance from any of you." To others of his friends he said, "This poor weak body has often been near the gates of death, and now the Lord chooses to take it off in such a way as this. Oh! blessed be God! let him take it." He spoke much of the goodness of God, who supported and comforted him under so great a trial; and added, "I have got the start of my brethren, and am going to the place 'where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest.' God hath delivered me from all my fears. My good Lord hath helped

* Jer. xxvi. 14, 15.—Psalm cxvi. 15.—Zech. ii. 8.

me over two of my steps, and I have only one more to get over: I am going to a place where my sins will trouble me no more." Being asked how he did, he replied, "I bless God I am well; never better in all my life. No poor creature ever dreaded this condition more than I have done. I have been so much afraid of a prison, that I have trembled to think of it, and would have fled out of the land to have escaped it; but now my fears are all gone; every cloud is blown over. I bless God, I no more fear this death, than to lie down upon this bed. Oh! how good the Lord is." At another time, being asked how he was, he answered, "Very well, I bless the Lord, never better in my life. My wife and I have had the best morning that we ever enjoyed. We have been giving up one another to the Lord; and, I bless the Lord, he hath made us as willing to part as ever we were to come together." To his friends, who urged him to petition the king for his life, he said, "I have discharged my duty and conscience in clearing myself already, and to the king I have done no wrong; therefore I will submit myself to the Lord, and rest satisfied in his good pleasure." The night before he suffered, being at supper with some of his friends, he said to them, "I sup with you to-night, but you would be glad to sup with me to-morrow night." When the messenger brought him tidings of the time of his execution, he said, "Blessed be God, that is good news."

Upon the morning of his execution, Mr. James was carried from Newgate to Tyburn on a sledge; and having leave from Mr. Sterling the sheriff, he delivered a speech of some length to the people. In this speech, after giving an account of his parentage, clearing himself of some foul aspersions, and relating his religious sentiments, he said, "I am not come here to sow sedition: the Lord knoweth I have it not in my heart. This hath not been my practice, though it be the pretended cause of bringing me hither; but the Lord knows, before whom I now stand, and with whom I shall shortly be, that I am free from those things of which I am accused; and I desire you may hear and remember, that the things charged upon me are *notoriously false*. I speak this as my last words; and the Lord, who knows all hearts, and will call all men one day to an account, knows I speak the truth, both in respect of the *manner* and *matter* of the things charged against me. I do, in the fear of the Lord, also tell you, that I bless the Lord I have not the least hard thought of those who swore against me, nor the least rising of spirit against the judge, the jury, or any other, the Lord knoweth: but have sought their pardon upon my bended knees, and I hope to do it again, if God permit."

Mr. James having finished his speech, fell upon his knees, and offered up a prayer to God at considerable length, part of which was as follows;—"Glorious and holy majesty, in whose eyes all the nations of the world are only as the drop of a bucket, or as the small dust of the balance; and therefore, O Lord, this mighty concourse of people are as nothing in thy sight. Thy eyes are open to the ways of thy people, and thy ears are open to their cries, and thou wilt one day shew thyself strong in behalf of them that fear thee. Sweet Father! blessed be thy dear and holy name, that such a poor worm as is now before thee can call thee Father, and come and take hold of thee through thy dear Son. O Lord, what am I, or what was my father's house, that thou hast brought me hitherto? This, O Lord, has been but a small thing in thy sight, but thou hast spoken thy servant's welfare, even to eternity. Dear Lord, in the audience of all this people, thy poor worm cannot but bless thee that thou didst ever call him, and wert ever pleased to engage his soul to walk in thine own paths; and, blessed be thy holy name, thy paths do not seem in the eyes of thy servant ever the worse because of this thing: but he can bless thee; he can rejoice before thee; he can say, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name.' Blessed be thy holy name, that thou hast hitherto been pleased to keep the soul of thy poor servant, and that he does not suffer as an evil doer; yea, blessed be thy name, thy poor worm can approve his heart unto thee *even now at the very giving up of the ghost, that he is not guilty.* Dear Father, thy poor worm can now with much boldness lift up his face unto thee, and is assured that he whom man hath condemned, God hath justified: and now, for thy dear name's sake, give thy poor worm leave, in integrity and godly simplicity, to beg one request at thy hands for the poor witnesses. O Lord, pardon them in that very thing they have done, and shew them as much grace as thou hast done to thy poor worm. As they have done their utmost to wash their hands in the blood of thy servant, O that thou wouldst thoroughly wash their souls in the blood of Jesus Christ. Be pleased, for thy tender mercy's sake, to deal graciously with every one, from the least to the greatest, from the first to the last, that hath had any hand against thy servant."

Having finished his prayer, and being very much exhausted, he said he had done. The hangman then said, "The Lord receive your soul." Mr. James replied, *I thank you.* A friend saying, "This is a happy day," he added, *I bless the Lord, it is indeed.* He then cried aloud, with his hands lifted up towards heaven, *Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit.*

Several remarkable judgments befel those who were active instruments in promoting his sufferings, or expressed their delight in them.

John Biddle, A. M. was born at Wotton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire, in the year 1615, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts. Here he prosecuted his studies with great assiduity and success, and became an ornament to his college. In 1641, he was chosen master of the free-school of Cript, in the city of Gloucester; where, for his excellent talents and diligence in his profession, he was highly esteemed. Here his freedom of inquiry in his academical studies was directed to the subjects of religion. His opinions differed very soon from those commonly received; and, having expressed his thoughts with much freedom, he was presently accused of heresy. He was accordingly summoned before the magistrates; to whom he presented his confession of faith.

This confession, dated May 2, 1644, proved unsatisfactory to the magistrates, who urged him to be more explicit concerning a plurality of persons in the divine essence. Accordingly about four days after, he confessed, that there were three in the divine essence commonly called persons. This appears to have given greater satisfaction.

Mr. Biddle, having made up his mind more fully upon this subject, drew up his thoughts upon a paper entitled, "Twelve Arguments, drawn out of Scripture, wherein the commonly received opinion touching the Deity of the Holy Spirit is clearly and fully refuted." This paper he shewed to one whom he supposed to be his friend, but who was ungenerous enough to betray him to the magistrates of Gloucester, and to the committee of parliament, then residing there. Upon this information, he was committed to the common gaol, December 2, 1645, being at the same time ill of a dangerous fever. The design of his imprisonment was to secure his person, till the parliament should take his case into consideration. The intolerance of this proceeding was, however, soon mitigated by the interposition of a compassionate friend, a person of eminence in Gloucester, who, by giving bail for his appearance, procured his enlargement.

About June, 1646, the famous Archbishop Usher, passing through Gloucester on his way to London, had a conference with Mr. Biddle, respecting his sentiments upon the Trinity, and endeavoured to convince him of his dangerous error. Mr. Biddle had but little to say, and was none moved by the zeal, piety, and learning of the archbishop, but continued obstinate. In about six months after Mr. Biddle was set at liberty, he was summoned to appear at Westminster, when the parliament appointed a committee, to whom the consideration of his cause

was referred. However, at the distance of sixteen months from his first imprisonment, being wearied by tedious and expensive delays, he wrote a letter to Sir Henry Vane, a member of the committee, requesting him either to procure his discharge, or to report his case to the house of commons. This letter, dated April 1, 1647, answered the end proposed. Sir Henry became a friend to Mr. Biddle, and reported his case to the house; but the result was not favourable to Mr. Biddle's comfort and liberty. Instead of obtaining his release, the house committed him to the custody of one of its officers, and he remained under this restraint five years. In the mean time the matter was referred to the assembly of divines, before some of whom, it is said, he often appeared, and gave them in writing, his "Twelve Arguments."

The answers which he received on these occasions not producing sufficient conviction in his mind, he was induced, during this year, to print this tract, with the above title. The piece was no sooner published than its author was summoned to appear at the bar of the house of commons, when he owned the book, and the sentiments therein contained, to be his. Upon this, he was sent back to prison; and by an order from the house, dated September 6, 1647, the book was appointed to be called in and burnt by the common hangman, and the author to be examined by the committee of plundered ministers. Accordingly, he was examined, and the book was burnt, on the eighth of the same month.

In the year 1648 Mr. Biddle published "A Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity, according to Scripture." Upon the apperance of his writings, the presbyterians, having now the ecclesiastical government in their own hands, and being altogether averse to a universal toleration, solicited the interferrence of the parliament, and obtained an ordinance for the punishment of all blasphemies and heresies. Hence Mr. Biddle's life was in danger. But the act was directed to so many objects, and so various, and meeting with considerable opposition from the army; and because there was a dissention in the parliament itself, it lay unregarded. Though the force of this severe ordinance remained dormant, Mr. Biddle suffered, for several years, the miseries of a prison. His keeper, however, at length, allowed him more liberty, and permitted him, upon security being given, even to go into Staffordshire. Here the oppressions he had suffered were, is some degree, counterbalanced by the patronage and kindness of a justice of the peace, who received him into his house, courteously entertained him, made him his chaplain, and appointed him preacher in one of the churches in that county, and, at his death, left him a legacy.

Mr. Biddle was not long permitted to enjoy the comfort of this friendly asylum. Sir John Bradshaw, president of the council of state, being informed of his retreat, issued orders for him to be recalled, and more strictly confined. In this confinement he continued in prison till February, 1651; and, during the whole of his seven year's imprisonment, no divine, it is said, except Mr. Peter Gunning, afterwards bishop of Ely, ever paid him a visit, not even to attempt to convince him of his errors. In addition to his long confinement in prison, he was reduced to great poverty and want. After having endured much suffering for want of the comforts and necessaries of life, a door was unexpectedly opened for providing him a comfortable supply. A printer in London, being about to publish a Greek version of the Old Testament, Mr. Biddle, having an exact knowledge of that language, was employed in correcting the press, by which means he obtained a comfortable subsistence.

In the year 1651, such public measures were taken as proved favourable to Mr. Biddle, and he again obtained his release. He improved his liberty by meeting his friends in London, every Lord's day, for the purpose of expounding the Scriptures, and discoursing upon them. In 1654, Dr. Gunning, who had before visited him in prison, came to their meeting on the Lord's day, accompanied by several of his friends. His conduct soon explained his intentions; that he was not come to be a hearer of Mr. Biddle, but to confound and refute him publicly, and in the face of his own adherents. Therefore, he presently commenced a disputation with him, first concerning the Deity of the Holy Spirit; then, on the next Lord's day, concerning the Deity of Christ. His biographer informs us, "That Mr. Biddle acquitted himself with so much learning, judgment, and knowledge in the sense of the holy scriptures, that he gained much credit by the contest." The doctor, however, paid him another visit, when they had another disputation.

During this year, Mr. Biddle's life was distinguished more by the publication of "A Two-fold Catechism; the one simply called A *Scripture* Catechism, the other called A brief Scripture Catechism for *Children*," than by his public disputations with Dr. Gunning. The celebrated Dr. John Owen published an answer to the "Two-fold Catechism," entitled, "Vindiciæ Evangelicæ; or, the Mystery of the Gospel Vindicated, and Socinianism examined." Also, for this publication, he was brought to the bar of the house of commons, and, December 12th, was committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse, and forbidden the use of pen, ink, and paper, and denied the access of any visitant. On the 13th of the same month, the parliament having voted that the book contained many impious and blasphemous opinions against

the Deity of the Holy Ghost, it was called in, and burnt by the common hangman. But the protector dissolving the parliament, he obtained his liberty, May 28, 1655.

This sufferer did not, indeed, enjoy his liberty very long. For July 3d, this year, he was, by an order from Cromwell, apprehended and committed to the Compter, then to Newgate; and, at the next sessions, was tried for his life, on the ordinance against blasphemy and heresy before mentioned. At his trial, when he requested that counsel might be allowed him to plead the illegality of the indictment, and it was denied him by the judges, he gave in his exceptions, and, by much struggling, at length had counsel allowed him; but the trial was deferred to the next day. In this emergency, the principles and policy of Oliver Cromwell operated in favour of Mr. Biddle.* He saw it would be against the interest of his government to have Mr. Biddle either condemned or absolved. He, therefore, took him out of the hands of the law, and detained him in prison. The protector, at length being weary with receiving petitions for and against him, to terminate the affair, and, in some degree, meet the wishes of each party, banished Mr. Biddle to the island of Scilly, whither he was sent October 5, 1655. After he had been some time in a state of exile, Cromwell, who could by no means approve of his sentiments, allowed him a hundred crowns a year for his subsistence. This act of pure generosity, shewn to a persecuted man, reflects no small honour on his name.†

In 1658, through the continued solicitations of friends, the protector suffered a writ of habeas corpus to be granted out of the upper bench court, by which Mr. Biddle was brought back, and, nothing being laid to his charge, was by that court set at liberty. Upon his return to London, he resumed his ministerial

* The protector was an enemy to persecution. Among the capital articles on which his government was founded, was this: "That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though they differ in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession and exercise of their religion; and that all laws, statutes, and ordinances against such liberty shall be esteemed null and void."

† The name of Cromwell was formidable abroad as well as at home. This will appear from the following anecdotes: "A tumult having arisen at Nismes in France, in which some disorder had been committed by the Huguenots; and they apprehending severe proceedings upon it, sent one over with great expedition to Cromwell, who sent him back to Paris in an hour's time, with a most decisive letter to his ambassador to the court of France, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be overlooked, or to come away immediately. Cardinal Mazarin complained of this way of proceeding as too imperious, but the state of their affairs made him yield." It is also observed, that the cardinal would change his countence whenever he heard the name of Cromwell mentioned; so that it became a proverb in France, "That Mazarin was not so much afraid of the *devil* as of Oliver Cromwell."—*Burnet's History of his Time.*

exercises among his friends, and became pastor of a congregation in the city, formed on the principles of the independents in matters of discipline. Here he did not continue very long. For, upon the death of Cromwell, in about five months, and his son Richard calling a parliament consisting chiefly of presbyterians, whom of all men Mr. Biddle most dreaded, he retired privately into the country. On the dissolution of the parliament he returned to his former station. But this period of tranquillity was of very short continuance. Upon the restoration of Charles II. all dissenters from the episcopal worship were treated on the same intolerant principles. Their liberty was taken away, and their assemblies were punished as seditious. Mr. Biddle endeavoured, however, to avoid the threatening storm, by restraining himself from public to more private assemblies. Nevertheless, June 1, 1662, he was dragged from his lodgings, where he and a few of his friends were met for divine worship, and carried before Sir Richard Brown, a justice of the peace, who committed them all to prison, without admitting them to bail. Mr. Biddle was doomed for some time to a dungeon; but the recorder afterwards released them on giving security for their appearance. Accordingly, they were tried at the following sessions, when his hearers were fined in a penalty of 20 pounds a piece, and Mr. Biddle himself in 100; and they were ordered to lie in prison till their several penalties were paid. But in less than five weeks, Mr. Biddle, through the noisomeness of the place, and the want of fresh air, contracted a disease which presently cut him off. He died Sept. 22, 1662, aged forty-seven years. His life was irreproachable, and, according to Wood, there was little or nothing blame-worthy in him excepting his opinions. He was a hard student, an exact Grecian, a ready disputant, and had a prodigious memory. It is said, that he retained all the New Testament in his memory, and could repeat it *verbatim*, both in English and in Greek, as far as the fourth chapter of Revelation.

The following extract of Elliot's life, from Mather's History of New England, will be read with interest, although it is not adduced as an example of great suffering for conscience' sake, but rather as an example of piety and Christian zeal.

John Elliot was born in the year 1604, and educated at Cambridge. He continued some time in the office of a school-master, and then resolved to devote himself to the Lord in the ministry of the gospel; but he was at a loss for an opportunity. He had imbibed the principles of non-conformity, and therefore could not enter upon any stated charge on the terms required of the clergy. The ruling prelates of the Laudian faction were at this time stopping the mouths of all the learned and useful ministers in the nation, who could not in conscience observe their popish

and superstitious impositions. It appeared to young Elliot, that a conformity to these impositions, in the worship of God, was a direct violation of the second commandment. His conscience not permitting him to observe the unwarrantable ceremonies, he was not suffered to preach in any part of England. Great numbers of people were driven out of the nation by the arbitrary and cruel proceedings of the bishops; among whom was Mr. Elliot, who, in the year 1631, fled to New England. On his arrival in the new colony, he joined himself to Mr. Wilson's church at Boston, where he preached occasionally for some time. Bnt, the year following, several of his old acquaintance following him to New England, he settled with them at Roxbury, and was chosen pastor of the church, in which office he continued among them almost 60 years.

Mr. Elliot was a man of distinguished eminence. His piety was most exemplary. He lived under the habitual influence of a praying heart. He knew, by happy experience, the utility of private prayer, and was ever urgent in promoting it among others. When he was informed of any important public news, he would say, "Brethren, let us turn all this into prayer." When he paid a visit to his intimate friends, he used to say, "Come let us not have a visit without prayer. Let us pray down the blessing of heaven on your family before we go." And whenever he was in the company of ministers, he said, "Brethren, the Lord Jesus takes notice of what is said and done among his ministers. Come, let us pray before we part." He had an exceedingly high value for his Bible, was a close student of that sacred volume, and a constant and useful preacher. He lived, in a great measure, as if he were in heaven while upon the earth.

Mr. Elliot was most exemplary in the duty of mortification. It could never be said, that he sought great things for himself. This world, and all things in it, were to him just what they ought to be to a dying man. He looked upon them all as mere trifles. He always rose early in the morning, and was ever abstemious in eating and drinking. When the countenance of a minister at any time appeared to indicate too much indulgence, he thus addressed him: "Study mortification, brother; study mortification!" These pointed reproofs came from him with a becoming majesty and solemnity, and rarely gave offence.

His liberality was as a star of the first magnitude in the constellation of his excellent virtues. His bounty to public and private charities far exceeded his annual income. The poor esteemed him as their common father; and every object of distress found him to be a brother and a friend. He was constantly zealous in promoting family religion. But the loss of his wife made no common impression on his mind. They lived together, in

the enjoyment of great happiness, upwards of half a century; but, a few years before his death. he followed her remains to the grave with great lamentation and many tears. They were usually called *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth.* Their family was a Bethel. They brought up their children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. They commanded their children, and their household after them, that they should keep the way of the Lord."

Mr. Elliot was a considerable scholar, especially in his knowledge of the Hebrew. He was eminently qualified for the ministerial work. He took great care to distribute to all their portion in due season. It was food, not froth, with which he fed the souls of the people. His method of preaching was very plain, but remarkably powerful. His sermons contained much of Christ; and he constantly laboured to bring sinners to the Saviour. To young preachers he frequently said, "Pray let there be much of Christ in your ministry." And having heard a sermon which greatly savoured of Christ, he would say, "Blessed be God, that we have Christ so much and so well preached in poor New England." He was a great friend to sermons well studied, always commending those which discovered close thought and much reading. Yet he wished to perceive something more in a sermon than mere human study. His frequent complaint was, "It is a sad thing, when a sermon wants that one thing, *the Spirit of God.*"

In his views of church discipline, Mr. Elliot was a thorough puritan, but peaceable in his separation from all usurpations over men's consciences. He was a modest and humble non-conformist to the unwarrantable inventions and impositions of men; and was deeply afflicted to see that the work of reformation was opposed, particularly by the bishops, in the church of England. It was a settled principle with him, that, in promoting the reformation of churches, every thing ought to be reduced to the primitive and apostolic institution. He was persuaded that a church, according to the New Testament, "is a congregation of professed believers, with officers of divine appointment, agreeing to meet together for the celebration of divine ordinances, and their mutual edification." After the closest examination, it was his settled opinion, "that no approved writers, for the space of two hundred years after Christ, make any mention of any other organized, professing christian church, than that only which is congregational." He could not conceive how a church could arise from any other formal cause than the voluntary consent and confederation of the several parties concerned, by first giving themselves to the Lord, and then to one another.

This great man could not be satisfied with his regular ministerial exercies among his own people: his soul longed for the

conversion of the wild Indians. After much consideration, and earnest prayer for the direction and blessing of God, he entered upon the arduous work. His design was no sooner made known, than several favourable circumstances concurred to afford him encouragement. The enterprize was, indeed, laborious; but all the good people in the country rejoiced in his undertaking, and neighbouring ministers kindly supplied his pulpit while he laboured abroad. Also the Lord inclined great numbers of religious persons in England to make liberal contributions for its encouragement and support. Oliver Cromwell warmly espoused the cause, and commanded collections to be made in all the parishes throughout England for this important object. The sum collected was very considerable. For, in addition to other stock, lands were purchased to the amount of seven or eight hundred pounds a year; and a corporation was appointed to employ the rents for promoting the conversion of the Indians.

Mr. Elliot's first business was to obtain a correct acquaintance with the Indian language, a work of immense difficulty, on account of the excessive length of the words, and the little affinity with any other language. Many of the words are so prodigiously long, that one would think, says Dr. Mather, they had been growing in length ever since the confusion of Babel. But Mr. Elliot's zeal surmounted all these difficulties. He hired a native Indian, who understood English, to assist him; and after some time, by his own indefatigable pains and industry, he became a complete master of the language. He afterwards reduced it to a method, and published a grammar, entitled "The Indian Grammar." At the end of this laborious production he thus wrote: "Prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing." In addition to this grammar, he compiled two catechisms in the Indian language; and translated into that language, Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted," "The Practice of Piety," and the whole Bible. The translation of the Bible, a work of immense labour, he wrote with one pen. It was printed at Cambridge in New England, and was the first Bible that was ever printed in America.

When he was properly furnished for the work, he entered upon it in the year 1646. Having called together a number of the Indians, at a fixed time and place, he paid them a visit, accompanied by several of his friends. After offering up fervent prayers to God, he preached to them about a quarter of an hour, from Ezek. xxxvii. 9, 10, "That by prophesying to the wind, the wind came, and the dry bones lived." He introduced into his sermon a short account of the principal articles of the Christian faith, and applied the whole to the Indians before him. Having finished his discourse, he inquired whether they under-

stood him; when they said they understood all. He then desired, as was his usual method afterwards, that they would ask him whatever questions they pleased. These questions generally referred to the sermon they had heard, and discovered what advantage they had derived.

It is almost incredible what hardships he endured in the prosecution of this great work; how many wearisome days and nights went over his head; how many tiresome journies he travelled; and how many terrible dangers he encountered. Some idea of the trials he endured, and of the supports he experienced, may be gathered from the following extract of his letter to Governor Winslow:—"I have not been dry, night nor day, (says he) from the third day of the week to the sixth, but so travelled; and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps. I have considered those words: *Endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.*"

These labours of love were not in vain, but crowned with abundant success. The natives, who felt the impression of the word of God in their hearts, were soon distinguished by the the name of *Praying Indians.* Those who had wandered continually from place to place, soon became inclined to a fixed life. Instead of living like wild beasts in a wilderness, they formed small settlements and built themselves little towns. They also formed for themselves a civil government, in which Mr. Elliot assisted them, taking the word of God for his model. Of these little settlements Natick was the principal. So early as the year 1648, this laborious servant of Christ could see the happy fruit of his ministry; and, said he, "I could find at least twenty men and women with whom I durst freely join in church fellowship." In the year 1651 the first Indian church was formed. The natives, having abandoned polygamy, fornication, drunkenness, and sabbath-breaking, confessed their sins with tears, and professed their faith in Jesus Christ. And giving satisfactory evidence of their conversion to God, they and their children were baptized. They were then solemnly united into a church covenant, and Mr. Elliot administered to them the Lord's supper: For many years he had the unspeakable felicity of seeing the abundant fruit of his holy and arduous labours. He was so much engaged in the work of converting these wild pagans, that he was usually styled, the Apostle of the Indians.

As this eminent man of God approached towards his end, his conversation became still more holy, savoury, and divine. He was desirous of doing something for the Lord to the very last. When he looked upon his talents as too far gone for any further usefulness to the English, he desired to be employed in cate-

chizing the negroes. At the very close of life he undertook to teach a poor blind boy the knowledge of the scriptures. He discovered much concern for the poor Indians to the very last. "There is a cloud, (said he) a dark cloud upon the work of the gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant it may live when I am dead. It is a work about which I have been doing much and long. What was the word I spoke last? I recall that word, *my doings.* Alas! they have been poor and small, and lean doings; and I will be the man who will cast the first stone at them."

Mr. Elliot often told his friends that he should shortly go to heaven, and that he would carry much good news with him. He said, he would carry tidings to the old founders of New England, who were gone to glory, that church-work was still carried on in the country: that the number of churches was continually increasing: and that the churches were still as large as ever by the daily addition of those who should be saved. As the hour of his departure approached, the coming of the Lord Jesus was the principal subject of his serious contemplation. While he was thus retreating from the world, he used to say, "Come, Lord, I have been a great while ready for thy coming." He said to his friends, "Pray, pray, pray;" and, before his departure, he said to Mr. Walter, his successor, "Brother, thou art welcome to my very soul. Retire to thy study to pray for me, and give me leave to be gone." He then exclaimed, *welcome joy,* and so departed, in the year 1690, and in the eighty-sixth of his age. He had six children, all apparently converted to God, four of whom were preachers of the gospel,

Mr. Elliot was remarkable for resignation in all circumstances to the will of God. Having been one day out to sea in a boat, the boat was overset by a larger vessel, when he immediately sunk, without the most distant expectation of rising any more. In this situation he was perfectly collected, and resigned to his heavenly Father's will. He could say within himself, "The will of the Lord be done." His life, however, was spared. But the following circumstance, as closely connected with it, was rather remarkable. Many profane persons were exceedingly enraged against him for labouring among the Indians; and one of this description, hearing of his narrow escape, anxiously and profanely wished he had been drowned. But within a few days that very man was drowned in the very place where Mr. Elliot found deliverance.

He possessed the happy talent of raising profitable observations from common occurrences, with such a mixture of pleasantry and gravity, as rendered his company exceedingly desirable. Being once on a visit at the house of a merchant, and

finding only books of business on the table, and all his books of devotion on the shelf, he thus addressed him: "Sir, here is earth on the table, and heaven on the shelf; pray do not sit so much at the table, as to forget the shelf. Let not earth by any means thrust heaven out of your mind."

Persecutions of the Quakers.

THIS respectable body of Protestant Christians, took its rise in the middle of the seventeenth century; George Fox being the founder of it. He was born at Fenny Drayton, a small village in Leicestershire, about six miles from Hinckley. In this place, it is said, he preached his first sermon under a large tree, which was long held in veneration by many of his followers; but which has now disappeared. He commenced his Itinerant Ministry in 1648, and formed a society in Nottinghamshire, where he and his friends met with much opposition from the clergy: this increased his dislike of that order, to downright aversion, so that wherever he came, he was pointed in his reprobation of their conduct, as shutting the kingdom of heaven against those who would have entered. His followers imbibed his spirit, with his views, and declared perpetual hostility to the priesthood, as antichristian. The magistrates took part with the hierarchy, and the jails were soon filled in different parts of the country, with these honest well-meaning people. Persecution added importance to what was before considered as whimsical, and a general feeling of concern was excited, which proved favourable to the extension of this society. The sufferings of many were great, and their constancy worthy of the best of causes. Had they lived in more tolerant times, what may be deemed unwarrantable in their spirit and behaviour, on particular occasions, would, we doubt not, have been easily corrected by milder measures, if not wholly prevented. The Society of Friends being well known, nothing more is necessary to introduce the grand object of this work.

In the year 1662, the fury of persecution was desperate in the city of London, but its rage was not confined to that place; for it appears from a publication printed a little before, and signed by twelve respectable persons, that there were more than four thousand two hundred Quakers shut up in the prisons in England. Men and women suffered alike; and the crimes alleged against them were frequenting meetings or refusing to swear. Many of these had been grievously beaten, and their

clothes taken away from them; and some were put into such stinking dungeons, that some great men said, they would not have put their hunting dogs there. Some prisons were crowded full both of men and women, so that there was not sufficient room for all to sit down at once; and in Cheshire sixty-eight persons were in this manner locked up in a small room. By such ill treatment many grew sick, and not a few died in such gaols; for no age or sex was regarded, but even ancient people of sixty, seventy, and more years of age, were not spared: and the most of these being tradesmen, shopkeepers, and husbandmen, were thus reduced to poverty. Many times they were fain to lie in prison on cold nasty ground, without being suffered to have any straw; and often they have been kept several days without victuals.

At London, and in the suburbs, where about this time no less than five hundred Quakers imprisoned, and some in such narrow holes, that every person scarcely had convenience to lie down; and the felons were suffered to rob them of their clothes and money. Many that were not imprisoned, nevertheless suffered hardships in their religious meetings, especially that in London, known by the name of the Bull and Mouth. Here the trained bands came frequently, armed with muskets, pikes, and halberts, and conducted by a military officer, by order of the city magistracy; and rushing in, in a very furious manner, some were beaten so violently, that they lived not long after it. Among these was one John Trowel, who was so bruised, that a few days after he died. His friends therefore thought it expedient to carry the corpse into the meeting place, that it might lie there exposed for some hours, to be seen of every one. This raised commiseration among the inhabitants; for the corpse, beaten like a jelly, looked black, and was swollen in a direful manner. The coroner being come, empanelled a jury of the neighbours, and gave them in charge, according to his office, to make true enquiry upon their oaths, and to present what they found to be the cause of his death. They viewing the corpse, had a surgeon or two with them, to know their judgment concerning it: and then going together in private, at length they withdrew without giving in their verdict, only desiring the friends to bury the corpse, which was done accordingly that evening. And though the coroner and jury met divers times upon that occasion, yet they would never give in their verdict. The reasons some gave for the suspense of a verdict, were, that it being done in such a confused crowd, no particular man could be fixed upon, that did the deed. And if a verdict was given that the deceased was killed, and no particular person charged

with it, the city was liable to a great fine, at the pleasure of the king, for not apprehending the murderer. In the mean while the friends of the deceased gave public notice of the fact, and sent a letter to the said mayor, which afterwards they printed, together with a relation of this bloody business.

The Quakers, seeing they could not obtain justice, let the matter of the murdered person alone; for suffering was now their portion, and they left their cause to God. Oftentimes they were kept out of their meeting houses by the soldiers; but then they did not use to go away, but stood before the place, and so their number soon increased; and then one or other of their ministers generally stept upon a bench, or some high place, and so preached boldly. Thus he got sometimes more hearers than otherwise he might have had. But such an one sometimes was soon pulled down, which gave occasion for another to stand up and preach; and thus often four or five one after another, were taken away as innocent sheep, and carried to prison with others of their friends, it may be forty or fifty at once. This keeping of meetings in the streets became now a customary thing in England; for the Quakers, so called, were persuaded that the exercise of their public worship was a duty no man could discharge them from, and they believed that God required the performing of this service from their hands. And by thus meeting in the streets, it happened sometimes that more than one, nay, it may be three or four at a time, did preach, one in one place, and another in another, which in their meeting places they could not have done conveniently; and thus they got abundance of auditors, and among these sometimes eminent men, who passing by in their coaches, made their coachmen stop. And thus their church increased under sufferings.

Now the taking away of one preacher, and the standing up of another, became an ordinary thing in England, and lasted long after. And when there were no more men present, a woman would rise, and minister to the meeting. Nay, there were such, who in years being little more than boys, were endued with a manly zeal, and encouraged their friends to steadfastness. In the mean while many also were imprisoned, without being haled out of their meetings: for some have been apprehended for speaking on the behalf of their friends; as Rebecca Travers, who, going to the lieutenant of the Tower, desired him to have compassion on some who were imprisoned for frequenting meetings. But he grew angry at this: and when she went away, one of the keepers gave her ill language; on which she exhorting him to be good in his place, whilst it was the Lord's will he had it, he was so offended, that going back to the lieutenant,

he complained that she had spoken treason, and thereupon she was apprehended, and sent to prison. Nay, the rude soldiers were encouraged to cruelty by alderman Richard Brown, who formerly had been a major-general under Cromwell, and now behaved himself with such outrageous fierceness, that even the comedians did not stick to expose him, by an allusion to his name Brown, and saying, "The devil was brown."

About the latter end of the month of May, on a first-day of the week, one captain Reeves, and some soldiers with muskets and drawn swords, came violently rushing into the Bull-and-Mouth meeting, where they pulled down him that was preaching, and presently laid hold of another, who desired Reeves to shew his order for this: to which he answered, he would not in that place; but it appeared afterwards that he could not, having no warrant. Yet he caused his soldiers to take away about forty persons, (some of whom were not at the meeting, but had been taken up in the streets,) and have them into Paul's yard, where they were kept till the public worship was ended there: and then alderman Richard Brown came into the place where the prisoners were guarded, and with great rage and fury laid hands first on a very aged person, and pulled him down twice by the brim of his hat, whereby he lost it. Then he served another in like manner, and a soldier struck this person a great blow with a pistol on his bare head: two others Brown used in the like manner, and then he sent them all to Newgate, guarded by soldiers.

The same day some soldiers came to a meeting in Tower-street, and without any warrant, took away twenty-one Quakers, and carried them to the Exchange, where they kept them some time, and then brought them before the said Richard Brown, who in a most furious manner struck some, and kicked others; which made one of the prisoners, seeing how Brown smote one with his fist on the face, and kicked him on the shin, say, "What Richard, wilt thou turn murderer? Thou didst not do so when I was a soldier under thy command at Abingdon, and thou commandedst me with others, to search people's houses for pies and roast meat, because they kept Christmas as a holy time; and we brought the persons prisoners to the guard, for observing the same." For such a precise man the said Brown was at that time, that he pretended to root out that superstitious custom; though there is reason to question, whether his heart were sincere in this respect. However, such blind zeal was unfit to convince people of superstition; and Brown well knowing that by his former carriage, he had very much disobliged those of the church of England, endeavoured now to make amends for it, by his fierce brutality against the harmless Quakers, and so to come into favour with the ecclesiastics and courtiers.

Upon a first-day of the week, in the month of June, a company of soldiers came into the Bull-and-Mouth meeting, with pikes, drawn swords, muskets, and lighted matches, as if they were going to fight; though they knew well enough they should find none there but harmless people. The first thing they did was to pull down him that preached, whom they haled out of the meeting, rejoicing as if they had obtained some great victory: then they brought him to the main guard at Paul's, and returned to the Bull-and-Mouth, where they apprehended some more, whom they also carried to Paul's. After some hours, these prisoners were carried to the house of the fore-mentioned Brown, and he committed them all to Newgate.

After this manner, the meetings of the Quakers were disturbed at that time, of which I could produce, if necessary, many more instances. Nor did the soldiers respect age, but took away out of a meeting at Mile-end, two boys, one about thirteen, and the other about sixteen; and they were brought before the lieutenant of the Tower; who, to one present, saying, he supposed they were not of the age of sixteen years, and then not punishable by the act, returned, they were old enough to be whipt; and they should be whipt out of their religion. And so he sent them to Bridewell, where their hands were put into the stocks, and so pinched for the space of two hours, that their wrists were much swollen; and this was done because they refused to work, as being persuaded they had not deserved to be treated so; they also eating nothing at the charge of the said workhouse. These lads, though pretty long in that prison, yet continued steadfast, rejoicing they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of the Lord: and they writ a letter to their friend's children, exhorting them to be faithful in bearing their testimony for the Lord, against all wickedness and unrighteousness.

A certain person who had been in a very violent and abusive manner taken to prison by the soldiers out of a meeting, because he was not willing to go, said in the court, that his refusing to go, was because they would not shew him any warrant for their apprehending him; since for ought he knew, they might be robbers or murderers, with whom he was not bound to go. But Brown, who was for violence, said to this, If they had dragged him through all the kennels in the street, they had served him right, if he would not go. This he spoke in such a furious manner, that one of the prisoners told him, "Thou hast had many warnings and visitations in the love of God, but hast slighted them; therefore beware of being sealed up in the wrath of God." Hereupon one of the gaolers came with his cane, and struck several of the prisoners so hard, that divers of them were much bruised; and it was reported by some, that Brown cried

knock him down, and the blows were so violent, that some of the spectators cried out, Murder! murder! and asked, "Will ye suffer men to be murdered in the court?" Whereupon one of the sheriffs in person came down from his seat to stop the beating. But Brown was so desperately filled with anger, that he said to the prisoners, "If any of you be killed, your blood shall be upon your own head:" and the hangman standing by with his gag in his hand, threatened the prisoners to gag any of them that should speak any thing. Thus innocence was forced to give way to violence. And once, when one at the common juridical question, guilty, or not guilty, answered, I deny I am guilty, and I can say I am not guilty; and also in Latin, *non reus sum.* Yet he was sentenced as mute, and fined accordingly, though the words he spoke, fully signified not guilty, albeit he had not expressed them in the same terms. But now they were for crossing the Quakers in every respect.

I will yet mention some instances of Brown's brutality, before I leave him. Another being demanded to answer to his indictment, guilty, or not guilty, and not presently answering, but thinking a little what to speak safely, Brown scoffingly said, We shall have a revelation by and by: To which the prisouer said, "How long will ye oppose the innocent? How long will ye persecute the righteous seed of God?" But whilst he was speaking, Brown indecently began to cry in the language of those wenches that go crying up and down the streets, "Aha, aha, Will you have any wallfleet oysters?" And, "Have you any kitchen-stuff, maids?" And when a prisoner at the bar said he could not for conscience sake forbear meeting among the people of God, Brown scurrilously returned, "Conscience,—a dog's tail."

One John Brain, being taken in the street, and not in any meeting, was brought by some soldiers before Brown; who, seeing him with his hat on, ordered him to be pulled down to the ground six or seven times, and when he was down, they beat his head against the ground, and stamped upon him; and Brown, like a madman, bade them pull off his nose; whereupon they very violently pulled him by the nose. And when he was got up, they pulled him to the ground by the hair of his head, and then by the hair pulled him up again. And when he would have spoken in his own behalf against this cruelty, Brown bade them stop his mouth. Whereupon they not only struck him on the mouth, but stopped his mouth and nose also so close, that he could not draw breath, and was like to be choaked; at which actions Brown fell a laughing, and at length sent him to gaol.

Thomas Spire being brought before Brown, he commanded his hat to be taken off; and because it was not done with such

violence as he intended, he caused it to be put upon his head again, saying, "It should not be pulled off so easily." Then he was pulled down to the ground by his hat, and pulled up again by his hair. William Hill being brought before him, he commanded his hat to be pulled off, so that his head might be bowed down: whereupon he being pulled to the ground, was plucked up again by the hair of his head. George Ableson was thus pulled five times one after another to the ground, and plucked up by his hair, and so beaten on his face, or the sides of his head, that he staggered, and bled, and for some days was under much pain.

Nicholas Blithold being brought before Brown, he took his hat with both his hands, endeavouring to pull him down to the ground; and because he fell not quite to the ground forwards, he pushed him, to throw him backwards; and then he gave him a kick on the leg, and thrust him out of doors. Thomas Lacy being brought before him, he himself gave him a blow on the face; and Isaac Merrit, John Cook, Arthur Baker, and others, were not treated much better; so that he seemed more fit to have been a hangman, than an alderman, or justice. But I grow weary of mentioning more instances of his cruelty.

We will now take a view of the persecution in Southwark. Here the Quakers' meetings were no less disturbed than in London. Several persons, having been taken from their religious meetings, were committed; and, after having been in White Lion prison about nine weeks, were brought to the bar, where Richard Onslow sat judge of the sessions. The indictment drawn up against them was as followeth.

"The jurors for our lord the king do present upon their oath, that Arthur Fisher, late of the parish of St. Olave, in the borough of Southwark, in the county of Surry, yeoman; Nathaniel Robinson, of the same, yeoman; John Chandler, of the same, yeoman; and others, being wicked, dangerous, and seditious sectaries, and disloyal persons, and above the age of sixteen years, who on the 29th day of June, in the year of the reign of our lord Charles the Second, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. the fourteenth, have obstinately refused, and every one of them hath obstinately refused, to repair unto some church or chapel, or usual place of common prayer, according to the laws and statutes of this kingdom of England, in the like case set forth and provided. To wit, on the 3d day of August, in the year of the reign of the said Charles, king of England, the fourteenth abovesaid, in the parish of St. Olave aforesaid, in the borough of Southwark aforesaid, in the county aforesaid, of themselves, did voluntarily and unlawfully join in, and were present at an

unlawful assembly, conventicle, and meeting, at the said parish of St. Olave, in the county aforesaid, under colour and pretence of the exercise of religion, against the laws and statutes of this kingdom of England, in contempt of our said lord the king that now is, his laws, and to the evil and dangerous example of all others in the like case, offending against the peace of our said lord the king that now is, his crown and dignity, and contrary to the form of the statute in this same case set forth and provided."

I have inserted this indictment, that the reader may see not only the manner of proceeding, but also with what black and heinous colours the religious meetings of those called Quakers, were represented. This indictment being read, the prisoners desired that they might be tried by the late act of parliament against conventicles. But it was answered, they might try them by what they would that was in force. Then the prisoners desired that that statute (viz. the 35th of Elizabeth) might be read. This was done but in part, and it was said to the clerk, it was enough. The prisoners said then, that that act was made in the time of ignorance, when the people were but newly stept out of popery; and they shewed also how unjustly they were dealt with. Then being required to plead guilty, or not guilty, to the indictment, some who were not very forward to answer, were haled out of the court, as taken *pro confessis;* and so sent back to prison.

In this year John Crook, who once had been a justice, was taken out of a meeting at London in John's-street, by one Miller. And he with others was brought to his trial in the said city, before the lord mayor of London, the recorder, the chief justice Forster, and other judges and justices, among whom was also Richard Brown.

J. Crook published this trial, and by that we may judge, as *ex ungue leonem*, of other trials of the Quakers.

J. Crook being brought to the sessions' house in the Old Bailey, with two of his friends, viz. Isaac Gray, doctor of physic, and John Bolton, goldsmith: one of the prisoners was called to the bar, and then asked by the

Chief Judge. What meeting was that you were at?

Prisoner. I desire to be heard, where is my accuser?

Ch. Judge. Your tongue is not your own, and you must not have liberty to speak what you list.

Pris. I speak in the presence and fear of the everlasting God, that my tongue is not my own, for it is the Lord's, and to be disposed of according to his pleasure, and not to speak my own words; and therefore I desire to be heard: I have been so long in prison—then he was interrupted by the judge.

Judge. Leave your canting; and commanded him to be taken away, which he was accordingly, by the gaoler. This was the substance of what the prisoner aforesaid spoke the first time.

C. Judge. Call John Crook to the bar; which the cryer did accordingly, he being amongst the felons.

J. C. being brought to the bar:

C. Judge. When did you take the oath of allegiance?

J. C. I desire to be heard.

C. Judge. Answer to the question, and you shall be heard.

J. C. I have been about six weeks in prison, and am I now called to accuse myself? For the answering this question in the negative, is to accuse myself, which you ought not to put me upon; for, *Nemo debet seipsum prodere.** I am an Englishman, and by the law of England I ought not to be taken, nor imprisoned, nor disseized of my freehold, nor called in question, nor put to answer, but according to the law of the land; which I challenge as my birthright, on my own behalf, and all that hear me this day. I stand here at this bar as a delinquent, and do desire that my accuser may be brought forth to accuse me for my delinquency, and then I shall answer to my charge, if any I be guilty of.

C. Judge. You are here demanded to take the oath of allegiance, and when you have done that, then you shall be heard about the other; for we have power to tender it any man.

J. C. Not to me upon this occasion, in this place; for I am brought hither as an offender already, and not to be made an offender here, or to accuse myself; for I am an Englishman, as I have said to you, and challenge the benefit of the laws of England; for by them is a better inheritance derived to me as an Englishman, than that which I received from my parents; for by the former the latter is preserved; and this is seen in the 23th chapter of Magna Charta, and the petition of right, mentioned in the third of Car. I. and in other good laws of England; and therefore I desire the benefit and observance of them: and you that are judges upon the bench, ought to be my counsel, and not my accusers, but to inform me of the benefit of those laws; and wherein I am ignorant, you ought to inform me, that I may not suffer through my own ignorance of those advantages, which the laws of England afford me as an Englishman.

Reader, I here give thee a brief account of my taking and imprisoning, that thou may the better judge what justice I had from the court aforesaid; which is as followeth.

I being in John's-street, London, about the 13th day of the Third month with some other of the people of God, to wait

* No one ought to betray himself.

upon him, as we were sat together, there came in a rude man called Miller, with a long cane in his hand, who laid violent hands upon me, with some others, beating some, commanding the constables who came in after him, but having no warrant, were not willing to meddle; but as his threatenings prevailed, they, being afraid of him, joined with him to carry several of us before justice Powel, who the next day sent us to the sessions at Hicks's Hall; where after some discourse several times with them, we manifested to them the illegality both of our commitment, and their proceedings thereupon. Yet notwithstanding, they committed me and others, and caused an indictment to be drawn against us, founded upon the late act against Quakers and others: and then remanded us to New Prison, where we continued for some days; and then removed us to Newgate, where we remained until the sessions in the Old Bailey aforesaid: whereby thou mayest understand what justice I met withal, by what went before, and now farther follows.

Ch. Judge. We sit here to do justice, and are upon our oaths, and we are to tell you what is law, and not you us: therefore; sirrah, you are too bold.

J. C. Sirrah is not a word becoming a judge; for I am no felon: neither ought you to mention the prisoner at the bar; for I stand here arraigned as for my life and liberty, and the preservation of my wife and children, and outward estate, they being now at the stake; therefore you ought to hear me to the full, what I can say in my own defence, according to law, and that in its season, as it is given me to speak: therefore I hope the court will bear with me, if I am bold to assert my liberty, as an Englishman, and as a Christian; and if I speak loud, it is my zeal for the Truth, and for the name of the Lord; and mine innocency makes me bold—

Judge. It is an evil zeal; interrupting John Crook.

J. C. No, I am bold in the name of the Lord God Almighty, the everlasting Jehovah, to assert the Truth, and stand as a witness for it: let my accuser be brought forth, and I am ready to answer any court of justice.—

Then the judge interrupted me, saying, sirrah, with some other words I do not remember? But I answered, You are not to threaten me, neither are those menaces fit for the mouth of a judge; for the safety of the prisoner stands upon the indifferency of the court: and you ought not to behave yourselves as parties, seeking all advantages against the prisoner, but not heeding any thing that may make for his clearing or advantage. The judge again interrupted me, saying,

Judge. Sirrah, you are to take the oath, and here we tender it you.

J. C. Let me see mine accuser, that I may know for what cause I have been six weeks imprisoned, and do not put me to accuse myself by asking me questions; but either let my accuser come forth, or otherwise let me be discharged by proclamation, as you ought to do—Here I was interrupted again.

Judge Twisden. We take no notice of your being here otherwise than of a straggler, or as any other person, or of the people that are here this day; for we may tender the oath to any man. And another judge spake to the like purpose.

J. C. I am here at your bar as a prisoner restrained of my liberty, and do question whether you ought in justice to tender me the oath on the account I am now brought before you, because I am supposed to be an offender; or else why have I been six weeks in prison already? Let me be cleared of my imprisonment, and then I shall answer to what is charged against me, and to the question now propounded; for I am a lover of justice with all my soul, and am well known by my neighbours, where I have lived, to keep a conscience void of offence, both towards God, and towards man.

Judge. Sirrah, leave your canting.

J. C. Is this canting, to speak the words of the scripture?

Judge. It is canting in your mouth, though they are Paul's words.

J. C. I speak the words of the scripture, and it is not canting, though I speak them; but they are words of truth and soberness in my mouth, they being witnessed by me, and fulfilled in me.

Judge. We do ask you again, whether you will take the oath of allegiance? It is but a short question, you may answer if you will.

J. C. By what law have you power to tender it? Then, after some consultation together by whispering, they called for the statute book, and turning over the leaves, they answered,

Judge. By the third of king James.

J. C. I desire that statute may be read; for I have consulted it, and do not understand that you have power by that statute to tender me the oath, being here before you in this place, upon this occasion, as a delinquent, already; and therefore I desire the judgment of the court in this case, and that the statute may be read.

Judge. Then they took the statute book, and consulted together upon it, and one said, we are the judges of this land, and do better understand our power than you do, and we do judge we may lawfully do it.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the court?

Judge. Yes.

J. C. I desire the statute to be read that empowers you to tender the oath to me upon this occasion in this place; for, *Vox audita perit, sed litera scripta manet,** therefore let me hear it read.

Judge. Hear me.

J. C. I am as willing to hear as to speak.

Judge. Then hear me: you are here required to take the oath by the court, and I will inform you what the penalty will be, in case you refuse; for your first denial shall be recorded, and then it shall be tendered to you again at the end of the sessions; and upon the second refusal you run into a premunire, which is the forfeiture of all your estate, if you have any, and imprisonment.

J. C. It is justice I stand for; let me have justice, in bringing my accuser face to face, as by law you ought to do, I standing at your bar as a delinquent; and when that is done, I will answer to what can be charged against me, as also to the question; until then, I shall give no other answer than I have already done, at least at present.

Then there was a cry in the court, take him away, which occasioned a great interruption: and J. Crook spake to this purpose, saying, Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you may come to the knowledge of his will, and do justice; and take heed of oppressing the innocent, for the Lord God of heaven and earth will assuredly plead their cause. And for my part, I desire not the hurt of one of the hairs of your heads: but let God's wisdom guide you. These words he spake at the bar, and as he was carrying away.

On the sixth day of the week, in the forenoon following, the court being set, John Crook was called to the bar.

Ch. Judge. Friend Crook, we have given you time to consider of what was said yesterday to you by the court, hoping you may have better considered of it by this time; therefore, without any more words, will you take the oath? And called to the clerk, and bid him read it.

J. C. I did not, neither do I deny allegiance, but do desire to know the cause of my so long imprisonment; for, as I said, I stand at your bar as a delinquent, and am brought hither by force, contrary to the law. Therefore, let me see my accuser, or else free me by proclamation, as I ought to be, if none can accuse me. For the law is grounded upon right reason, and whatsoever is contrary to right reason, is contrary to law: and therefore if no accuser appear, you ought to acquit me first, and then I shall answer, as I have said, if any new matter appear. Otherwise it is of force, and that our law abhors, and you ought

* Words only spoken are lost; writing remains.

not to take notice of my so being before you: for what is not legally so, is not so; and therefore I am in the condition, as if I were not before you. And therefore it cannot be supposed, in right reason, that you have now power, at this time, and in this place, legally to tender me the oath.

Judge. Read the oath to him; and so the clerk began to read.

J. C. I desire justice, according to the laws of England; for you ought first to convict me, concerning the cause of my so long imprisonment: for you are to proceed according to laws already made, and not to make laws, for you ought to be ministers of the law.

Judge. You are a saucy and an impudent fellow; will you tell us what is law, or our duties? Then said he to the clerk, read on; and when the clerk had done reading,

J. C. said, read the preface to the act; I say again, read the title and preamble to the act; for titles to laws are *claves legum*, as keys to open the law; for by their titles, laws are understood and known, as men by their faces. Then the judges would have interrupted me, but I said as followeth: if you will not hear me, nor do me justice, I must appeal to the Lord God of heaven and earth, who is judge of quick and dead; before whom we must all appear, to give an account of the deeds done in the body: for he will judge between you and me this day, whether you have done me justice or not.

These words following I spake as going from the bar, being pulled away, viz. Mind the fear of the Lord God, that you may do justice, lest you perish in his wrath. For sometimes the court cried, pull him away, and then said, bring him again: and thus they did several times, like men in confusion and disorder.

The same day, in the afternoon, silence being made, John Crook was called to the bar, before the judges and justices aforesaid: the indictment being read, the judge said,

Mr. Crook, You have heard your indictment, what say you? Are you guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. I desire to speak a few words in humility and soberness, in regard my estate and liberty lies at stake, and am like to be a precedent for many more: therefore I hope the court will not deny me right and benefit of the law, as being an Englishman. I have some reason, before I speak any thing to the indictment, to demand and tell you, that I desire to know mine accusers; I have been kept these six weeks in prison, and know not, nor have seen the faces of them.

Judge. We shall afford you the right of the law, as an Englishman. God forbid you should be denied it: but you must answer first, guilty, or not guilty, that so in your trial you may have a fair hearing and pleading. But if you go on as you do,

and will not answer guilty, or not guilty, you will run yourself into a premunire, and then you lose the benefit of the law, and expose yourself, body and estate, to great hazards; and whatever violence is offered to your person or estate, you are out of the king's protection, and lose the benefit of the law; and all this by your not answering. If you plead not guilty, you may be heard.

C. It is recorded in the statutes of the 28 Edw. 3. & 3. and 42 Edw. 3. & 3. in the words, No man is to be taken, or imprisoned, or be put to answer, without presentment before justices, or matter of record, or by due process, or writ original, according to the old law of the land: and if any thing from henceforth be done to the contrary, it shall be void in law, and holden for error. And also in the 25th of Edw. 1. 2. and the 3 Car. 1. and the 29 cap. Mag. Chart. No freeman shall be taken and imprisoned but by the law of the land: these words (the law of the land) are explained by the statute of 37 Edw. 3. 8. to be, without due process of law; and if any judgments are given contrary to Mag. Chart. they are void 25 Edw. 1. 2.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you are out of the way, and do not understand the law; though you adore the statute law so much, yet you do not understand it.

J. C. I would have you tell me the right way.

Judge. Mr. Crook, hear me: you must say, guilty, or not guilty; if you plead not guilty, you shall be heard, and know how far the law favours you. And the next thing is, there is no circumstance whatsoever that is the cause of your imprisonment, that you question, but you have, as a subject, your remedies, if you will go this way, and wave other things, and answer guilty, or not guilty; and what the law affords you, you shall have, if you do what the law requires you; or else you will lose the benefit of the law, and be out of the king's protection.

J. C. Observe how the judge would draw me into a snare: viz. By first pleading (guilty, or not guilty) and when I have done so, he and his brethren intend suddenly to put me (as an outlawed person) out of the king's protection; and how then can I have remedy for my false imprisonment? Therefore first clear me, or condemn me, from my false imprisonment, while I am in a capacity to have the benefit of the law, and not to outlaw me for an offence created by yourselves; and then, to stop my mouth, you tell me, that if I have been wronged, or false imprisoned, I may have my remedy afterwards: this is to trepan me, and contrary to both law and justice, &c.

Judge. You must plead guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. I do desire in humility and meekness to say, I shall not: I dare not betray the honesty of my cause, and the honest ones

of this nation, whose liberty I stand for, as well as my own; as I have cause to think I shall, if I plead to the present indictment, before I see the faces of my accusers; for truly, I am not satisfied in my judgment and conscience, that I ought to plead to a created offence by you, before I be first acquitted of the cause of my being brought prisoner to your bar; and therefore it sticks with me to urge this farther, viz. That I may see my accusers——Interruption.

Judge. The errantest thief may say, he is not satisfied in his conscience.

J. C. My case is not theirs, yet they have their accusers; and may I not call for mine? And therefore call for them, for you ought to do so: as Christ said to the woman, Woman, where are thine accusers? So you ought to say to me, Man, where are thine accusers?—Interrupted.

Judge. Your indictment is your accuser, and the grand jury have found you guilty, because you did not swear: what say you, Mr. Crook, are you guilty, or not guilty? If you will not answer, or what you have said, be taken for your answer, as I told you before, you lose the benefit of the law; and what I tell you, is for your good.

J. C. What is for good, I hope I shall take it so.

Judge. If you will not answer, you run yourself into a premunire; and you will lose the benefit of the law, and the king's protection, unless you plead guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. I stand as brought forcibly and violently hither: neither had I been here but by a violent action; and that you should take no notice of it, seems strange to me: and not only so, but that you should hasten me so fast into a course, that I should not be able any ways to help myself, by reason of your hasty and fast proceedings against me, to put me out of the king's protection, and the benefit of all law: was ever the like known, or heard of, in a court of justice?

Judge. Friend, this is not here in question, whether you are unjustly brought here, or not: do you question that by law, but not disable yourself to take advantage by the law: if brought by a wrong hand, you have a plea against them; but you must first answer guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. How can I help myself, when you have outlawed me? Therefore let proclamation be made in the court, that I was brought by force hither, and let me stand cleared by proclamation, as you ought to do; for you are *discernere per legem, quid sit justum,** and not to do what seems good in your own eyes—here I was interrupted again, but might have spoken justice

* To determine by law what is just.

Crook's words in Hambden's case, who said, That we who are judges speak upon our oaths, and therefore must deliver our judgments according to our consciences; and the fault will lie upon us, if it be illegal, and we deliver it for law. And further said, We that are judges must not give our judgments according to policy, or rules of state, nor conveniencies, but only according to law. These were his words, which I might have spoken: but was interrupted.

Judge. What, though no man tendered the oath to you, when you were committed, as you say, it being now tendered to you; from the time you refused it, being tendered to you by a lawful authority, you refusing, are indicted: we look not upon what you are here for, but here finding you, we tender you the oath; and you refusing it, your imprisonment is now just, and according to law.

J. C. How came I here, if you know not? I have told you it is force and violence, which our law altogether condemns: and therefore I not being legally before, am not before you; for what is not legally so, is not so; and I not being legally brought to your bar, you ought not to take notice of my being here.

Judge. No, no, you are mistaken: so you may say of all the people gazing here, they not being legally here, are not here. I tell you, a man being brought by force hither, we may tender him the oath; and if he take it not, he may be committed to prison. Authority hath given us the power, and the statute-law hath given us authority to tender the oath to any person, and so have we tendered it to you; and for your not taking it, you are indicted by the grand jury. Answer the accusation, or confute the indictment; you must do the one or the other: answer, guilty, or not guilty.

J. C. Here I was interrupted, but might have said, that the people that were spectators, beholding and hearing the trials, are not to be called gazers, as the judge terms them; because it is their liberty and privilege, as they are Englishmen, and the law of England allows the same. So that they are not to be termed gazers upon this account, but are legally in that place, to hear trials, and see justice done, and might have spoken any thing in the prisoner's defence, tending to clear up the matter in difference, and the court must have heard them or him: and this as a stander-by, or *amicus curiæ*;* so saith Cook.

J. C. The law is built upon right reason, or right reason is the law; and whatever is contrary to right reason, is contrary to law; the reason of the law, being the law itself. I am no law-

* A friend of the court.

yer, and my knowledge of it ts but little: yet I have had a love to it for that reason I have found in it, and have spent some leisure hors in the reading thereof. And the law is that which I honour, and is good in its place; many laws being just and good, not all, but, I say, a great part of them, or much of them; and it is not my intention in the least to disparage, or derogate from them.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you have been told, you must plead guilty, or not guilty, or else you run yourself into a premunire; be not your own enemy, nor be so obstinate.

J. C. I would not stand obstinately before you, neither am I so; if you understand it otherwise, it is a mistake indeed.

Judge. Will you speak to the indictment, and then you may plead? If you will not answer guilty, or not guilty, we will record it, and judgment shall go against you. Clerk, enter it.

Recorder. Mr. Crook, if you will answer, you may plead for yourself; or will you take the oath? The court takes no notice how you came hither. What say you? Will you answer? For a man may be brought out of Smithfield by head and shoulders, and the oath tendered to him, and may be committed, without taking notice how he came here.

J. C. That kind of proceeding is not only unjust, but unreasonable also. And against the laws aforesaid, which say, No man shall be taken and imprisoned, but by warrant, or due process of law: so that this speech of the recorder's, favours more of passion than justice, and cruelty, than due observance of law; for every forcible restraint of a man's liberty is an imprisonment in law. Besides, this kind of practice, to take men by force, and imprison them, and then ask them questions, the answering of which makes them guilty, is not only unrighteous in itself, but against law, and makes one evil act the ground of another; and one injury offered to one, the foundation of another; and this is my case this day—Interruption.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you must not be your own judge, we are your judges: but for our parts we will not wrong you. Will you answer guilty, or not guilty? If not, you will run yourself into a premunire unavoidably, and then you know what I told you would follow: for we take no notice how you came hither, but finding you here, we tender you the oath.

J. C. Then it seems you make the law a trap to ensnare me, or as a nose of wax, or what you please. Well! I shall leave my cause with the Lord God, who will plead for me in righteousness. But suppose I do take the oath at this time, you may call me again to-morrow, and make a new tender; or others may call me before them.

Judge. Yes, if there be new matter; or if there fall out any

emergent occasion, whereby you may minister on your part new occasion. Mr. Crook, will you swear?

J. C. If I do take it to-day, it may be tendered me again to-morrow, and so next day, *ad infinitum*, whereby a great part of my time may be spent and taken up, in taking the oath and swearing.

Ch. Judge. When you have once sworn, you may not be put upon it again, except you minister occasion on your part.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the court, that the oath once taken by me is sufficient, and ought not to be tendered a second time, without new matter ministered on my part?

Judge. Yes; you making it appear you have once taken it.

J. C. Is this the judgment of the whole court? For I would not do any thing rashly.

Judges. Yes, it is the judgment of the court; to which they all standing up, said, Yes.

J. C. Then it seems there must be some new occasion ministered by me after I have once taken it, or it ought not to be tendered to me the second time.

Judges. Yes.

J. C. Then by the judgment of this court, if I may make it appear that I have taken the oath once, and I have ministered no new matter on my part, whereby I can be justly charged with the breach of it, then it ought not to be tendered to me the second time: but I am the man that have taken it once, being a freeman of the city of London, when I was made free; witness in Guildhall, which I may produce, and no new matter appearing to you on my part; if there do, let me know it; if not, you ought not, by your own judgment, to tender me it the second time: for *de non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem ratio est.** —Interrupted by the shout of the court, when these last words might have been spoken.

Judge. Mr. Crook, you are mistaken, you must not think to surprize the court with criticisms, nor draw false conclusions from our judgments.

J. C. If this be not a natural conclusion from the judgment of the court, let right reason judge; and if you recede from your own judgments in the same breath, given even now, what justice can I expect from you? For, if you will not be just to yourselves, and your own judgments, how can I expect you should be just to me?

Judge. Mr. Crook, if you have taken it, if there be a new emergency, you are to take it again; as for instance, the king hath been out of England, and now is come in again; there be many that have taken it twenty, thirty, or forty years since, yet

* That which doth not appear, is to be judged of as that which doth not exist.

this new emergency requires it again; and although you have taken it, yet you must not make it appear before you answer guilty, or not guilty; therefore do not wrong yourself, and prejudice yourself and family: do you think that every fellow that comes hither, shall argue as you do? We have no more to do, but to know of you, whether you will answer guilty, or not guilty, or take the oath, and then you shall be freed from the indictment: if you will not plead, clerk, record it: What say you? Are you guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. Will you not stand to your own judgments? Did you not say, even now, that if I had once taken the oath, it ought not to be tendered to me the second time, except I administered new matter on my part that I have not kept it, &c. But no such matter appearing, you ought not to tender it to me the second time, by your own confession, much less to indict me for refusal.

Judge. If you will not plead, we will record it, and judgment shall be given against you; therefore say, guilty, or not guilty, or else we will record it.

J. C. Before I answer, I demand a copy of my indictment; for I have heard it affirmed by counsel learned in the law, that if I plead before I have a copy, or have made my exceptions, my exceptions afterwards against the indictment will be made void: therefore I desire a copy of the indictment.

Judge. He that said so, deserves not the name of a counsel; for the law is, you must first answer, and then you shall have a copy. Will you plead guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. If my pleading guilty, or not guilty, will not deprive me of the benefit of quashing the indictment for insufficiency, or other exceptions that I may make against it, I shall speak to it.

Judge. No, it will not. Will you answer, guilty, or not guilty. If you plead not, the indictment will be found against you: will you answer? We will stay no longer.

J. C. I am upon the point: will not my pleading deprive me of the benefit of the law? For I am tender in that respect, because it is not my own case only, but may be the case of thousands more; therefore I would do nothing that might prejudice others, or myself, as a Christian, or as an Englishman.

Judge. Understand yourself; you shall have the right done you as an Englishman; the way is to answer, guilty, or not guilty: if you plead, and find the indictment not good, you may have your remedy: answer, guilty, or not guilty?

J. C. As to the indictment, it is very large, and seems to be confused, and made up of some things true, and some things false; my answer therefore is, what is true in the indictment I will not deny, because I make conscience of what I say, and

therefore, of what is true, I confess myself guilty, but what is false, I am not guilty of.

Judge. That is not sufficient; either answer guilty, or not guilty, or judgment will be given against you.

J. C. I will speak the truth, as before the Lord, as all along I have endeavoured to do: I am not guilty of that which is false, contained in the indictment, which is the substance thereof.

Judge. No more ado; the form is nothing, guilty, or not?

J. C. I must not wrong my conscience, I am not guilty of what is false, as I said before: what is true, I am guilty of; what is not true, I am not guilty of that; which is the substance thereof, as I said before.

Recorder. It is enough, and shall serve turn. Enter that, clerk.

The seventh day of the week, called Saturday,

Silence being made, John Crook was called to the bar. The clerk of the sessions read something concerning the jury, which was empanelled on purpose; the jury being discharged who were eye-witnesses of what passed between us and the court: and this jury, were divers of them soldiers, some of whom did by violence and force pull and hale Friends out of their meetings, and some of us out of our houses; and these were of the jury by whom we were to be tried. The clerk reading the indictment,

J. C. I desire to be heard a few words, that we may have liberty till the next quarter sessions to traverse the indictment, it being long, and in Latin, and like to be a precedent: and I hope I need not press it, because I understood that you promised that we should have counsel also: the which we cannot be expected to have had the benefit of, as yet the time being so short, and we kept prisoners, that we could not go forth to advise with counsel, neither could we tell how to get them to us; we having no copy of the indictment before this morning. And because so suddenly hurried down to the sessions, we cannot reasonably be supposed to be provided, as to matter of law, to make our defence.

Judge. We have given you time enough, and you shall have no more: for we will try you at this time, therefore swear the jury.

J. C. I desire we may have justice, and that we may not be surprised in our trial; but that we may have time till the next quarter sessions, our indictment being in Latin, and so large as it is. And this is but that which is reasonable, and is the practice of other courts: for, if it be but an action above forty shillings, it is not ordinarily ended under two or three terms. And in the quarter sessions, if one be indicted for a trespass, if it be but to the value of five shillings, he shall have liberty to enter

his traverse: and, upon security given to prosecute, he shall have liberty till the next sessions, which is the ordinary practice. Which liberty we desire; and we hope it is so reasonable, it will not be denied, especially upon this occasion, we being like to be made a precedent. And courts of justice have used to be especially careful in making of precedents; for we are not provided, according to law, to make our defence at this time: and therefore if we be put upon it, it will be a surprisal.

Judge. There is no great matter of law in the case: it is only matter of fact, whether you have refused to take the oath or not; this is the point in issue: and what law can arise here?

Recorder. Mr. Crook, the keeper of the prison was spoken to, to tell you, that we intended to try you this day, and therefore ordered him that counsel might come to you if you would; and also that the clerk should give you a copy of the indictment: this is fair; therefore we will go on to swear the jury, for the matter is, whether you refuse the oath, or not? And that is the single point, and there needs neither law nor counsel in the case. And therefore we considered of it last night, when we sent you word, and did determine to try you. And therefore it is in vain to say any thing, for the court is resolved to try you now; therefore swear the jury, cryer.

J. C. I hope you will not surprise us. Then the other prisoners cried out, let us have justice, and let not the jury be sworn till we be first heard. So there was a great noise, the court being in a confusion; some crying, Take them away; others, Stay, let them alone: others saying, Go on to swear the jury; and the cryer, in this uproar and confusion, did do something as if he had done it. Then we all cried out for justice and liberty till the next sessions. The court being in a confusion, some crying one thing, and some another, which now cannot be called to mind, by reason of the great distraction that was in the court: neither what we said to them, nor they to us, the noise was so great, and the commands of the court so various to the officers; some commanding them, to take us away; others, to let us alone; others, to bring us nearer; others cried, put them into the bail-dock; others, to put them within the farthest bar where the felons used to stand; which we were forced into accordingly. And in this hurly-burly and confusion that was amongst them, some men were sworn, to testify that we refused to take the oath, which we never positively did. Other officers of the court, whom they would have sworn, refused to swear, though pressed to it by the chief justice, they desired to be excused. Then spake one of the prisoners again pretty much, but could hardly be understood, by reason of the noise in the court; but the people, to whom he spake with a loud voice, by way of

exhortation, might hear the substance of what he said, which cannot now particularly be called to mind; but it was to express the presence and love of God to himself, and to exhort others to mind his fear, that they also might be acquainted with God, &c.

Judge. Stop his mouth, executioner. Which was accordingly done.

Prisoners. Then we cried out, will you not give us leave to speak for ourselves? We except against some of the jury, as being our enemies, and some of them who by force commanded us to be pulled out of our meetings, contrary to law, and carried us to prison without warrant, or other due process of law; and shall these be our judges? We except against them.

Judge. It is too late now, you should have done it before they had been sworn jurymen. Jury, go together: that which you have to find, is whether they have refused to take the oath, or no, which hath been sworn before you that they did refuse: you need not go from the bar. And like words said the recorder and others, there being a confusion and noise in the court, many speaking together.

Prisoners. Then we cried for justice, and that we might be heard, to make our defence, before the jury gave their verdict; but the judge and recorder said, we should not be heard, crying again, stop their mouths, executioner: which was done accordingly, with a dirty cloth, and also endeavoured to have gagged me, striving to get hold of my tongue, having a gag ready in his hand for that purpose; and so we were served several times. Then I called out with a loud voice, Will you condemn us without hearing? This is to deal worse with us, than Pilate did with Christ, who, though he condemned him without a cause, yet not without hearing him speak for himself; but you deny us both.

Judge. Let Mr. Gray come to the bar. Room being made, he was conveyed to an officer in the inner bar, where he spake to the court to this purpose: I desire to know whether, according to law, and the practice of this court, myself and my fellow prisoners, may have liberty to put in bail, to prosecute our traverse at the next sessions?

Court. No, we will try you presently.

Judge. Stop their mouths, executioner: and this was the cry of many upon the bench, they being still in a continued confusion; some crying to the jury, Give in your verdict, for we will not hear them; with other words which could not be heard for the noise, the court being in confusion.

J. C. You might as well have caused us to have been murdered before we came hither, as to bring us hither under pretence to try us, and not give us leave to make our defence; you

had as good take away our lives at the bar, as to command us thus to be abused, and to have our mouths stopped: was ever the like known? Let the righteous God judge between us. Will you hear me? You have often promised that you would.

Judge. Hear me, and we will hear you; then he began to speak, and some others of the bench interrupted him: sometimes they speaking two or three at a time, and a noise amongst the officers of the court: but the judge said, We may give you liberty till the next sessions, but we may choose; and therefore we will try you now.

J. C. I bade the people take notice of their promise, that I should have liberty to speak, saying, See now you be as good as your words.

Judge. The law of England is not only just, but merciful; and therefore you shall not be surprised, but shall have what justice the law allows—Interruption.

J. C. I remember what the judge said even now, that the law of England was a merciful law; that the court had said before, they might (if they would, give us liberty till the next sessions, but they would not; and the maxim of the law also is, *Summum jus est summa injuria*:* therefore I hope your practice will make it good, that it is a merciful law; and not to execute *summum jus*, &c. upon me, and thereby condemn yourselves out of your own mouths.

Judge. Jury, give in your verdict.

J. C. Let me have liberty first to speak: it is but few words, and I hope I shall do it with what brevity and pertinency my understanding will give me leave, and the occasion requires. It is to the point in these two heads, viz. Matter of law, and matter of conscience: to matter of law I have this to say, First, as to the statute itself, it was made against the Papists, occasioned by the gun-powder plot, and is entitled, for the better discovery and suppressing of Popish Recusants: but they have liberty, and we are destroyed, what in you lies—(Interrupted by the judges and disturbance of the court.) As to conscience, I have something to say, and that is, it is a tender thing, and we have known what it is to offend it; and therefore we dare not break Christ's commands, who hath said, Swear not at all; and the apostle James said, Above all things, my brethren, swear not.—(Interrupted.) The court calling again to the executioner to stop my mouth; which he did accordingly, with his dirty cloth, as aforesaid, and his gag in his hand.

Judge. Hear the jury; who said something to him, which was supposed to give in the verdict, accordiug to his order; for they

* The extreme of the law is extreme injustice.

were fit for his purpose, as it seems, they beginning to lay their heads together, before we had spoke any thing to them, only upon his words.

Judge. Cryer, make silence in the court: then the recorder, taking a paper into his hand, read to this purpose, viz. The jury for the king do find, that John Crook, John Bolton, and Isaac Gray, are guilty of refusing to take the oath of allegiance; for which you do incur a premunire, which is the forfeiture of all your real estates during life, and your personal estates during life, and your personal estates for ever: and you to be out of the king's protection, and to be imprisoned during his pleasure: and this is your sentence.

J. C. But we are still under God's protection.

Then the prisoners were remanded to Newgate, where John Crook found opportunity to make a narrative of the whole trial, which was printed as aforesaid, together with the Latin indictment, in which he shewed several errors, either by wrong expressions, or by omissions. Thus the injustice of these arbitrary proceedings were exposed to public view, when this trial appeared in print: that the king himself might see thereby, how ill his subjects were treated. But at that time there were so many among the great ones and bishops, who were inclined to promote the extirpation of the Quakers, that there seemed no human help. J. Crook shewed also circumstantially, how in many cases of the trial, they had acted against law. For he himself having formerly been a justice, knew well enough how, and after what manner, justice ought to be administered and maintained. How long he continued prisoner, I cannot tell. But by this trial alone the reader may see, how the Quakers, so called, were treated in regard of the oath; and such kind of proceeding was the lot of many of them, because the intent of those in authority seemed to be to suppress them quite.

Whilst G. Fox was in Cornwall, there happened a very dismal and dreadful case.

One colonel Robinson was, since the king came in, made justice of the peace; and became a cruel persecutor of those called Quakers, of whom he sent many to prison; and hearing that some liberty was allowed them, by the favour of the gaoler, to come home sometimes, to visit their wives and children, he made complaint thereof to the judge at the assizes, against the gaoler; who thereupon was fined a hundred marks by judge Keeling. Not long after the assizes, Robinson sent to a neighbouring justice, desiring he would go with him a fanatic hunting, (meaning the disturbing of Quakers' meetings) On the day that he intended thus to go a hunting, he sent his man about with his horses, and walked himself to a tenement that he

had, where his cows and dairy were kept, and where his servants were then milking. Being come there, he asked for his bull, and the maids said, they had sent him into the field, because he was unruly amongst the kine. He then going into the field, and having formerly accustomed himself to play with the bull, he began to fence at him with his staff, as he used to do. But the bull snuffing, went a little back, and then ran fiercely at him, and struck his horn into his thigh, and lifting him upon his horn, threw him over his back, and tore up his thigh to his belly; and when he came to the ground, he broke his leg, and the bull then gored him again with his horns, and roared, and licked up his blood. One of the maid servants hearing her master cry out, came running into the field, and took the bull by the horns to pull him off; but he, without hurting her, gently put her by with his horns, and still fell to goring him, and licking up his blood. Then she ran and got some workmen that were not far off, to come and rescue her master; but they could not at all beat off the bull, till they brought mastiff dogs to set on him; and then the bull fled. His sister having notice of this disaster, came and said, "Alack, brother, what a heavy judgment is this!" And he answered, "Ah, sister, it is a heavy judgment indeed: pray let the bull be killed, and the flesh given to the poor." So he was taken up, and carried home, but so grievously wounded, that he died soon after; and the bull was become so fierce, that they were forced to kill him by shooting. This was the issue of Robinson's mischievous intent to go a fanatic hunting.

About this time happened a singular case, which I cannot well pass by unmentioned. One Oliver Atherton, a man of a weak constitution, having refused to pay tithes to the countess of Derby, who laid claim to the ecclesiastical revenues of the parish of Ormskirk, where he lived, was by her prosecution imprisoned at Derby, in a moist and noisome hole, which so weakened him, that after having lain there two years and a half, he grew sick; and a letter was writ in his name to the countess, in which was laid before her not only the cause why he had refused the payment of tithes, viz. for conscience sake, but also that his life was in danger, if he staid longer in that unwholesome prison; and that therefore she ought to shew compassion, lest she drew the guilt of innocent blood upon her.

Now though Oliver's son, who brought this letter, met with rough treatment for not uncovering his head, yet the letter was delivered into her own hands: but the countess continued hard-hearted. Godfrey, the son, returned to his father in prison, and told him (who was now on his death bed) that the countess would not allow him any liberty. To which he said, "She has

been the cause of much bloodshed; but this will be the heaviest blood to her that ever she spilt." And not long after he died. His friends having got his corpse, carried it to Ormskirk, but at Garstang, Preston, and other towns, they past, they fastened to the market cross the following inscription, which also had been put on his coffin.

"This is Oliver Atherton from the parish of Ormskirk, who by the countess of Derby had been persecuted to death, for keeping a good conscience towards God and Christ, in not paying of tithes to her."

Now though three more, who with him were imprisoned for the same cause, gave notice of this to the countess, that they might not likewise die in prison, as their fellow-prisoner had, yet she would shew no pity; and threatened to accuse those at Garstang, to the king and his counsel, for having suffered the putting up of the said inscription. But by this she opened people's mouths the more, and an omnipotent hand prevented the executing of her threatening: for exactly three weeks after the day Atherton was buried, she died.

This year Humphry Smith, a preacher among the Quakers, having been prisoner a year at Winchester, for his religion, was by death delivered from his bonds.

In the year 1662, being about London, he said to some of his friends, that he had a narrow path to pass through; and more than once signified, he saw he should be imprisoned, and that it might cost him his life. And coming not long after to Alton, in Hampshire, he was taken from a meeting of his friends, and committed to a stinking close prison at Winchester, where, after a whole year's imprisonment, he fell sick; and in the time of his sickness spoke many excellent words to those about him, signifying, that he was given up to the will of the Lord, either in life or death. And lying in great weakness, he said, "My heart is filled with the power of God. It is good for a man at such a time as this, to have the Lord to be his friend."

Francis Howgill was left in prison at Appleby. It was in the fore part of this year that he was brought to his trial. Being come into court before the judges sat, he spoke to the clerk of the assizes, and told him, he did not know whether they expected his appearance then or not: the clerk said, "You have done well," and that he would acquaint the judge, and he should only engage to him to appear the next assizes, to answer the indictment against him, and that he should not appear in court; Francis bid him do what he would. In the mean time Sir Philip Musgrave, a great adversary to the truth, and the great and chief prosecutor of Francis, had informed the judges against him, that he was a dangerous person, a ring-leader, and a keeper

up of meetings of dangerous consequence, and destructive to the peace of the nation; so then they concluded he should appear in court; and so the clerk informed him, and told him about what time he should be called. So the court began. Judge Twisden gave the charge to the grand jury, in which he said, there was a sort of people, who under pretence of conscience and religion, seemed to build upon the king's declaration from Breda, and under colour of this hatched treasons and rebellions, and gave the jury charge to enquire and present such, that the peace of the nation might be preserved: so they empanelled the jury, and Francis was called to the bar, and the judge spake as followeth:

Judge, speaking calmly to him, said, the face of things was much altered since the last assizes; and made a large speech to him and the country, telling him, that all sects under pretence of conscience did violate the laws, and hatched rebellions; "Not that I have any thing to charge you with; but seeing the oath of allegiance was tendered to you the last assizes, and you refused to take it, it was looked upon that such persons were enemies to the king and government." And said, "I will not trouble you now to answer to your indictment, but I must do that the next assizes, in the mean time you must enter into recognizance for your good behaviour."

To which F. H. answered, I desire liberty to speak; which he had without interruption: and said as followeth:

F. H. Judge Twisden, thou very well knowest upon how slender an account, or none, I was brought before thee the last assizes, where thou wert pleased to tender me the oath of allegiance, though I believe both thee and the rest of the court, did know it was a received principle among us not to swear at all. Many reasons I gave thee then, many more I have to add, if I may have audience; for it may appear to you an absurd thing, and obstinacy in me to refuse it, if I should not tender a reason; I am (said he) none of those that make religion a cloak of maliciousness, nor conscience a cloak to carry on plots or conspiracies; the Lord hath redeemed me and many more out of such things; and seeing I am engaged to appear at the next assizes, I desire no farther thing may be required of me.

Judge. You must enter into bond this dangerous time; and therefore consider of it, and tell me now, or before the assizes end.

The second day of the assizes he was called again.

F. H. Seeing thou art pleased to let me answer to the indictment, which I am willing to do, I have been of good behaviour, and shall so continue; but it seems a hard thing to me, and full of severity, that seeing I am obliged to appear to answer an in-

dictment of so high a nature, which tends to the loss of my liberty for life, and my estate for ever, I hope the court will not envy my liberty for five months.

Judge Turner said, We do not desire your imprisonment, if you will be of good behaviour.

F. H. pressed that they would not put him upon giving bond to be of good behaviour, knowing himself to be bound by the truth, that he could not misbehave himself.

One Daniel Flemming, another persecuting justice, had framed another indictment against him for meeting, and stood up, fearing the snare of giving bond would not hold, and said as followeth:

D. Flemming. My lord, he is a great speaker, it may be the Quakers cannot want him.

Judge. Let him be what he will, if he will enter into bond.

F. H. said he had nothing to accuse himself of, for his conscience bore him witness that he loved peace, and sought it with all men.

Judges both spake. What do you tell of conscience? We meddle not with it; but you contemn the laws, and keep up great meetings, and go not to church.

F. H. We are fallen in a sad age; if meeting together peaceably, without arms, or force, or intention of hurt to any man, only to worship God in Spirit, and exhort one another to righteousness, and to pray together in the Holy Ghost, as the primitive Christians of old, that this should be reckoned breach of peace and misbehaviour.

Judge Twisden. Do you compare these times with them? They were heathens that persecuted, but we are Christian magistrates.

F. H. It is a doctrine always held by us, and a received principle which we believe, that Christ's kingdom could not be set up with carnal weapons; nor the gospel propagated by force of arms, nor the church of God built with violence; but the Prince of Peace was manifested amongst us, and we could learn war no more, but could love enemies, and forgive them that did evil to us.

Philip Musgrave stood up, and said, "My lord, we have been remiss towards this people, and have striven with them, and put them in prison again and again, and fined them; and as soon as they are out they meet again."

Then stood up John Lowther, called a justice, and said, "My lord, they grow insolent, notwithstanding all laws, and the execution of them; yet they grow upon us, and their meetings are dangerous."

Philip Musgrave stood up, and produced a paper, in great

capital letters, and gave it the judge. He told the judge, that it happened some Quakers were sent to prison, and one of them died at Lancaster, and they carried his corpse through the country, and set that paper upon his coffin, this is the body of such an one, who was persecuted by Daniel Flemming till death.

Judge. We have spent much time with you; I will discourse no more.

F. H. I acknowledge your moderation towards me, allowing me liberty to speak. I shall not trouble you much longer; I shall be willing to appear to answer to the indictment at the assizes, and in the mean time to live peaceably and quietly, as I have done, if that will satisfy.

Judge. You must enter into bond to come at no more meetings.

F. H. I cannot do that; if I should, I were treacherous to God and my own conscience, and the people and you would but judge me a hypocrite.

They were loath to commit him, yet at last they did.

This was in the latter part of the month called March; and he was kept about five months as before in a bad room, and none suffered to speak with him, but who got secretly to him without the gaoler's knowledge.

At the assizes which were held at Appleby, in the month called August, he appeared again. And having liberty to speak with the clerk of the assizes, who told him, that he must prepare himself to come to a trial, answered, he was prepared, but thought that all he could say, would little avail, believing they purposed to prosecute him with all severity; as will appear by what follows: for the county justices had incensed the judges against him beforehand. Yet Howgill endeavoured all he could to convince them of his innocency; and to that end drew up the substance of the oath into several heads, which he could subscribe to. To this he joined another paper to judge Turner, shewing the cause of his first commitment, and the former proceedings against him: and how unequal it was to prosecute him upon a statute made against popish recusants. He also signified in that paper, that he was a man of a tender spirit, and feared the Lord from a child, and had never taken any oath but once in his life, which was twenty years ago. And that his refusing to take the oath of allegiance, was not in any evil intent to the king's person or government, but merely upon a conscientious account; and that he could not swear, being otherwise persuaded of the Lord, seeing it was against the command of Christ, and the apostle James's doctrine. That he did neither in wilfulness nor obstinacy refuse it, being sensible of the damage that would come thereby, if they did prosecute him upon that

statute, having a wife and children, and some small estate, which he knew lay at stake in the matter. But if any could convince him either by scripture or reason, he had an ear to hear. These papers were delivered to the judges and justices before he appeared in court, and were read by them. He then being called to the bar at the assizes holden at Appleby, judge Turner said to him, "Here is an indictment against you for refusing to take the oath of allegiance; so you must plead to it, either guilty or not guilty."

F. H. with a heart girded up with strength and courage, said, "Judge Turner, may I have liberty to speak, and make my defence, for I have none to plead my cause but the Lord?"

Judge. You may.

F. H. I will lay the true state of my case before thee, and of the proceedings against me from the first, seeing judge Twisden is not here, who had knowledge of all the proceedings hitherto. I am a countryman, born and brought up in this country; my carriage and conversation is known, how I have walked peaceably towards all men, as I hope my countrymen can testify. About a year ago, being at my neigbouring market-town about my reasonable and lawful occasions, I was sent for by an high constable out of the market to the justices of peace, before whom I went. And when I came there, they had nothing to lay to my charge, but fell to ask me questions to ensnare me about our meetings; and when they could find no occasion, they seemed to tender the oath of allegiance to me, though they never read it to me, neither did I positively deny it; yet they committed me to prison. And so I was brought hither to this assize, and then the mittimus by which I was committed, was called for; and the judge read it, and said to the justices it was insufficient. Nevertheless judge Twisden tendered the oath of allegiance to me. Many things I did allege then, and many more I have to say now, if time will permit. From that time I was under an engagement to appear at the next assizes, and so was called, and did appear at the last gaol-delivery, and a farther obligation was required of me for good behaviour, which I could not give, lest I should be brought into a farther snare. And since that time I have been committed prisoner these five months, some of which time I have been kept under great restraint, my friends not permitted to speak to me: and thus briefly I have given thee an account hitherto.

Judge. But why do not you go to church, but meet in houses and private conventicles, which the law forbids.

F. H. We meet together only for the worship of the true God in spirit and truth, having the primitive Christians for our example, and to no other end, but that we may be edified, and

God glorified; and when two or three are met together in the name of Christ, and he in the midst of them, there is a church.

Judge. That is true: but how long is it since you have been at church? Or will you go to the church the law doth allow of? Give me some reasons why you do not go.

F. H. I have many to give thee, if thou hast patience to hear me: first, God dwells not in temples made with men's hands. Secondly, The parish house hath been a temple for idols, to wit, for the mass and the rood; and I dare have no fellowship with idols, nor worship in idols' temples; for what have we to do with idols, their temples and worship?

Judge. Were there not houses called the houses of God, and temples?

F. H. Yes, under the law: but the Christians, who believed in Christ, separated from these, and from the Gentiles' temples too, and met together in houses, and broke bread from house to house; and the church was not confined then to one particular place, neither is it now. Many more things I have to say: the judge interrupted.

Judge. Will you answer to your indictment?

F. H. I know not what it is: I never heard it, though I have often desired a copy.

Judge. Clerk, read it.

So he read it: how that F. H. had wilfully, obstinately, and contemptuously denied to swear when the oath was tendered.

F. H. I deny it.

Judge. What do you deny?

F. H. The indictment.

Judge. Did you not deny to swear? And the indictment convicts you that you did not swear.

F. H. I gave unto the court the substance of the oath, as you all know. Secondly, I told you I did not deny it out of obstinacy or wilfulness, neither in contempt of the king's law or government. For my will would rather choose my liberty, than bonds; and I am sensible it is like to be a great damage to I have a wife and children, and some small estate, which we might subsist upon, and do good to others, and I know all this lies at stake. But if it were my life also, I durst not but do as I do, lest I should incur the displeasure of God. And do you judge I would lose my liberty wilfully, and suffer the spoiling of my estate, and the ruining of my wife and children in obstinacy and wilfulness? Sure nay.

The next day, towards evening, when they had tried all the prisoners, Francis was brought to the bar to receive his sentence.

Francis then being silent, the judge pronounced the sentence,

but spoke so low, that the prisoner, though near to him, could scarce hear it.

The sentence was, You are put out of the king's protection and the benefit of the law; your lands are confiscate to the king during your life; and your goods and chattels for ever, and you to be prisoner during your life.

F. H. A hard sentence for my obedience to the commands of Christ; the Lord forgive you all.

So he turned from the bar: but the judge speaking, he turned again, and many more words passed to the same purpose, as before. At last the judge rose up and said,

Judge. Well, if you will yet be subject to the laws, the king will shew you mercy.

F. H. The Lord hath shewed mercy unto me, and I have done nothing against the king, nor government, nor any man, blessed be the Lord, and therein stands my peace: for it is for Christ's sake I suffer, and not for evil doing. And so the court broke up. The people were generally moderate, and many were sorry to see what was done against him. But Francis signified how contented and glad he was, that he had any thing to lose for the Lord's precious Truth, of which he had publickly borne testimony; and that he was now counted worthy to suffer for it.

This he did cheerfully, and died in bonds after above four years' imprisonment. He was a man of learning, and a good writer.

In December, twelve Quakers were condemned to banishment; for it was resolved to go on, not regarding what George Bishop caused to be delivered to the king and the members of parliament, being as follows:

To the King and both Houses of Parliament: thus saith the Lord.

"Meddle not with my people, because of their conscience to me, and banish them not out of the nation because of their conscience; for if ye do, I will send my plagues upon you, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.

Written in obedience to the Lord,
by his servant,

BRISTOL, GEORGE BISHOP."

the 29th of the Fifth month, 1664.

The fulfilling of this prediction we shall see: for within a short time a war ensued with the Dutch, and the pestilence appeared at London. But before it broke out, more of the imprisoned Quakers were condemned to banishment: viz. two and thirty persons, both men and women, who were sentenced by the court on the 6th, 14th, and 15th of December; for whatever

they said in defence of themselves, proved ineffectual. One asked, If we meet really to worship God, must we suffer for that? And judge Hide answered, "Yes, that you must." But judge Keeling, to mend the matter a little, said, "You shall not suffer for worshipping God, but for being at an unlawful assembly, contrary to the law." Another said, "I meet to worship the eternal God in spirit, as he persuades my heart and conscience; and must I be condemned to banishment for that?" "Yes, yes, said judge Keeling, for the law is against it." To which judge Twisden added, "He hath confessed that he was there to worship God; and their worship is contrary to the liturgy of the church of England." Thus we see, if there was but evidence that the prisoners had been at a meeting, this was counted sufficient to condemn them. A woman being asked, what she had to say to the evidence given, answered, "Be it known unto you all, if I had as many bodies as hairs on my head, I could lay them all down for the living eternal truth of the living God." After all the prisoners had been called to the bar, they were at length sentenced to be transported to Jamaica, and to remain there seven years.

In January, 1665, thirty-six Quakers, amongst whom were eight women, were condemned to be transported to Jamaica. The jury, not being willing to declare the prisoners guilty as the court desired, were prevailed upon by the threatenings of judge Keeling, the recorder Wild, and alderman Brown, to do what they demanded.

On the 18th and the 22d of the next month, thirty-four more of them were sentenced to be carried to Jamaica, and five to Bridewell. While these cruel measures were pursued, the plague began to rage horribly in the city, and carried off many of the most bitter persecutors, to give an account of their antichristian conduct before a higher tribunal. Amongst which was judge Hide, who was down at Westminster in the morning, and in the evening was found dead in his chamber.

In the year 1670, the Conventicle Act passed, and the ruin of thousands of respectable families was the consequence of repeated fines, and long imprisonments: for the Quakers did not leave off meeting together publickly; but the most sincere amongst them were the most zealous, and the greatest sufferers. They were unmercifully spoiled of their goods. Their shops were entered, and their property seized to pay the fines. Their household furniture was taken away and sold, often for one-third of its value, insomuch that the sick have had their beds taken from under them, and they laid upon the floor. Informers abounded, who lived upon the spoil; and in numberless instances, it was known, that the justices shared the booty with them: so that

the king and the poor got little of the plunder. Many times when the Friends would not disperse, they were beaten with swords, and pikes, and muskets, till their blood ran along upon the ground: and the informers were sometimes so eager after their prey, as to defeat their own cruel purposes. At Droitwitch, James Cartwright came to a friend's house, and before he sat down to supper he prayed. An informer heard him in the street, who went in haste, and obtained a warrant to distrain the goods; but as he returned, he fell from his horse and brake his neck

Sometimes, though it was but a visit, or a burying, the informer has sworn that a meeting has been held, and the fines have been levied. At Alford, in Somersetshire, the corpse of Samuel Clothier, was buried, and though all were silent, yet the justice, Robert Hunt, fined many friends for having assisted at this pretended conventicle.

At Kirby Muckloe, where some were come to the house of John Penford, to provide for their poor, the priest of the parish, called John Dixon, informed against them by letter to Wenlock Stanly, of Branston, who sent three of his servants to take inspection of the said meeting. And though these looking into the book, in which the charitable distributions were entered, found that this meeting had been only to consider of the necessities of the poor, yet several were fined, and Penford himself twenty pounds for his house, and ten pounds for the preacher, when there was never an one there: but they having heard him speak, this was counted sufficient to make him pass for a preacher. Now though he and Richard Woodland appealed for justice, yet the court positively denied their appeal, unless they would first take the oath of allegiance. This was the old snare, so that the hearing of the matser was denied, and treble damage given against them.

At Lewes, in Sussex, the priest, William Snat, became himself an informer, and went several times to the Quakers' meeting there; and from thence to the justice Henry Shelly, to whom he declared on oath, in whose house the meeting had been, and who had preached. And this was so gross, that once he gave a false information with respect to the house.

In Norfolk, the rage of the persecutors was such, that some having been bereaved of all, were obliged, even in winter time, (as amongst the rest, Joseph Harrison, with his wife and children) to lie on straw. And yet they, unwearied, did not leave frequenting their religious meeting. Nay, even the dead were not suffered to rest, for outrageous barbarity came to that pitch, that Mary, the wife of Francis Larder, being dead and buried, was, by order of one Thomas Bretland, dug up again, whereby

the coffin was broken, which they tied together, and carrying it away, exposed the corpse in the market-place. The reason assigned was, that she had been buried in a plain way, without paying to the priest his due, for the ordinary service over the dead.

In Somersetshire thirty-two persons were fined for having been at a burial. The like happened in the county of Derby, where Samuel Roe, his wife being deceased, was fined twenty pounds, because his friends met in his house to conduct the corpse to the grave. Of this the priest, John Wilsou, was informer to the justice of peace, John Loe; and out of the house of the said Samuel Roe, was taken the value of thirty pounds; so that the share of the informer was no less than ten pounds.

More than 200 Quakers had died in prison since the restoration of King Charles.

At Plymouth, about this time, the Quakers were kept out of their meeting-house, and performing their worship in the open street, as a duty they owed to God, they suffered exceedingly, not only in winter, by the sharpness of the weather, but also in summer. For it was more than twelve months that they thus kept their meetings in the open street, being grievously abused by the rabble and the soldiers. Beating and punching seemed not sufficient; fiery squibs and burning coals were thrown among them, and filthy excrements cast down upon them out of a window. Besides, one Richard Samble, who was fined as a preacher, for having been on his knees at prayer, which fine was laid upon four of them that were at the said meeting.

At Frenchay, in Gloucestershire, the justice, John Meredith, behaved himself furious in disturbing the Quakers' meetings; for he himself did not only beat them, but more than once drew his knife to mark them, as he called it, had he not been restrained by his servants, who for all that could not prevent his taking some by the hair of their head, and pulling them away. Nay, the havock and spoil which was made, was so extravagant, that from one Thomas Holbrow, an ancient blind man, they took his bed from under him, so that he and his wife lay about a quarter of a year on straw; and when his friends provided him with some clothing against winter, part of that was also taken from him.

At Bayton, in Suffolk, Edmund Bally was by warrant from justice Burwel, despoiled of what he had, both within doors and without, his goods having been distrained five times. And though he was fain to lie on straw, yet he was not left unmolested; for they came in the night, armed with pistols, and broke open his door, threatening to destroy him. It happened there

also, that a poor blind widow, on her sick bed, was visited by some persons; and this was made a conventicle, and they were fined, and warrants issued out by the aforesaid justice to make distress on their goods.

This year died in prison William Dobson of Brightwell, in Berkshire, having been spoiled of his goods from time to time, during the space of thirteen years, and almost always in prison too, till his hard sufferings ended with his life.

At Norwich lived one William Wat, who for several years had carried on the trade of informing, but whatever he got by it turned to no account; and often he was seized with such fits of weakness that he could not stand on his legs; but this year, in October, the hand of God fell so heavy upon him, that it put a period to his life. He had supped at night, and was as well, according to his wife's relation, as ever; but on a sudden he sunk down to the ground, and his daughter crying aloud, he seemed to look at her, and so died without more ado; but what was looked upon as a very strange thing, his corpse stunk so grievously, that none were willing to carry it, and the overseers of the poor were necessitated to hire four men to bear it to the grave.

In the year 1682, a dismal scene of persecution was opened at Bristol, for the meetings of Quakers were disturbed, not only by abusing and imprisoning them, but they were also vexed by breaking into their houses, and committing all manner of violence. In the house of Richard Marsh, an eminent merchant in that city, to get the fine which was imposed, a cask of wine, worth twenty pounds, was taken, and sold for four pounds. And because honest people were unwilling to buy such goods, they were sold to any one that would bid money, how little soever, as what was wanting of the fine was taken anew from the fined person; and so they did here; for they broke open his counting-house, sought for money, and took away his leger, journal, cash-book, and other books and accounts, besides many household goods; and several chambers were rifled, though the wife of the said Marsh lay in childbed at that time. The chief actors of these insolencies were the sheriff, John Knight, and John Helliar an attorney, who with his companions, Lugg, Tilley, and Watkins, served as informers. Knight and Helliar came frequently with a multitude of boys and rude rabble to disturb the meetings of the Quakers; and then they carried them to the prisons, which grew so full, that about fifty persons were crowded into one room, which was so nasty, that one of the aldermen, viz. sir Robert Cann, said, if he had a dog which he loved, he would not put him there. And though sir Thomas Earl, mayor of the city, and some justices and aldermen,

at the request of others, shewed themselves inclined to allow the prisoners a better place, yet the power of the aforesaid sheriff, John Knight, was such that he hindered it.

The meetings of other Protestant dissenters were now also disturbed, but they fainted and gave way; whereas the Quakers stood firm, how much soever vexed.

With such diabolical rage they persecuted this people at Bristol, that not a stone was left unturned to afflict them. Once they were nailed up in their meeting-house, and thus kept about six hours, when there were also women of no mean families, and among these the widow of the upper sheriff, Lane. So many also were taken prisoners, that at length there was no room in the gaols. By these proceedings many families were ruined: for their goods were taken from them, not only on the account of meeting, but when any were believed to be of good estates, the oath of allegiance was tendered to them.

This disturbing of meetings continued till almost all the men belonging thereto were shut up in prison; and some of them sending a petition to the mayor and justices of the city, that they might be pleased to let them have larger rooms, since not only their health but their lives also were endangered, the said magistrates shewed themselves inclined to allow the prisoners some ease or enlargement: but the power of sheriff Knight was such, that whatever they said or did, all proved in vain. The mayor also signified to the sheriff, that he would have all convictions made above board, and not in ale-houses and taverns; and that he would have the distrained goods brought into a public warehouse, and not in a bye-lane. But though the mayor, *ex officio*, might have commanded the sheriff, yet this officer was so countenanced, that he did not care for what the mayor said; nay, so exorbitant was he, that his adherents began to threaten the mayor he should not be a parliament man; insomuch that he was forced to comply in some degree. In the mean while the havock and spoil was so enormous, that generally twice as much was taken as the fine amounted to. The prisoners, some of which lay on the floor, others in hammocks, and some in a cold and open room, exposed to the wind and injury of the weather, suffered great inconveniencies; and the gaoler, Isaac Dennis, imagining that nothing could be too bad for them, would not shew them any favour but at a very unreasonable rate; and his wife shewed herself no less unreasonable than he, so that one extortion was at the heels of another. Nay, so desperately wicked was the gaoler, that when the prisoners complained for want of room, he said to his man, if he could but shut the door it would be well enough.

If any of the Quakers came to a meeting, they presently were

committed to prison; among these was one Richard Lindy, a blind man, of about fourscore and ten years of age, who was carried to gaol, and forced to sit up three nights in a chair, though others offered to pay for his lodging, if some convenient place to lie down on had been allowed him. Some of the prisoners, being tradesmen, would willingly have worked in prison, to earn something for their sustenance: but the gaoler, Isaac Dennis, would not permit them liberty. Other prisoners fell sick of the spotted fever, and some died of it: yet all this did not soften the hard-hearted gaoler. But at length a heavy stroke fell from heaven upon him. About the middle of the month of October he fell sick, and was seized with terrible anguish of mind. Then he wished he had never seen the inside of the goal; and he desired some of the Quakers to pray for him, and to forgive him for what he had done. To which they answered, that they forgave him; but he should ask forgiveness of God. But still his anguish increased; and when the physicians ordered him to be let blood, he said, no physick could do him good, his distemper being another thing: and that no man could do him good, his day being over; and there was no hope of mercy from God for him. Some Quakers seeing him in this woeful condition, signified that they desired, if it was the will of the Lord, he might find a place of repentance. And it was told him, they hoped his day was not over, because he had such a full sense of his condition. To which he answered, 'I thank you for your good hope, but I have no faith to believe;' and 'Faith is the gift of God.' Whatever was spoken to him, he continued saying, that his day was over, and there was no mercy for him. Such a gnawing worm is the guilt of conscience; and in this desperate state he continued above a month, and died the last of November, without any visible signs of forgiveness.

AN ADDRESS TO KING JAMES THE SECOND.

The distressed Case and request of the suffering people commonly called Quakers, humbly presented.

'Shewing,

'That, according to accounts lately given, above fourteen hundred of the said people, both men and women, are continued prisoners in England and Wales, only for tender conscience towards Almighty God that made them: many under sentence of premunire, and many near it, not for refusing the duty or substance of allegiance itself, but only because they dare not swear; others under fines upon the act of banishment, many on writs of excommunication; besides some hundreds have died prisoners: many by means of this long imprisonment since the year 1680:

thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving poor innocent families in distress and sorrow; these two hard winters confinement tending also to the destruction of many in cold holes and gaols, their healths being greatly impaired thereby; besides the violence and woeful spoil made by merciless informers on the conventicle act, upon many convicted, unsummoned, and unheard in their own defence, both in city and country, as also on *qui tam* writs, and other process, on twenty pounds a month, and two-thirds of estates seized for the king, all tending to the ruin of trade, husbandry, and industrious families; to some not a bed left; to others no cattle to till their ground or give them milk; nor corn for bread or seed; nor tools to work withal. And also these and other severities done under pretence of serving the king and church, thereby to force us to violate our consciences, and consequently to destroy our souls, which we are very tender of, as we are of our peace with God and our own consciences, though accounted as sheep for the slaughter: and notwithstanding all these long sustained extremities, we the said people do solemnly profess and declare, in the sight of the heart Searcher, that we have nothing but good will and true affection to the king, praying for his safety, and the kingdom's peace. 'We have never been found in any seditious or treasonable designs, as being wholly contrary to our Christian principles and holy profession.'

'And knowing that where the word of a king is there is power, we in Christian humility, and for Christ's sake, entreat that the king will please to find out some expedient for our relief in these cases, from prison, spoil, and ruin, and we shall (as in Christian duty bound) pray God for the king's welfare in this world, and his eternal happiness in that which is to come."

An account of the number of the imprisoned Quakers, in the several counties, in 1685.

	Prisoners.
Bedfordshire	30
Berkshire	37
Bristol	103
Buckinghamshire	19
Cambridgeshire	8
Cheshire	9
Cornwall	32
Cumberland	22
Derbyshire	1
Devonshire	104
Dorsetshire	13
Durham	39
Ely	11
Essex	10
Gloucestershire	66
Hertfordshire	18
Herefordshire	1
Huntingdonshire	10
Kent	16
Lancashire	73
	622
Delivered to the king the 3d of the first month called March, 1684-5.	

	Prisoners.
Leicestershire	37
Lincolnshire	12
London and Middlesex	66
Norfolk	52
Northampton	59
Nottinghamshire	6
Oxon	17
Shropshire	18
Somersetshire	36
Southampton	15
Staffordshire	1
Suffolk	79
Surry	29
Sussex	17
Warwickshire	31
Westmorland	5
Wiltshire	34
Worcestershire	15
Yorkshire	279
Wales	30
	838
	622
Total	1460

This list, with the aforesaid petition to the king and parliament, was not altogether ineffectual; for from this time the violence of persecution abated.

THE QUAKERS PERSECUTED IN NEW ENGLAND.

Many of the Puritans, in the reign of Charles the first, fled from the persecution of the bishops, and took shelter in the forests of New England, where they hoped to enjoy a freedom of worship not allowed them at home. It might have been reasonably expected that their own sufferings would have taught them to have respected the rights of conscience, and not to have added to the examples of intolerance and cruelty by their own conduct. But having power, they became oppressive; and the Quakers found them the most bitter and bloody of their persecutors.

An act of the court at Boston having passed to levy a fine of five shillings for every week's absence from church: William Shallock, a shoemaker at Boston, being on a First-day of the week found in his house, instead of coming to the church, was haled to the house of correction; where, at his first entrance, he was cruelly whipped, and then kept to work, whilst his wife and innocent children were in want because of his absence. In the mean time the deputy-governor, Richard Bellingham, did not stick to say to William's wife, that since he was poor, and could not pay five shillings a week for not coming to church, they would continue him in prison. Thus was verified that saying of Solomon, "Cruel are the mercies of the wicked." Bellingham also endeavoured to persuade this woman that what her husband had done was to be rid of her, and therefore advised her to disown him. Now these persecutors began to have abundance of business; and taking away of goods, and cruel whippings became almost daily work, which was performed without regard of age or sex.

Two women, named Sarah Gibbons and Dorothy Waugh, being come to Boston, and having in the public meeting-place, after the lecture was ended, spoken a few words, were brought to the house of correction, and three days before their being whipt, and three days after, were kept from victuals, though they had offered to pay for them. And when Sarah afterward asked the governor John Endicot, whether this was justice or equity; adding, that by this all might see that God was with them, that they were thus preserved without food; and if they perished, their blood would fall heavy on those that were the occasion thereof: he answered, that he mattered it not.

Not long after, Hored Gardner, an inhabitant of Newport, in Rhode Island, came with her sucking babe, and a girl to carry it, to Weymouth: from whence, for being a Quaker, she was hurried to Boston, where both she and the girl were whipped

with a three-fold knotted whip. After whipping, the woman kneeled down, and prayed the Lord to forgive those persecutors: which so reached a woman that stood by, that she said, surely she could not have done this, if it had not been by the Spirit of the Lord.

A law was now made which ordained that whosoever of the inhabitants should directly or indirectly cause any of the Quakers to come into that jurisdiction, he should forfeit a hundred pounds to the country, and be committed to prison, there to remain till the penalty should be paid. And whosoever should entertain them, knowing them to be so, should forfeit forty shillings to the country for every hour's entertaining or concealment; and be committed to prison till the forfeiture should be paid. And farther, that all and every of those people that should arise among them there, should suffer the like punishment as the laws provided for those that came in, viz. That for the first offence, if a male, one of his ears should be cut off, and be kept at work in the house of correction till he should be sent away on his own charge. For the second, the other ear, and to be kept in the house of correction, as aforesaid. If a woman, then to be severely whipt, and kept as aforesaid as the male for the first; and for the second offence, to be dealt withal as the first. And for the third, he or she should have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and be kept in the house of correction, close at work, till they be sent away on their own charge.

In the latter part of May, William Brend and William Leddra, having been at Salem, came to Newbury; where, at the house of one Robert Adams, they had a conference with the priest in the presence of captain Gerish, who had promised that they should not suffer; but after the conference was ended the captain would not let them go but on promise presently to depart the town. As they were on their way, they were sent for back, and captain Gerish riding after them, commanded them to return; which they refusing, he compelled them thereunto, and sent them with a constable to Salem; where, being brought before the magistrates, they were asked whether they were Quakers; to which they answered, that they were in scorn called so.

Now, although nothing could be objected to them, yet they were carried to the house of correction as such who, according to the law made at Boston, might not come into those parts. Some days after they were carried to Boston; where, in the next month, they were brought into the house of correction to work there; but being unwilling to submit thereto, the gaoler would not give them victuals, though they offered to pay for

them. But he told them, it was not their money, but their labour he desired. Thus he kept them five days without food, and then with a three-corded whip gave them twenty blows. An hour after he told them, they might go out, if they would pay the marshal that was to lead them out of the country. They judging it very unreasonable to pay money for being banished, refused this, but yet said, that if the prison-door was set open, they would go away.

The next day the gaoler came to W. Brend, a man in years, and put him in irons, neck and heels, so close together that there was no more room left between each than for the lock that fastened them. Thus he kept them, from five in the morning till after nine at night, being the space of sixteen hours. The next morning he brought him to the mill to work, but Brend refusing, the gaoler took a pitched rope, about an inch thick, and gave him twenty blows over his back and arms with as much force as he could, so that the rope untwisted; and then, going away, he came again with another rope, that was thicker and stronger; and told Brend, that he would cause him to bow to the law of the country, and make him work. Brend judged this not only unreasonable in the highest degree, since he had committed no evil; but he was also altogether unable to work; for he wanted strength for want of food; having been kept five days without eating, and whipt also, and now thus unmercifully beaten with a rope. But this inhuman gaoler relented not, but began to beat anew with his pitched rope on this bruised body; and foaming at his mouth like a madman, with violence laid fourscore and seventeen blows more on him, as other prisoners, that beheld it with compassion, have told: and if his strength and his rope had not failed him, he would have laid on more; he threatened also to give him the next morning as many blows more. But a higher power, who sets limits even to the raging sea, and hath said, "hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther," also limited this butcherly fellow; who was yet impudently stout enough to say his morning prayer. To what a most terrible condition these blows brought the body of Brend may easily be conceived; his back and arms were bruised and black, and the blood hanging as in bags under his arms; and so into one was his flesh beaten, that the sign of a particular blow could not be seen; for all was become as a jelly. His body being thus cruelly tortured, he lay down upon the boards, so extremely weakened, that the natural parts decaying, and strength quite failing, his body turned cold: there seemed, as it were, a struggle between life and death.

The noise of this cruelty spread among the people in the town, and caused such a cry, that the governor sent his surgeon

to the prison to see what might be done; but the surgeon found the body of Brend in such a deplorable condition, that, as one without hopes, he said, his flesh would rot from his bones ere the bruised parts could be brought to digest. This so exasperated the people, that the magistrates, to prevent a tumult, set a paper on their meeting-house door, and up and down the streets, as it were to shew their dislike of this abominable and most barbarous cruelty; and said, the gaoler should be punished the next court. But this paper was soon taken down upon the instigation of the high priest, John Norton, who, having from the beginning been a fierce promoter of the persecution, now did not stick to say, 'W. Brend endeavoured to beat our gospel ordinances black and blue, if he then be beaten black and blue, it is but just upon him; and I will appear in his behalf that did so.' It is therefore not much to be wondered at that these precise and bigoted magistrates, who would be looked upon to be eminent for piety, were so cruel in persecuting, since their chief teacher thus wickedly encouraged them to it.

They made an order that the gaoler, if the Quakers refused to work, should whip them twice a week, the first time with ten lashes, the next time with fifteen, and so at each time with three more, till they would work. This was performed on four persons, two of which were William Leddra and John Rous. And to keep the passionate gaoler within due bounds, it was ordered that each time he should warn two constables to see the execution.

John Copeland and Christopher Holder coming to Dedham, lodged there one night; but the next day were taken up by a constable and carried to Boston, where being brought before the governor, he said, in a rage, "Ye shall be sure to have your ears cut off." Not long after, John Rous came again to Boston, but was shortly after taken and committed to prison. On the 17th of September, he, with Holder and Copeland, were brought before the magistrates in the court, where the deputy-governor told them, that they, in contempt of the magistrates and ministers, being come there again, to seduce the people, might know that whatever befel them, whether the loss of their ears or of their lives, their blood would be upon their own heads. Then they were carried to the prison, and on the 16th of September the Marshal's deputy came thither, letting as many come in as he thought meet; and when the doors were made fast, the said marshal read the following order:

'To the marshal-general, or his deputy: You are to take with you the executioner, and repair to the house of correction, and there see him cut off the right ears of John Copeland, Christo-

pher Holder, and John Rous, Quakers; in execution of the sentence of the court of assistants, for the breach of the law, intituled Quakers.

'Edward Rawson, Secretary.'

Then the prisoners were brought into another room, where John Rous said to the marshal, 'We have appealed to the chief magistrate of England.' To which he answered, he had nothing to do with that. Holder said, 'Such execution as this should be done publicly, and not in private; for this was contrary to the law of England." But captain Oliver replied, "We do it in private to keep you from tattling." Then the executioner took Holder, and when he had turned aside his hair, and was going to cut off his ear, the marshal turned his back on him, which made Rous say, "Turn about and see it;" for so was his order. The marshal then, though filled with fear, turned and said, "Yes, yes, let us look on it." Rous, who was more undaunted than his persecutor, said, "Those that do it ignorantly, we desire, from our hearts, the Lord to forgive them; but for them that do it maliciously, let our blood be upon their heads; and such shall know, in the day of account, that every drop of our blood shall be as heavy upon them as a millstone." Afterwards these persons were whipt again.

Persecution being now come to the cutting off of ears, did not stop there, but went higher; and rested not before it came to the taking away of lives. But to compass that proved very difficult, for there were many honest people who abhorred such cruelty. Yet John Norton, and the other priests, petitioned the magistrates to cause the court to make some law to banish the Quakers, upon pain of death.

An Act made at a general court, held at Boston the 20th of October, 1658.

'Whereas there is a pernicious sect (commonly called Quakers) lately risen, who by word and writing have published and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals, or reverence to superiors, whose actions tend to undermine the civil government, and also to destroy the order of the churches; whereby divers of our inhabitants have been infected, notwithstanding all former laws, made upon the experience of their arrogant and bold obtrusions to disseminate their principles among us, prohibiting their coming in this jurisdiction, they have not been deterred from their impetuous attempts to undermine our peace, and hazard our ruin.

†

'For prevention thereof, this court doth order and enact, that every person, or persons, of the cursed sect of the Quakers, who is not an inhabitant of, but is found within, this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended, without warrant, where no magistrate is at hand, by any constable, commissioner, or select man, and conveyed, from constable to constable, to the next magistrate, who shall commit the said person to close prison, there to remain (without bail) unto the next court of assistants, where they shall have a legal trial; and being convicted to be of the sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to be banished, upon pain of death: and that every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being convicted to be of the aforesaid sect, either by taking up, publishing, or defending the horrid opinions of the Quakers, and withdrawing from our church assemblies, and instead thereof frequent meetings of their own, in opposition to our church order; or by adhering to, or approving of, any known Quaker, and the tenets and practices of the Quakers, every such person, upon conviction before the said court of assistants, in manner as aforesaid, shall be committed to close prison for one month: and then, unless they choose voluntarily to depart this jurisdiction, shall give bond for their good behaviour, and appear at the next court; where, continuing obstinate, and refusing to retract and reform the aforesaid opinions, they shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death. And any one magistrate, upon information given him of any such person, shall cause him to be apprehended, and shall commit any such person to prison, according to his discretion, until he come to trial, as aforesaid.'

Here ended this sanguinary act, being more like to the decrees of the Spanish Inquisition, than to the laws of a reformed Christian magistracy, consisting of such who, themselves to shun persecution, (which was but a small fine for not frequenting the public worship,) had left Old England.

All that hath been hitherto said of the New England persecution is but a very small part of those manifold whippings that were inflicted there; besides the extortions of fines, which were exhorbitant to a high degree. William Maston, at Hampton, was fined ten pounds for two books found in his house, and five pounds for not frequenting their church: and he not being free in conscience to pay this fine, had taken from him what amounted to more than twenty pounds. Not long after this time, above a thousand pounds was extorted from some, only because they had separated themselves from the persecuting church: and it seems they were deemed such as were shut out from the protection of the law.

This cruelty of the English did also stir up the Dutch to persecution: for, without inquiring what kind of people the Quakers

were, they seemed ready to conclude them to be men of pernicious opinions.

It happened that one Robert Hodshone, being in the Dutch plantation at Hamstead, had a meeting with some of his friends that were English and lived there; but as he was walking in an orchard, an officer came and took hold of him, and brought him before one Gildersleave, an Englishman, and a magistrate there, who committed him to prison, and rode to the Dutch governor to acquaint him therewith: and coming back with a guard of musqueteers, the fiscal searched the prisoner, and took away his knife, papers, and Bible, and pinioned him, and kept him so all night, and the next day. And making inquiry after those that entertained him, he took into custody two women on that occasion, one of which had two small children, the one yet sucking at her breast. Then they got a cart and carried the women away in it, and Robert was fastened to the hinder part of the cart, pinioned, and so drawn through the woods in the night-season, whereby he was much torn and abused. And being come to New Amsterdam, now New York, he was loosed, and led by the rope to the dungeon, being a filthy place, full of vermin; and the two women were carried to another place. Some time after he was examined. The conclusion was, that a sentence was read in Dutch, to Robert, to this effect, that he was to work two years at the wheelbarrow with a negro, or pay, or cause to be paid, six hundred guilders. To this he attempted to make his defence in a sober way, but was not suffered to speak, and sent to the dungeon again; where no English were suffered to come to him. After some days he was taken out and pinioned, and being set with his face towards the court chamber, his hat was taken off, and another sentence read to him in Dutch, which he did not understand: but that it displeased many of that nation, did appear by the shaking of their heads. Then he was cast again into the dungeon, where he was kept for some days.

At length he was haled out, and chained to a wheelbarrow, and commanded to work: to which he answered, he was never used to such a work. Upon which they made a negro to take a pitched rope, nigh four inches about, and to beat him; who did so till Robert fell down. Then they took him up again, and caused the negro to beat him with the said rope until he fell down the second time, and it was believed that he received about one hundred blows. Thus was he kept all that day in the heat of the sun, chained to the wheelbarrow; and his body being much bruised and swelled with the blows, and he kept without food, grew very faint, and sat upon the ground, with his mind retired to the Lord, and resigned to his will, whereby he felt himself supported. At night he was locked up again in the dun-

geon, and the next morning he was chained again to the wheelbarrow, and a centinel set over him, that none might come to speak with him. On the third day he was had forth, and chained in like manner; and no wonder that he still refused to work, for, besides the unreasonableness of requiring such a servile work of him who had committed no evil, he was not in a condition to perform it, being made altogether unable by the cruel blows given him. In this weak state he was brought before the governor, who commanded him to work; otherwise, he said, he should be whipt every day. Robert asked him what law he had broken? and called for his accusers, that he might know his transgression. But, instead of an answer, he was chained to the wheelbarrow again, and threatened, that, if he spoke to any one, he should be punished worse. Yet he did not forbear to speak to some that came to see him, so as he saw meet and thought convenient. Then, seeing they could not keep him silent, they put him into the dungeon again, and kept him close there several days and two nights; one day and a half of it without bread or water.

After this he was brought, very early in the morning, into a private room, and stripped to the waist, and hung up by his hands, and a great log of wood tied to his feet, so that he could not turn his body; and then a strong negro was set to whip him with rods, who laid many stripes upon him, which cut his flesh very much. Then he was let down again, and put into the dungeon as before, and none suffered to come to him. Two days after he was had forth again, and hung up as before, and many more stripes were laid upon him by another negro. He almost fainting, and not knowing but his life might be taken away, desired that some English might be suffered to come to him, which was granted, and an English woman came and washed his stripes. Finding him brought so low that she thought he would not live till the next morning, and she telling this to her husband, it made such an impression upon him, that he went to the fiscal and proffered him a fat ox to suffer Robert to be at his house until he was well again. But the fiscal would not permit this, unless the whole fine was paid.

The two first martyrs, who sealed the testimony with their blood, were William Robinson, merchant of London, and Marmaduke Stevenson, a countryman of Yorkshire. These coming to Boston in the beginning of September, were sent for by the court of assistants, and there sentenced to banishment on pain of death. This sentence was passed also on Mary Dyar, and Nicholas Davis, who were both at Boston. But William Robinson, being looked upon as a teacher, was also condemned to be whipt severely; and the constable was commanded to get an

able man to it. Then Robinson was brought into the street and there stript; and having his hands put through the holes of the carriage of a great gun, where the gaoler held him, the executioner gave him twenty stripes with a three-fold cord whip. Then he and the other prisoners were shortly released and banished; for no other reason but their being Quakers, as appears by the following warrant:

'You are required by these, presently to set at liberty William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Mary Dyar, and Nicholas Davis, who, by an order of the court and council, had been imprisoned, because it appeared by their own confession, words, and actions, that they are Quakers: wherefore a sentence was pronounced against them to depart this jurisdiction on pain of death; and that they must answer it at their peril if they, or any of them, after the 14th of this present month September, are found within this jurisdiction, or any part thereof.

BOSTON, 'EDWARD RAWSON.'
September 12, 1650.

Mary Dyar and Nicholas Davis left for that time, but Robinson and Stevenson could not resolve (not being free in mind) to depart that jurisdiction, though their lives were at stake. And so they went to Salem, and some place thereabout, to visit and build up their friends in the faith. But it was not long before they were taken and put into prison at Boston, and chains locked to their right legs. In the next month Mary Dyar returned also: and as she stood before the prison, speaking with one Christopher Holder, who was come thither to inquire for a ship bound for England, whither he intended to go, she was also taken into custody. Thus they had three persons who, accoring to their sanguinary law, had forfeited their lives. And on the 20th of October, these three were brought into the court, where John Endicot and others were assembled. And being called to the bar, Endicot commanded the keeper to pull off their hats; and then said, that they had made several laws to keep the Quakers from amongst them; and neither whipping, nor imprisoning, nor cutting off ears, nor banishment upon pain of death, would keep them from amongst them. And further he said, that they desired not the death of any of them. Notwithstanding, his following words were, "Give ear, and hearken to your sentence of death.' W. Robinson then desired that he might be permitted to read a paper, giving an account of the reason why he had not departed that jurisdiction. But Endicot would not suffer it to be read; and said, in a rage, "You shall not read it, nor will the court hear it read." Then Robinson laid it on the table. He had written this paper the day before,

and some of the contents were, that he being in Rhode Island, the Lord had commanded him to go to Boston, aud to lay down his life there. That he also had felt an assurance that his soul was to enter into everlasting peace and eternal rest. That he durst not but obey, without inquiring farther concerning it; believing that it became him, as a child, to shew obedience to the Lord, without any unwillingness. That this was the cause why, after banishment, on pain of death, he staid in their jurisdiction. And that now, with sincerity of heart, he could say, Blessed be the Lord, the God of my life, who hath called me hereunto, and counted me worthy to testify against wicked and unjust men, &c. This paper being handed to Endicot, he read it to himself, and after he had done, said to Robinson, "Hearken to your sentence of death: you shall be had back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead."

Robinson being taken away, M. Stevenson was called, and Endicot said to him, "If you have any thing to say, you may speak." He, knowing how they dealt with his companion, was silent. Then Endicot pronounced sentence of death against him, saying, "M. Stevenson, you shall be had to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the gallows, and there be hanged till you are dead." Whereupon M. Stevenson spoke thus: "Give ear, ye magistrates, and all who are guilty; for this the Lord hath said concerning you, and will perform his word upon you, that the same day ye put his servants to death shall the day of your visitation pass over your heads, and you shall be cursed for evermore: the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it. Therefore, in love to you all, I exhort you to take warning before it is too late, that so the curse may be removed. For, assuredly, if you put us to death, you will bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and swift destruction will come upon you."

After he had spoken this, he was taken away, and Mary Dyar was called, to whom Endicot spoke thus: "Mary Dyar, you shall go to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and be hanged there until you are dead." To which she replied, "The will of the Lord be done." Then Endicot said, "Take her away, marshal." To which she returned, "Yea, joyfully I go." And in her going to the prison, she often uttered speeches of praise to the Lord; and being full of joy, she said to the marshal, he might let her alone, for she would go to the prison without him. To which he answered, "I believe you, Mrs. Dyar; but I must do what I am commanded." Thus she was led to prison, where she was kept a

week, with the two other her companions that were condemned to die.

The day appointed to execute the bloody sentence was the 27th of October, when in the afternoon the condemned prisoners were led to the gallows by the marshal Michaelson and captain James Oliver, with a band of about two hundred armed men, besides many horsemen; as if they were afraid that some of the people would have rescued the prisoners: and that no actors on the stage might be wanting, the priest Wilson joined the company; and when the court deliberated how to deal with the Quakers, said, "Hang them; or else," (drawing his finger athwart his throat,) as if he would have said, "Dispatch 'em this way." Now the march began, and a drummer going next before the condemned, the drums were beaten, especially when any of them attempted to speak. Glorious signs of heavenly joy and gladness were beheld in the countenances of these three persons, who walked hand in hand, Mary being the middlemost, who made the marshal say to her, who was stricken in years, "Are not you ashamed to walk thus hand in hand between two young men?" "No," replied she; "this is to me an hour of the greatest joy I could enjoy in this world. No eye can see, nor ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can understand, the sweet influence, and the refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord, which now I feel." Thus going along, W. Robinson said, "This is your hour, and the power of darkness." But presently the drums were beaten; yet shortly after, the drummers leaving off beating, Marmaduke Stevenson said, "This is the day of your visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you." More he spoke, but could not be understood, by reason of the drums being beaten again.

When they were come near the gallows, the priest said, in a taunting way, to W. Robinson, "Shall such jacks as you come in before authority with their hats on?" To which Robinson replied, "Mind you, mind you; it is for the not putting off the hat we are put to death!" Now, being come to the ladder, they took leave of each other with tender embraces, and then Robinson went cheerfully up the ladder, and being got up, said to the people, "This is the day of your visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you: this is the day the Lord is risen in his mighty power to be avenged on all his adversaries." He also signified, that he suffered not as an evil doer: and desired the spectators to mind the light that was in them; to wit, the light of Christ, of which he testfied, and was now going to seal it with his blood. This so incensed the envious priest, that he said, "Hold thy tongue; be silent: thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth."

The rope being now about his neck, the executioner bound his hands and legs, and tied his neckcloth about his face; which being done, Robinson said, "Now ye are made manifest:" and the executioner being about to turn him off, he said, "I suffer for Christ, in whom I live, and for whom I die." Marmaduke Stephenson then stepped up the ladder, and said, "Be it known unto all this day, that we suffer not as evil doers, but for conscience sake. This day shall we be at rest with the Lord;" and so he died.

Mary Dyar seeing her companions hanging dead before her, also stepped up the ladder; but after her coats were tied about her feet, the halter put about her neck, and her face covered with a handkerchief, which the priest Wilson lent the hangman, just as she was to be turned off, a cry was heard, "Stop; for she is reprieved." Her feet then being loosed, they bade her come down. But she whose mind was already as it were in heaven, stood still, and said, she was there willing to suffer as her brethren did. That she was thus freed from the gallows this time, was at the intercession of her son.

The magistrates now perceiving that Robinson and Stephenson's death caused great discontent among the people, resolved to send away Mary Dyar, thereby to calm their minds a little. And so she was put on horseback, and by four horsemen conveyed fifteen miles towards Rhode Island, where she was left with a horse and a man, to be conveyed the rest of the way; which she soon sent back, and so repaired home. She went from thence to Long Island, where she staid most part of the winter; and then coming home again, she was moved to return to the bloody town of Boston, whither she came on the 21st of the Third month, 1660, and on the 31st she was sent for by the general court. Being come, the governor, John Endicot, said, "Are you the same Mary Dyar that was here before?" And it seems he was preparing an evasion for her, there having been another of that name returned from Old England. But she was so far from disguising, that she answered, undauntedly, "I am the same Mary Dyar that was here the last general court." Then Endicot said, "You will own yourself a Quaker, will you not?" "I own myself to be reproachfully called so." And Endicot said, the sentence was past upon her the last general court, and now likewise: "You must return to the prison, and there remain till to-morrow at nine o'clock; from thence you must go to the gallows, and there be hanged till you are dead." To which Mary Dyar said, "This is no more than what thou saidst before." And Endicot returned, "But now it is to be executed; therefore prepare yourself to-morrow at nine o'clock." She then

said: "I came in obedience to the will of God, the last general court, desiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws of banishment on pain of death; and that same is my work now, and earnest request." And beginning to speak of her call, Endicot cried, "Away with her; away with her." So she was brought to the prison where she was before, and kept close shut up until the next day.

About the appointed time the marshal, Michaelson, came, and called her to come hastily; and coming into the room where she was, she desired him to stay a little; and speaking mildly, said, she should be ready presently. But he said, he could not wait upon her, but she should now wait upon him. Then Mary Dyar was brought forth, and with a band of soldiers led through the town, the drums being beaten before and behind her, and so continued, that none might hear her speak all the way to the place of execution, which was about a mile. With this guard she came to the gallows, and being upon the ladder, some said to her, that if she would return, she might come down and save her life. To which she replied, "Nay, I cannot; for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death. I came to keep blood-guiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjust law of banishment upon pain of death, made against the innocent servants of the Lord; therefore my blood will be required at your hands, who wilfully do it: but for those that do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to forgive them." And more she spoke, of the eternal happiness into which she was now to enter. In this well-disposed condition she was turned off, and died a martyr of Christ, being twice led to death, which the first time she expected, with undaunted courage, and now suffered with Christian fortitude.

William Leddra, who was banished from Boston on pain of death, was under such necessity of conscience, that he could not forbear returning thither. He came at the conclusion of 1660, but was soon taken to prison; where, being fastened to a log of wood, he was kept, night and day, in chains, in an open prison, during a very cold winter. On the ninth of January, 1661, he was brought into the court of assistants, with his chains and log at his heels. He asking the gaoler when he intended to take off the irons from his legs; the gaoler roughly answered, "When thou art going to be hanged." Being brought to the bar, it was told him that he was found guilty, and that he was to die. He said, "What evil have I done?" The answer was, his own confession was as good as a thousand witnesses. He asked, what that was? To which they answered, that he owned these Quakers that were put to death, and that they were innocent. Besides, that he would not put off his hat in court, and that he said thee

and thou. Then said William to them, "You will put me to death for speaking English, and for not putting off my clothes?" To this major-general Denison returned, 'A man may speak treason in English.' And William replied, "Is it treason to say thee and thou to a single person?" But none answered; only Simon Broadstreet, one of the court, asked him, whether he would go for England? To which he answered, "I have no business there." Hereupon Broadstreet, pointing to the gallows, said, "Then you shall go that way." To which William returned, "What, will you put me to death for breathing in the air in your jurisdiction? And for what you have against me, I appeal to the laws of England for my trial; and if by them I am guilty, I refuse not to die." Of this no notice was taken, but instead thereof, they endeavoured to persuade him to recant of his error, as they styled it, and to conform; to which, with a grave magnanimity, he answered, "What! to join with such murderers as you are? Then let every man that meets me say, Lo, this is the man that hath forsaken the God of his salvation!"

At this time, Wenlock Christison, who was already banished upon pain of death, came into the court. This struck a damp upon them, insomuch that for some space of time there was silence in the court: but at length one of the bloody council cried, "Here is another, fetch him up to the bar." Which the marshal performing, the secretary Rawson said, "Is not your name Wenlock Christison?" "Yea," said Wenlock. "Well," said John Endicot, "what dost thou here? Wast thou not banished upon pain of death?" To which Wenlock answered, "Yea, I was." And to the question, "What dost thou here?" he answered, "I am come here to warn you that you should shed no more innocent blood; for the blood that you have shed already, cries to the Lord God for vengeance to come upon you." Whereupon it was said, "Take him away, gaoler."

It having been told W. Leddra, that the last general court he had liberty given him to go for England, or to go out of their jurisdiction; and that promising to do so, and come there no more, he might save his life; he answered, 'I stand not in my own will, but in the will of the Lord: if I may have my freedom, I shall go, but to make you a promise I cannot." But this was so far from giving content, that they proceeded to pronounce sentence of death against him; which being done, he was led from the court to prison again.

The execution of W. Leddra was performed on the 14th of the First month. After the lecture was ended, the governor, John Endicot, came with a guard of soldiers to the prison, where W. Leddra's irons, with which he had been chained to a log, both night and day, during a cold winter, were knocked off.

William then having taken his leave of Wenlock Christison, and others then in bonds, went to the slaughter, encompassed with a guard, to prevent his speaking to his friends. Being brought to the foot of the ladder, he was pinioned; and as he was about to ascend, he took leave of his friend E. Wharton, to whom he said, "All that will be Christ's disciples, must take up the cross." Somebody said, "William, have you any thing to say to the people?" When he spoke thus: "For the testimony of Jesus, and for testifying against deceivers, and the deceived, I am brought here to suffer." This took so much with the people, that it wrought a tenderness in many. But to quench this, priest Allen said to the spectators, "People, I would not have you think it strange to see a man so willing to die; for that's no new thing. And you may read how the apostle said, that some should be given up to strong delusions, and even dare to die for it." But he did not say where the apostle speaks so, neither have I found it any where in holy writ. But Leddra continued cheerful; for as the executioner was putting the halter about his neck, he was heard to say, "I commit my righteous cause to thee, O God." The executioner then being charged to make haste, W. Leddra at the turning of the ladder, cried, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" and so he was turned off, and finished his days. The hangman cut down the dead body, and lest it should be as barbarously used as those of Willam Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson (which none holding when cut down, fell to the ground to the breaking of W. Robinson's skull) Edward Wharton, John Chamberlain, and others, caught the body in their arms, and laid it on the ground till the hangman had stript it of its clothes; who having done so, said that he was a comely man, as indeed he was. The body being stript, William's friends took it, laid it in a coffin, and buried it. For farther confirmation, the following letter of one of the spectators may be added:

"Boston, March 26, 1661.

"On the 14th of this instant, here was one William Leddra, who was put to death. The people of the town told me, he might go away if he would: but when I made farther enquiry, I heard the marshal say, that he was chained in prison, from the time he was condemned, to the day of his execution. I am not of his opinion; but yet truly methought the Lord did mightily appear in the man. I went to one of the magistrates of Cambridge, who had been of the jury that condemned him, and I asked him by what rule he did it? He answered me that he was a rogue, a very rogue. But what is this to the question, I said; where is your rule? He said, he had abused authority. Then I went after the man, and asked him, whether he did not look on it as a

breach of rule, to slight and undervalue authority? And I said, Paul gave Festus the title of honour, though he was a heathen. When the man was on the ladder, he looked on me, and called me friend, and said, Know that this day I am willing to offer up my life for the witness of Jesus. Then I desired leave of the officers to speak, and said, Gentlemen, I am a stranger both to your persons and country, and yet a friend to both: and I cried aloud, for the Lord's sake, take not away the man's life; but remember Gamaliel's counsel to the Jews. If this be of man it will come to nought, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it: but be careful ye be not found fighters against God. And the captain said, why had you not come to the prison? The reason was, because I heard the man might go if he would; and therefore I called him down from the tree, and said, come down, William, you may go away if you will. Then captain Oliver said, it was no such matter; and asked what I had to do with it? And besides, bade me be gone: and I told them, I was willing; for I cannot endure to see this, I said. And when I was in the town, some did sympathize with me in my grief. But I told them, that they had no warrant from the word of God, nor precedent from our country, nor power from his majesty, to hang the man.

"I rest, your friend,

"THOMAS WILKIE."

William Leddra being thus dispatched, it was resolved to make an end also of Wenlock Christison, who was brought from the prison to the court at Boston, where the governor, John Endicot, and the deputy-governor, Richard Bellingham, being both present, it was told him, "Unless you renounce your religion, you shall surely die." But he said, with an undaunted courage, "Nay, I shall not change my religion, nor seek to save my life; neither do I intend to deny my Master; but if I lose my life for Christ's sake, and the preaching of the gospel, I shall save my life." This noble resolution gave sush a check to his persecutors, that they did not then go on with the trial, but sent him to prison again.

Being now locked up again in prison, he was kept there till about the Fourth month: when he was brought to the bar, where the governor, John Endicot, asked him what he had to say for himself, why he should not die? He answered, "I have done nothing worthy of death; if I had, I refuse not to die." To this another said, "Thou art come in among us in rebellion, which is as the sin of witchcraft, and ought to be punished." Hence it appears how perversely these blood-thirsty persecutors applied the Holy Scriptures to their cruel ends, and so made a wrong use of the prophet Samuel's words to Saul; to which false

conclusion Wenlock answered, "I came not in among you in rebellion, but in obedience to the God of heaven; not in contempt to any of you, but in love to your souls and bodies; and that you shall know one day, when you and all men must give an account of the deeds done in the body. Take heed, for you cannot escape the righteous judgments of God." Then said major-general Adderton, "You pronounce woes and judgments; and those that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments; but the judgments of the Lord are not come upon us as yet." So insolent and hard-hearted may man become, as not to stick even to defy the Most High. But before we draw the curtains of this stage, we shall see the tragical end of this Adderton, who now received this answer from Wenlock: "Be not proud; neither let your spirits be lifted up; God doth but wait till the measure of your iniquity be filled up, and that you have run your ungodly race: then will the wrath of God come upon you to the uttermost. And as for thy part, it hangs over thy head, and is near to be poured down upon thee, and shall come as a thief in the night, suddenly, when thou thinkest not of it."

Then Wenlock asked, "By what law will you put me to death?" The answer was, "We have a law, and by our law you are to die." "So said the Jews of Christ: We have a law, and by our law he ought to die. Who empowered you to make that law?" To which one of the board answered, "We have a patent, and are the patentees; judge whether we have not power to make laws." Hereupon Wenlock asked again, "How! have you power to make laws repugnant to the laws of England?" "No," said the governor. "Then (replied Wenlock) you are gone beyond your bounds, and have forfeited your patent; and that is more than you can answer. Are you subjects to the king, yea, or nay?" "What good will that do you?" replied the secretary. "If you are," answered Wenlock, "say so; for in your petition to the king, you desire that he would protect you, and that you may be worthy to kneel amongst his loyal subjects." To which one said, "Yea, we are so." "Well, (said Wenlock,) so am I; and for any thing I know, am as good as you, if not better: for if the king did but know your hearts, as God knows them, he would see that they are as rotten towards him as they are towards God. Therefore, seeing that you and I are subjects to the king, I demand to be tried by the laws of my own nation." It was answered, "You shall be tried by a bench and a jury:" for it seems they began to be afraid to go on in the former course of trial without a jury, this being contrary to the laws of England.

They then voted as to the sentence of death, but were in a manner confounded, for several could not vote him guilty of death. The governor seeing this division, said, "I could find in

my heart to go home:" being in such a rage, that he flung something furiously on the table; which made Wenlock cry, "It were better for thee to be at home than here, for thou are about a bloody piece of work." Then the governor put the court to vote again; but this was done confusedly, which so incensed the governor, that he stood up and said, "You that will not consent, record it; I thank God, I am not afraid to give judgment." Thus we see, that to be drunk with blood doth not quench the thirst after blood; for Endicot the governor, seeing others backward to vote, precipitately pronounced judgment himself, and said, "Wenlock Christison, hearken to your sentence: You must return to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there you must be hanged until you are dead, dead, dead." To which Wenlock said, "The will of the Lord be done; in whose will I came amongst you, and in whose counsel I stand, feeling his eternal power, that will uphold me unto the last. Known be it unto you all, that if ye have power to take my life from me, my soul shall enter into everlasting rest and peace with God, where you yourselves shall never come. And if ye have power to take my life from me, the which I do question, I do believe you shall never more take Quaker's lives from them: note my words; do not think to weary out the living God, by taking away the lives of his servants. What do you gain by it? for the last man that you have put to death, here are five come in his room. And if ye have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment, which is your portion; for there is no peace to the wicked, saith my God." The holy confidence with which he uttered these words shew, and the sequel made it appear plainly, that something supernatural was contained in them.

Wenlock having received sentence of death, was brought to prison again, where having been detained five days, the marshal and a constable came to him with an order from the court for his enlargement, with twenty-seven more of his friends, then in prison for their testimony to the Truth, saying they were ordered by the court to make him acquainted with their new law. "What means this?" said Wenlock; are your hands now become weak? The power of God is over you all."

Thus the prison doors were opened, and Wenlock, with his friends, set at liberty, save that two of them, viz. Peter Pearson and Judith Brown, being stripped to the waist, and fastened to a cart's tail, were whipped through the town of Boston with twenty stripes apiece.

Now, though not long after an order came from the king,

whereby these persecutors were charged to desist from putting the Quakers to death, yet it seems they had got some scent of the king's displeasure, who had a mind to stop their bloody career: for having got a book written by George Bishop, containing a relation of the cruel persecution in New England, and reading a passage concerning major-general Denison, he took much notice of this, and calling to the lords to hear it, said, "Lo, these are my good subjects of New England: but I will put a stop to them."

By these things we may see how the New England persecutors were become inured to excessive cruelty. But before I leave them, I must also mention the dreadful exit of some of them.

The last act of governor Endicot's bloody part that occurs, was the cruel whipping of Edward Wharton at Boston; for the time was now come that he must go off the stage, to give an account of his extravagant severity before another tribunal than that of his sanguinary court. The measure of his iniquity was now filled up, and he was visited by a loathsome disease, insomuch that he stunk alive, and so died with rottenness, his name being like to give a bad savour through ages to come.

Yet more remarkable was the death of Adderton, who, when Mary Dyar was hanged, said, scoffingly, and in an insulting way, that she hung as a flag, for others to take example by: and who also, when Wenlock Christison, being condemned to death, warned the persecutors because of the righteous judgments of God, presumptuously said, 'You pronounce woes and judgments, and those that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments; but the judgments of the Lord are not come upon us as yet." But how he himself was struck by these judgments, and served for an example to others, we may see.

He, upon a certain day, having exercised his soldiers, and riding proudly on his horse towards his house, when he came about the place where usually they loosed the Quakers from the cart, after they had whipped them, a cow came and crossed the way, at which his horse taking a fright, threw him down so violently, that he died; his eyes being started out of his head, his brains out of his nose, his tongue out of his mouth, and his blood out of his ears. Thus God's judgments came upon him suddenly and unawares.

And John Norton, the chief priest of Boston, died likewise on a sudden. It was he who promoted the putting to death of those martyrs that died at Boston, as hath been related; and when he saw the magistrates paused upon the executiou of W. Robinson and M. Stevenson, he encouraged them thereto, especially because John Winthorp, governor of Connecticut, earnestly dissuaded the shedding of innocent blood. He it was, also, who when William Brend was beaten so barbarously with a rope, as hath

been related in its due place, did not stick to say, since William Brend endeavoured to beat their gospel ordinances black and blue, it was but just upon him if he was beaten black and blue also. But this Norton was now struck with a blow that made him sink: for having been at his worship-house in the forenoon, and intending to go in the afternoon, as he was walking in his house he fetched a great groan, and leaning his head against the mantle-tree of the chimney, he was heard to say, "The judgments of the Lord are upon me." These were his last words; and he sunk down, and had fallen into the fire, if he had not been caught by somebody that was present. More examples of this nature might be produced, but these may suffice.

With the sentiments of William Penn, an eminent Quaker, and a great sufferer for conscience sake, we shall end this account.

"I heartily wish that moderation might take place, and *persuasion* instead of *persecution;* that we might not grow *barbarous* for Christianity, nor abuse and undo one another *for God's sake!*

"I abhor two principles in religion, and pity those that own them. The first is, obedience, upon authority, without conviction; and the other, the destroying them that differ from me for God's sake. I have bowels for mankind; and dare not deny to others what I crave for myself: I mean liberty of the exercise of my religion;—thinking faith, piety, and providence, a better security than force; and that, if truth cannot prevail with her own weapons, all others will fail her.

"Let us not flatter ourselves we can ever be the better for our religion, if our neighbour be the worse for it. And he that suffers his difference with his neighbour about the other world, to carry him beyond the line of moderation in this, is the worse for his opinion, even though it be true."

PERSECUTION OF THE METHODISTS.

We shall close this work with a brief account of the sufferings of the Methodists, who, at the beginning of the 18th century, were the instruments of the present revival of experimental and practical religion. A revival which, having spread through most parts of the united kingdom, has extended to North America and the West India Isles; to Africa and Hindoston in the East; and which will, it is confidently hoped, like the sun in its course, shine more and more to the perfect day of gospel knowledge and salvation.

The following is extracted from Mr. Wesley's Ecclesiastical History.

In the summer of 1739, my brother and I, and two young men, who were willing to spend and be spent for God, continued to call sinners to repentance, in London, Bristol, Bath, and a few other places. But it was not without violent opposition, both from high and low, learned and unlearned. Not only all manner of evil was spoken of us, both in private and public, but the beasts of the people were stirred up, almost in all places, "to knock these mad dogs on the head at once." And when complaint was made of their savage, brutal violence, no magistrate would do us justice. Yet, by the grace of God, we went on, determined to testify, as long as we could, the gospel of God our Saviour; not counting our lives dear to ourselves, so we might finish our course with joy. In the summer of 1743, the minister of Wednesbury, Mr. Eggington, with several neigbouring justices, Mr. Lane, of Bentley Hall, and Mr. Persehouse of Walsal, in particular, stirring up the basest of the people, such outrages followed as were a scandal to the Christian name. Riotous mobs were summoned together by sound of horn; men, women, and children abused in the most shocking manner; being beaten, stoned, covered with mud; some, even pregnant women, treated in a manner that cannot be mentioned. Mean time their houses were broke open by any that pleased, and their goods spoiled, or carried away, at Wednesbury, Darlaston, West Bromwich, &c; some of the owners standing by, but not daring to gainsay, as it would have been at the peril of their lives.

Nevertheless, I believed it my duty to call once more on this

poor harassed, persecuted people. So on October 20, I rode over from Birmingham to Wednesbury, and preached at noon, in a ground near the middle of the town, to a far larger congregation than was expected, on "*Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever*," and no creature offered to molest us, either going or coming; but in the afternoon the mob beset the house. The cry of all was, "Bring out the minister." I desired one to bring their captain into the house; after a few words, the lion became a lamb. I then went out among the people, and asked, "What do you want with me?" They said, "We want you to go with us to the justice." I said, "Shall we go to-night, or in the morning?" Most of them cried, "To-night, to-night." So I went before, and two or three hundred followed.

When we came to Bentley Hall, two miles from Wednesbury, a servant came out and said, "Mr. Lane is in bed." One then advised "to go to justice Persehouse at Walsal." All agreed; and about seven we came to his house. But Mr. Persehouse, likewise, sent word that he was in bed. They then thought it would be best to go home. But we had not gone a hundred yards, when the mob of Walsal came pouring in like a flood. In a short time, many of the Darlaston mob being knocked down, the rest ran away, and left me in their hands. They dragged me along through the main street, from one end of the town to the other. At the west end of the town, seeing a door half open, I would have gone in, but a gentleman in the shop would not suffer me. However, I stood at the door, and after speaking a few words, broke out in prayer. Presently, the man who had headed the mob, turned and said, "Sir, I will spend my life for you: follow me; and not one soul here shall touch a hair of your head." Two or three of his fellows confirmed his words, and got close to me immediately. The people then fell back to the right and left, while those three or four men carried me through them all; and a little before ten, God brought me safe to Francis Ward's, at Wednesbury: having lost only one flap of my waistcoat, and a little skin from one of my hands.

There was now no more place for any Methodist preacher in these parts. The mob were lords paramount: and they soon began to know their own strength, and to turn upon their employers. They required money of the gentlemen who had employed them; or threatened to serve them as they had done the Methodists: this opened their eyes. And not long after, a grave man riding through Wednesbury, the mob swore he was a preacher, pulled him off his horse, dragged him to a coal-pit, and were hardly restrained from throwing him in. But the Quaker (such he was) not being so tame as a Methodist, indicted the

chief of them at the assizes. The cause was tried at Stafford, and given against them: and from that time all tumult ceased.

In April, 1744, I took a journey into Cornwall, and went through many towns I had not seen before. Since my former visit, there had been hot persecution, both of the preachers and the people. The preacher's house at St. Ives, was pulled down to the ground; one of the preachers pressed and sent for a soldier, as were several of the people; over and above the being stoned, covered with dirt, and the like; which was the treatment many of them met with from day to day. But, notwithstanding this, they who had been eminent for hurling, fighting, drinking, and all manner of wickedness, continued eminent for sobriety, piety, and all manner of goodness. In all parts, more and more of the lions became lambs, continually praising God, and calling their old companions in sin to come and magnify the Lord togegether with them. About the same time, John Nelson and Thomas Beard were prest and sent for soldiers, for no other crime, either committed or pretended, than that of calling sinners to repentance. The case of John Nelson is well known. Thomas Beard also was nothing terrified by his adversaries: yet the body, after awhile, sunk under its burden. He was then lodged in the hospital at Newcastle, where he praised God continually. His fever increasing, he was let blood. His arm festered, mortified, and was cut off: two or three days after which, God signed his discharge, and called him up to his eternal home.

In June, 1745, I paid another visit to Cornwall, where our preachers were in danger of being discouraged, being continually persecuted, only not unto death, both by the great vulgar and the small. They shewed a little more courtesy to me, till Thursday, July 4th, when I went to see a gentlewoman in Falmouth, who had been long indisposed. I had scarce sat down, when the house was beset with an innumerable multitude of people. A louder, or more confused noise, could hardly be at the taking of a city by storm. The rabble roared, "Bring out the Canorum! Where is the Canorum?" (A Cornish nick-name for a Methodist.) They quickly forced open the outer door, and filled the passsage, there being now only a wainscot partition between us. Among them were the crews of some privateers, who being angry at the slowness of the rest, thrust them away, and setting their shoulders to the inner door, cried out, "Avast, lads, avast!" Away went the hinges of the door at once, and the door fell back into the room. I stepped forward in the midst of them, and said, "Here I am, which of you has any thing to say to me?" I continued speaking till I came into the middle of the street, though I could be heard but by few only. But all that could hear were still, till one or two of their captains turned and swore,

"Not a man shall touch him." A clergyman then came up and asked, Are you not ashamed to use a stranger thus? He was seconded by some other gentlemen, who walked with me to Mrs. Maddern's. They sent my horse before me to Penryn, and sent me thither by water; the sea running close by the back-door of the house in which we were.

I never saw before, no not even at Walsal, the hand of God so clearly shewn as here. There I received blows, was covered with dirt, and lost part of my clothes. Here, although the hands of hundreds of people were lifted up to strike or throw, yet they were, one and all, stopped in the midway; so that not a man touched me with his fingers: neither was any thing thrown, from first to last; so that I had not one speck of dirt upon my clothes. Who can deny that God heareth prayer? or that he hath all power in heaven and earth?

February 28th, 1757, one of our preachers wrote me the following letter.

"Rev. and dear Sir,

"At Bradford, on the 30th of January last, I was prest for a soldier, and carried to the inn where the gentlemen were. Mr. Pearce offered bail for my appearance the next day. They said they would take his word for a thousand pounds; but not for *me:* I must go to the round-house; (the little stone room on the side of the bridge.) So thither I was conveyed by five soldiers. I found nothing to sit on but a stone, and nothing to lie on but a little straw. But soon after, a friend sent me a chair, on which I sat all night. I had a double guard, twelve soldiers in all: two without, one in the door, and the rest within. I passed the night without sleep; but, blessed be God, not without rest, for my peace was not broken a moment. My body was in prison, but I was Christ's free-man; my soul was at liberty. And even there I found some work to do for God. I had a fair opportunity of speaking to them that durst not leave me. And I hope it was not in vain.

"The next day I was carried before the commissioners, and part of the act read which empowered them to take such able-bodied men as *had no business, and had no lawful or sufficient maintenance.* Then I said, 'But I have a lawful calling, being in partnership with my brother, and have also an estate. Give me time, and you shall have full proof of this.' They agreed. The next day I set out for Cornwall. After staying at home a few days, on Saturday I came to Bradford. On Monday I appeard before the commissioners, with the writings of my estate. When they had perused them, they set me at liberty. I hope you will give

thanks to God for my deliverance our of the hands of unreasonable and wicked men.

"WILLIAM HICHINS."

Friday, February 12th, 1748, after preaching at Oakhill, (a village in Somersetshire,) I rode on to Shepton, but found all the people under a strange consternation. A mob, they said, was hired and made sufficiently drunk to do all manner of mischief. Nevertheless I preached in peace; the mob being assembled at another place, where I used to alight. And they did not find their mistake till I had done preaching. They attended us to William Stone's house, throwing dirt, stones, and clods in abundance; but they could not hurt us. Mr. Swindells had only a little dirt on his coat, and I a few specks on my hat. After we were gone into the house, they began throwing large stones, in order to break the door; but finding this would require some time, they showered them in at the window. One of their captains, in his great zeal, had thrust into the house, and was now shut in with us. He would fain have got out, but it was not possible: so he kept as close to me as he could, thinking himself safest when he was near me. But staying a little behind, when I went up two-pair of stairs, a large stone struck him in the forehead, and the blood spouted out like a stream. He cried out, "O, Sir, are we to die to-night? What must I do?" I said, "Pray to God." He took my advice, and began praying as he had had scarce ever done before.

Mr. Swindells and I then went to prayer; after which I told him, "We must not stay here." He said, "Sir, we cannot stir; you see how the stones fly about." I walked straight through the room, and down the stairs, and not a stone came until we were at the bottom. The mob had just broke open the door when we came into the lower room; and while they burst in at one door, we walked out at the other. Nor did one man take any notice of us, though we were within five yards of each other. They filled the house at once, and proposed setting it on fire. But one of them would not consent, his house adjoining it. Hearing one of them cry out, "They are gone over the grounds," I thought the hint was good; so we went over the grounds, to the far end of the town, where one waited and guided us safe to Oakhill.

During the summer, there was a large increase of the work of God, both in Northumberland, the county of Durham, and Yorkshire: as likewise in the most savage parts of Lancashire; though here, in particular, the preachers carried their lives in their hands. A specimen of the treatment they met with there may be seen in the brief account following.

On August 26th, while I was speaking to some quiet people at Roughlee, near Colne in Lancashire, a drunken rabble came, the captain of whom said he was deputy-constable, and I must go with him. I had scarce gone ten yards, when a man of his company struck me in the face with all his might. Another threw his stick at my head: all the rest were like as many ramping and roaring lions. They brought me, with Mr. Grimshaw, the minister of Haworth, Mr. Colbeck of Kighly, and Mr. Mackford, of Newcastle, who never recovered the abuse he then received, into a public-house at Barrowford, a neighbouring village, where all their forces were gathered together.

Soon after, Mr. Hargrave, the high constable, came and required me to promise I would come to Roughlee no more. This I flatly refused. But upon saying, "I will not preach there now;" he undertook to quiet the mob. While he and I walked out at one door, Mr. Grimshaw and Mr. Colbeck went out at the other. The mob immediately closed them in, tost them to and fro with the utmost violence, threw Mr. Grimshaw down, and loaded them both with dirt and mire of every kind. The other quiet, harmless people, who followed me at a distance, they treated full as ill. They poured upon them showers of dirt and stones, without any regard to age or sex. Some of them they trampled in the mire, and dragged them by the hair of the head. Many they beat with clubs, without mercy. One they forced to leap from a rock, ten or twelve feet high, into the river. And when he crept out, they were hardly persuaded not to throw him in again. Such was the recompence we frequently received from our countrymen for our labour of love.

April 7th, 1750, I embarked in the morning at Holyhead, and in the evening landed in Dublin. Here I received a full account of the shocking outrages which had been committed at Cork, for several months together, which the good magistrates rather encouraged than opposed; till, at the Lent assizes, several depositions were laid before the grand jury. Yet they did not find any of these bills! But they found a bill against Daniel Sullivan, a baker, who, when the mob were discharging a shower of stones upon him, discharged a pistol (without ball) over their heads, which put them into such bodily fear, that they all ran away without looking behind them.

Being desirous of giving the poor desolate sufferers all the assistance I could, I made a swift journey through the inland societies, and on Saturday, May the 19th, came to Cork. The next day, understanding the house was small, about eight I went to Hammond's Marsh. It was then a large open space, but is now built over. The congregation was large, and deeply atten-

tive. I have seldom seen a more orderly assembly at any church in England or Ireland.

In the afternoon, Mr. Skelton and Mr. Jones waited on the mayor, and asked, If my preaching on the marsh would be disagreeble to him? He answered, "Sir, I will have no more mobs or riots." Mr. Skelton replied, "Sir, Mr. Wesley has made none." He answered plain, "Sir, I will have no more preaching: and if Mr. Wesley attempts it, I am prepared for him." I would not therefore attempt to preach on the marsh, but began in our own house, about five. The good Mayor, mean-time, was walking in the Change, and giving orders to his sergeants and the town drummers, who immediately came down to the house, with an innumerable mob attending them. They continued drumming, and I continued preaching, till I had finished my discourse. When I came out, the mob presently closed me in. Observing one of the sergeants standing by, I desired him to keep the king's peace. But he replied, "Sir, I have no orders to do that." As soon as I came into the open street, the rabble threw whatever came to hand; but all went by me, or over my head: nor do I remember that any thing touched me. I walked straight though the midst of the rabble, looking every man before me in the face; and they opened to the right and left till I came near Dant's bridge. A large party had taken possession of this; but when I came up, they likewise shrunk back, and I walked through them to Mr. Jenkins's house. But a stout Papist woman stood just within the door, and would not let me come in, till one of the mob (aiming, I suppose, at *me*, but missing me,) knocked *her* down flat. I then went in, and God restrained the wild beasts, so that no one attempted to follow me. But many of the congregation were more roughly handled: particularly Mr. Jones, who was covered with mud, and escaped with his life almost by miracle. Finding the mob were not inclined to disperse, I sent to Alderman Pembrook, who immediately desired Alderman Wenthorpe, his nephew, to go down to Mr. Jenkins's; with whom I walked up the street, none giving me an unkind or disrespectful word. All the following week, it was at the peril of his life if any Methodist stirred out of doors. And the case was much the same during the whole mayoralty of Mr. Crone: but the succeeding mayor declared, in good earnest, "There shall be no more mobs or riots in Cork." And he did totally suppress them. So, from that time forward, even the Methodists enjoyed the same liberty with the rest of his Majesty's subjects.

In July, 1812, an act of the legislature passed which defined and extended the boundaries of religious toleration; and from

that time the violence of persecution has ceased, and the Methodists have quietly pursued the useful tenor of their way, embracing every opportunity of doing good to the bodies and souls of their fellow-creatures.

The present signs of the times are encouraging to the Christian philanthropist, who longs for the universal spread of knowledge and holiness. He rejoices to know that societies have been formed, and are now forming, in most parts of Europe,—in many parts of America,—and in some parts of Asia, for the purpose of printing and distributing the holy scriptures in all languages. That emperors, kings, and nobles have enrolled themselves members of these societies, and are affording their most cordial co-operation and efficient influence; and he acknowledges, that "*it is the Lord's doing.*"

In the spring of 1813, a clause was inserted in the new charter of the East India Company, permitting the friends of Christianity to send missionaries to instruct the heathen inhabitants of that vast empire. Missionary zeal is awakened; societies are formed by the different sects of Protestant Christians; and funds are provided for the support of pious men offering themselves to carry the gospel to these dark places of the earth. Party prejudices are melting away before the sun of gospel truth and love, whilst the power of godliness is making daily progress through the world. These, with many other signs, concur to assure us, that the day is beginning to dawn, in which the whole human family shall join in one happy chorus, *Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things. And blessed be his glorious name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory: amen and amen!*

BRADFORD,
December, 1814.

LINES *written by Mr.* WESLEY, *on crossing Smithfield.*

HAIL, holy Martyrs! glorious names,
Who nobly here for JESUS stood;
Rejoiced and clapp'd your hands in flames,
And dar'd to seal the Truth with blood!

Strong in the LORD, divinely strong,
Tortures and death ye here defied;
Dæmons and men, a gazing throng,
Ye brav'd, and more than conqu'ring died.

Finish'd your course, and fought your fight,
Hence did your mounting souls aspire;
Starting from flesh, they took their flight,
Borne upward on a car of fire.

Where earth and hell no more molest,
Ye now have join'd the heavenly host,
Enter'd into your Father's rest,
And found the life which here ye lost.

Father, if *now* thy breath revives
In us the pure primæval flame,
Thy power, which animates our lives,
Can make us in our deaths the same.

Can out of weakness make us strong,
Arming as in the ancient days,
Loosing the stammering infant's tongue,
And perfecting in babes thy praise.

Steadfast we then shall stand, and sure
Thine everlasting Truth to prove,
In faith's plerophory* secure,
In all th' omnipotence of love.

Come, holy, holy, holy LORD,
The Father, Son, and Spirit, come!
Be mindful of thy changeless word,
And make the faithful soul thy home.

Arm of the LORD, awake, awake,
In us thy glorious Self reveal,
Let us thy sevenfold gifts partake,
Let us thy mighty working feel.

Near us, assisting JESU, stand,
Give us the opening Heaven to see;
Thee to behold, at GOD's right hand,
And yield our parting souls to Thee.

My Father, O my Father, hear,
And send the fiery chariot down,
Let *Israel's* flaming steeds appear,
And whirl us to the starry crown.

* Full assurance.

A

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TO

REECE'S

CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM.

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